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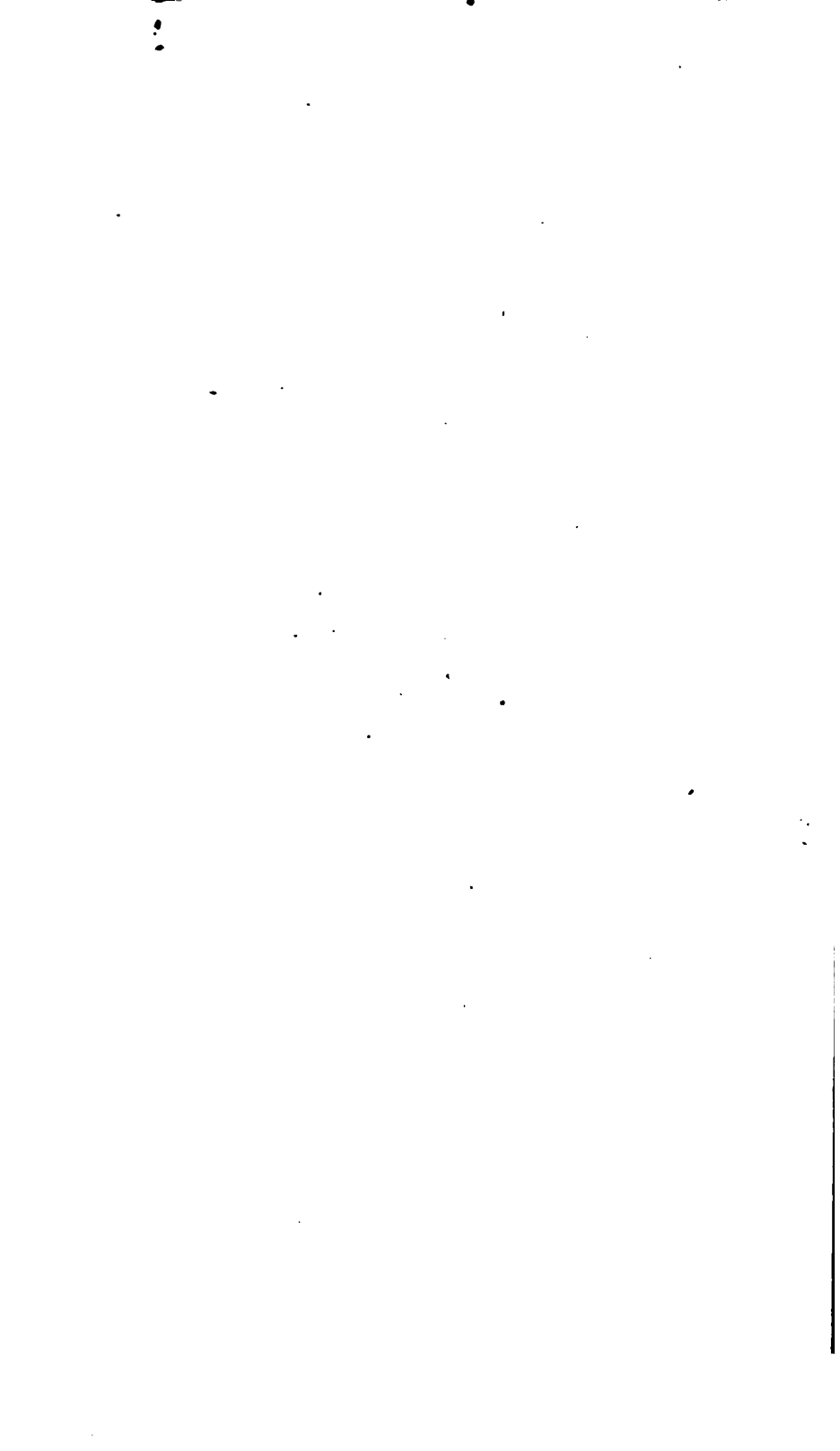
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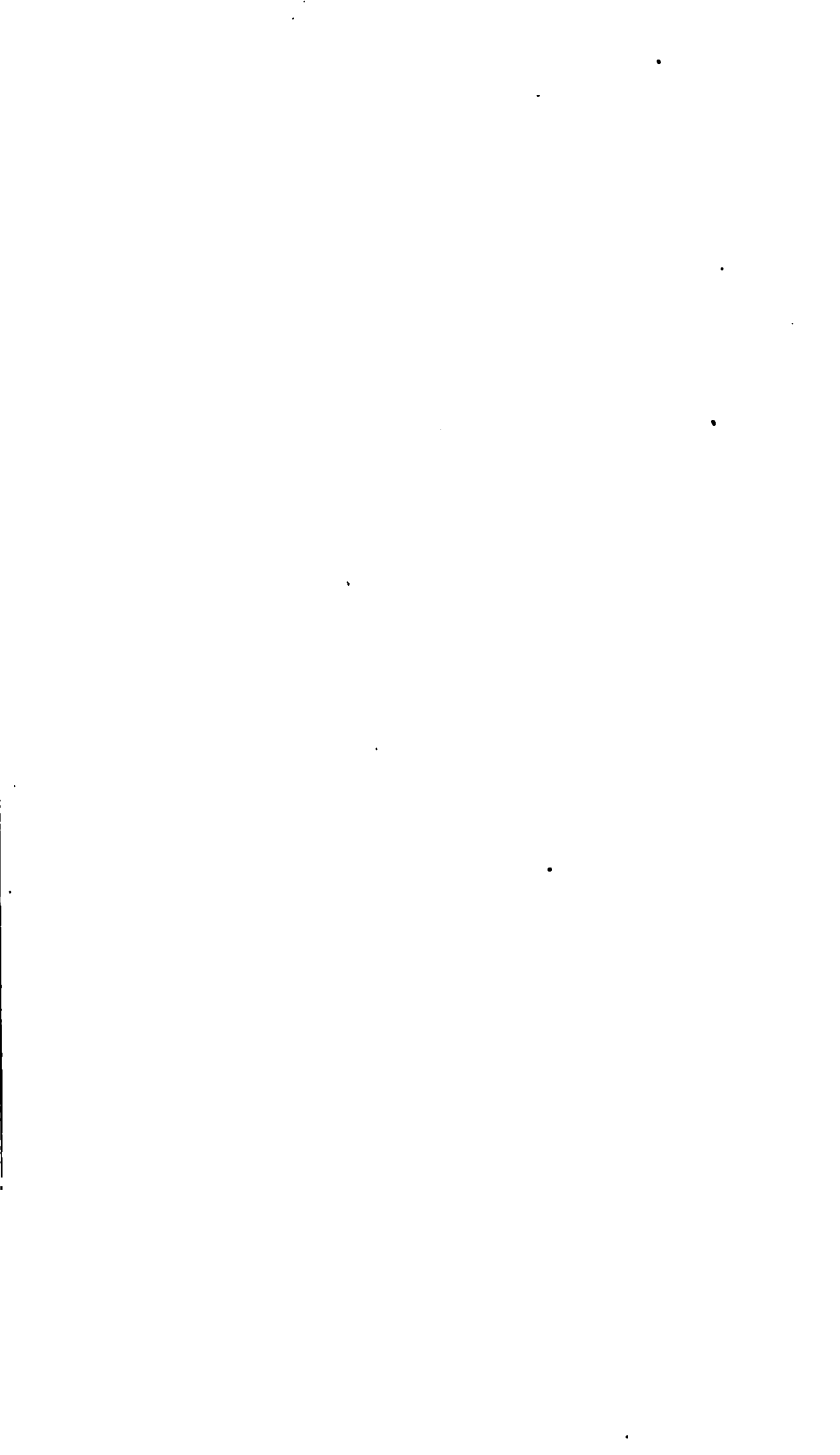
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INTRODUCTION
TO
THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY
JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS,
LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE
Fourth Edition of the German,
AND
CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,
AND
A DISSERTATION
ON THE
ORIGIN & COMPOSITION OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

BY
HERBERT MARSH, D.D. F.R.A.S.
LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BY J. D. MICHAELIS.

VOL. II. PART I.

VOL. II.

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VOL. II. PART I.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE Public is here presented with the translation of a work, which is held in high estimation in Germany, a country at present the most distinguished in Europe for theological learning. The first edition, which appeared in 1750, the only one that exists in an English translation, though it met with a favourable reception, is in all respects inferior to the present. The learned labours of our celebrated author, during almost forty years that have elapsed between the publication of the first and the fourth edition printed in 1788, have not only produced such an increase of materials, as to render it at least six times as voluminous as the former, but have had very material influence on our author's sentiments, with respect to several important points of biblical criticism. In a letter, with which he honoured the translator, he calls his first performance the work of a novice, and in the short preface prefixed to the German original of the fourth edition, he expresses himself in the following modest and sensible manner. 'Whenever I reflect on the year 1750, when the first edition of this Introduction appeared, which I published at that time chiefly as a guide for my academical lectures, and compare it with the more complete editions of 1765, and 1777, I feel a satisfaction, and even a degree of astonishment, at the progress of learning in the present age: and as during the last ten years in particular the most rapid advances have been made in literature, the present edition of this work, which is a kind of general repository, has received a proportional increase. I candidly confess, not only that my own private knowledge at the time of my first publication was inferior to what it should and might have been, but that the

a

performance

' performance itself was written in too much haste : and
 ' yet this very imperfect edition had the honour of being
 ' translated into English, and of undergoing a re-im-
 ' pression even at the time when the second much more
 ' complete edition was already published in Germany.
 ' The republic of letters is at present in possession of
 ' knowledge, of which it had no idea in the middle of
 ' this century ; and I may venture to affirm, that the
 ' last-mentioned period bears the same analogy to the
 ' year 1787, as the state of infancy to that of manhood.
 ' We were unable at that time to form an adequate
 ' judgement on many important topics, and the opinions
 ' of the learned were divided on the most ancient and
 ' most valuable manuscripts. Wettstein's edition of the
 ' New Testament, which was printed in 1751 and 1752,
 ' kindled a new fire, the blaze of which afforded during
 ' some time only a species of twilight, because the learned
 ' critic himself had formed a false judgement on these
 ' important manuscripts, and accused them of being
 ' corrupted from the Latin. The authority of Wettstein
 ' procured implicit confidence in his opinion ; and a
 ' lapse of many years was necessary before a proper use
 ' could be made of his copious and valuable collections
 ' and an inference deduced more consonant to the truth,
 ' than the sentiments entertained by the author himself.
 ' The system of biblical criticism has been placed in a
 ' new light, and reduced to a state of greater certainty :
 ' but it is unnecessary to swell the preface with a de-
 ' scription of the treasures that have been opened, and
 ' the discoveries that have been made in this enlightened
 ' age, as they are arranged under their respective heads
 ' in the course of the present Introduction.'

The reader will perceive from what is here said by our
 author, that the work is purely critical and historical,
 and will therefore expect to find no discussions of con-
 troverted points in speculative theology, which belong
 to a different province. Independent of sect or party,
 his intention is to explain the Greek Testament with the
 same impartiality, and the same unbiassed love of truth,
 with

with which a critic in profane literature would examine the writings of an Homer or a Virgil. Nor does it enter into the nature of his design to give a description of the Jewish sects, the dress and manners of the East, the weights and measures that were used in Palestine, or the geography and chronology necessary to a right understanding of the Bible; subjects, with which he supposes his readers already acquainted, as they have been treated by a great variety of authors, which it is here unnecessary to enumerate. The German original consists of two quarto volumes, the first of which contains an examination of the title, authenticity, inspiration, and language of the New Testament, the quotations from the Old Testament, the various readings, ancient versions, and manuscripts of the Greek Testament, the quotations of the fathers, critical and theological conjecture, commentaries and editions of the Greek Testament, accents and other marks of distinction, with the ancient and modern divisions of the sacred text. The second volume contains a particular introduction to each individual book of the New Testament.

The first part alone is now presented to the Public in an English translation; and that the reader may have some notion of what he is to expect from this learned work, I will give a short review of its contents. Each chapter contains a separate dissertation on some important branch of sacred criticism, in which there is united such a variety of matter, as would be sufficient, if dilated according to the usual mode of writing, to form as many distinct publications. In the chapter, which relates to the authenticity of the New Testament, the evidence both external and internal is arranged in so clear and intelligible a manner, as to afford conviction even to those, who have never engaged in theological inquiries: and the experienced critic will find the subject discussed in so full and comprehensive a manner, that he will probably pronounce it the most complete essay on the authenticity of the New Testament that ever was published. The chapter which relates to the inspiration of the New

Testament, contains a variety of very sensible and judicious remarks; and though the intricacy of the subject has sometimes involved our author in obscurity, yet few writers will be found who have examined it with more exactness. The language of the New Testament is analysed in the fourth chapter with all the learning and ingenuity, for which our author is so eminently distinguished; the different sources of its peculiar expressions he has distinctly pointed out, and arranged under their respective heads: and though he appears to have sometimes fallen into error, in the application of rules to particular cases, yet no objection can be made to the principles themselves. In the fifth chapter, where he examines the passages which the Apostles and Evangelists have quoted from the Old Testament, he takes a distinct view of the several parts of the inquiry, and considers whether these quotations were made immediately from the Septuagint, or were translations of the Hebrew, whether their application is literal or typical, and whether the sacred writers did not sometimes accommodate to their present purpose expressions and passages, which in themselves related to different subjects. In the sixth chapter, which contains an account of the various readings of the Greek Testament, he shews the different causes which gave them birth, and deduces clear and certain rules to guide us in the choice of that which is genuine: he enters fully and completely into his subject, and shews himself a perfect master in the art of criticism. The seventh chapter, which contains a review of the ancient versions of the New Testament, is not only critical, but historical, and comprises in itself such a variety of information, as makes it difficult to determine, whether it most excels in affording entertainment or conveying instruction. The eighth chapter relates to the Greek manuscripts, and after some previous dissertations in regard to the subject in general, contains a critical and historical account of all the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, which have been hitherto collated. This is a subject, which must be highly interesting

resting to every man engaged in sacred criticism, and I
 may venture to pronounce, that whatever expectations
 the reader may form upon this head, he will find them
 fully gratified by our learned author. The quotations
 from the New Testament in the works of ecclesiastical
 writers, form the subject of inquiry in the ninth chap-
 ter, in which our author examines the various modes,
 in which it is supposed that these quotations were made,
 and considers how far they were made from mere me-
 mory, and how far we may consider them as faithful
 transcripts from the manuscripts of the New Testament,
 which the writers respectively used. Having thus ex-
 amined the text of the Greek Testament, its various
 readings, and the three grand sources from which they
 must be drawn, namely, the Greek manuscripts, the
 ancient versions, and the quotations in the works of ec-
 clesiastical writers, he proceeds, in the tenth chapter, to
 examine such readings, as either are, or have been in-
 troduced into the sacred text on mere conjecture. He
 allows that critical emendations, which have no reference
 to points of doctrine, are sometimes allowable; but he
 highly inveighs against theological conjecture, and main-
 tains that it is inconsistent to adopt the New Testament,
 as the standard of belief and manners, and yet to assert the
 privilege of rejecting or altering, without authority, what-
 ever contradicts a previously assumed hypothesis. He is of
 opinion that there is no medium between adopting in ge-
 neral the doctrines, which the New Testament literally con-
 tains, and rejecting the whole as an improper criterion of
 faith. The eleventh chapter contains only a chronological
 account of the authors who have collected various readings
 to the Greek Testament: but the twelfth chapter con-
 tains a very excellent review of all the critical editions
 of the Greek Testament from the year 1514, when the
 Complutensian was printed, down to the present time.
 He likewise considers the imperfections, which have
 hitherto attended such editions as are printed with va-
 rious readings, and delivers the plan, and the rules, on
 which a perfect edition, according to his opinion, should

be formed. The last chapter, which relates to the marks of distinction in the Greek Testament, and the divisions which have been made at different times in the sacred text, will be most interesting to those, who are engaged in the examination of Greek manuscripts: but as many practical rules are deduced from the inquiry, it will be likewise of importance to every man who is employed in the study of divinity at large.

With respect to the translation, though its merits or demerits must be determined by the public, it may not be improper to explain in a few words the plan, on which I have proceeded. As the structure of the German periods is widely different from that of the English, and the style of our author, notwithstanding his consummate erudition, is not only devoid of elegance, which is unnecessary in critical disquisitions, but is in general harsh and uncouth, a literal translation of this learned work would have been unavoidably offensive to an English ear. In translating the works of a Wieland or a Rousseau, a deviation from the original would be wholly unpardonable, because it is the business of a translator not only to convey the sentiments of his author, but to preserve if possible the beauty of the dress, in which they are displayed. But where neither beauty nor even neatness is visible, it ceases to be a duty to retain the peculiarities, which in a translation would be still greater blemishes, than in the original. I have seldom therefore given a close translation, except in matters of verbal criticism, and have very frequently been obliged to new-model whole periods. I have paid however the strictest attention to the sense and spirit of the original, which, after a residence of five years in a German University, I have less reason to fear that I have mistaken, than that in consequence of a long absence from my native country, I may have been sometimes guilty of incorrectness in the style of the translation. A writer, who by long habit is more familiarized with a foreign than with his native language, insensibly adopts its modes of expression; and it is possible, and even probable, that this very circumstance may have

have often led me into the error which I have studiously endeavoured to avoid. I hope however to be favoured with the indulgence of the learned, and if this publication should be deemed worthy of a second edition, to which the merits of the author though not of the translator are justly entitled, every improvement that may be proposed will be thankfully accepted, and carefully noticed. Another alteration which I have taken the liberty to make is, that I have transferred to the margin a variety of references that are placed in the text of the original, because they wholly interrupt the fluency of the style: but I have deviated from this rule wherever the quotations themselves form the subject of discourse. I have likewise divided the work into chapters as well as sections, though the latter division alone is admitted into the original, which, though more convenient in quoting from this Introduction, occasions frequent confusion in the study of the work itself.

When I first engaged in the present translation, I had no other object in view, than to present the public with a faithful copy of the original. But being at that time particularly employed in the study of theology, I was led by curiosity, or a thirst of knowledge, not only to examine the numerous passages, whether of the Hebrew Bible or Greek Testament, of writers ancient or modern, Asiatic or European, to which our author referred, but likewise to read with attention the most celebrated works, in which the various points were discussed, that are the subjects of the present Introduction. From these inquiries there resulted a variety of observations, which I committed to paper, with references to the German original, because at that time I had no other object in view, than my own instruction. Where the matter was too extensive to be comprised in a small compass, I noted down the volume and the page, in the author or authors, in which it was treated at large, that I might know in future where I should seek for information, if ever I had leisure or inclination to prosecute the inquiry. Having collected in this manner from various sources a number of

materials, which served either to illustrate our author's Introduction where it was obscure, to correct it where it seemed erroneous, or to supply what appeared to be defective, with vouchers and authorities for each observation, I thought it might be of use to the reader, if I adapted them to the English translation, and subjoined them as an appendix to each volume. They will save him, at least, the trouble of collecting materials for himself, which would be attended with no inconsiderable labour, and enable him to turn at once, without either trouble or loss of time, to the volume and the page of each author, where he will find more ample information than can be contained in the compass of a note. Of these references there are several thousands, and that the reader may never be at a loss in referring to the quoted authors, I have in general at the first quotation given the full title of the work, and if it has gone through several editions, I have always mentioned that, which I particularly meant. To the notes, which are formed on the plan above described, I have added others of a different kind. I have in general given extracts from the German works to which our author refers, especially from his *Orientalische* and *Exegetische Bibliothek*, because these are sources which are inaccessible to most English readers, and our author is frequently more concise than he otherwise would have been, on the presumption that the last-mentioned work in particular is in the hands of those who read his Introduction. And since several very important publications in biblical criticism, by Alter, Adler, Birch, Münter, &c. have made their appearance, since the last edition of our author's Introduction, and contain very valuable materials, with which he would have enriched his own work, if he had published only three years later, I have endeavoured, as far as my imperfect knowledge of the subject would permit, to communicate under each respective head, the information which could not be conveyed by our author himself. I have likewise occasionally introduced, in the body of the notes, some short dissertations on subjects of sacred criticism, especially

especially in the chapters which relate to the ancient versions, the manuscripts, and the editions of the Greek Testament.

These are the additions which I have ventured to lay before the public, as an appendix to the original work of Michaelis, and for which perhaps I should request the indulgence of the public. I candidly own that I commenced the present undertaking, without that knowledge and experience in sacred criticism, which I ought to have possessed. My knowledge of the Oriental languages extends no further, than to enable me to make out a passage by the help of a grammar and a lexicon; nor had the other branches of theological learning engaged my attention, when I first entered on the work, which I now deliver to the public. Confined by sickness in a foreign country, I sought rather to amuse and to instruct myself, than to edify mankind; but as I have altered my original plan, and presume to publish the fruits of my researches, I must hope that industry has in some measure supplied the deficiencies of knowledge. Perhaps it will be thought to savour of presumption, that I have often ventured to call in question the opinions of our author: but as no man is exempt from the danger of mistake, and neither the most profound erudition nor the clearest understanding can at all times secure us from error, it may be naturally expected that various passages even in the writings of Michaelis must be liable to objection. Though impressed with the most profound veneration for the memory of a man, who is now no more, of a man, whose name will be ever uttered with respect, as long as learning is an object of esteem, yet the duty, which we owe to truth, is superior to that which can be claimed by the greatest names, or the most exalted characters. Unbiased therefore by prejudice, and with a freedom, to which every writer is entitled, I have carefully examined the assertions and opinions of our author, and wherever they appeared to be erroneous, I have stated, as clearly as I was able, the reasons which induced me to dissent. I submit however the whole to the
decision

decision of the reader; and whatever mistakes I have made, for in a work of such extent as the present, mistakes are unavoidable, I shall not be ashamed, as soon as they are pointed out with coolness and candour, to acknowledge and retract them.

Lastly, I must beg leave to caution those, who compare the German original with the English translation, and find that the references to the quoted authors are sometimes different in the latter, with respect to the figures denoting the volume or the page, the chapter or the verse, not immediately to conclude that the references in the translation are erroneous. For as I have at all times consulted the quoted authors, I have tacitly corrected the Errata of the German original, which are more numerous, than any man would imagine, who was not concerned in literary publications. In this respect therefore the translation has an advantage over the original itself, except where new typographical errors have been made, which I hope are not numerous, because I have corrected the press myself, and have paid particular attention to the accuracy of the references, since mistakes in these are not like other errata, which in general correct themselves.

Before I conclude, I must return thanks to the University, of which I have the honour to be a member, for its liberal assistance, in defraying the expences of this publication.

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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
SACRED WRITINGS
OF THE
NEW COVENANT.

CHAPTER VII.

**CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT.**

SECT. I.

*Of the Ancient Versions, considered as evidence for the
genuine readings of the New Testament.*

HAVING inquired into the origin of the various readings, and their internal marks of probability, I have now to examine the external evidence, that may be adduced in their favour, which consists either in ancient versions, ancient manuscripts, or quotations from the New Testament, in the works of ecclesiastical writers¹. As a knowledge of the ancient versions is requisite, before a proper judgement can be formed of the value of the Greek manuscripts, many of the latter having been suspected, though I believe unjustly, of being interpolated from the former, our first attention must be directed to the different translations that were made from the Greek Testament in the early ages of Christianity. A critical inquiry therefore into these translations shall

form the subject of the present chapter ; but I will premise some general observations on the nature of their evidence, in regard to the various readings of the New Testament.

In cases where the sense is not affected by different readings, or the translator might have taken them for synonymous, the evidence of the Greek manuscripts is to be preferred to that of an ancient version. The same preference is due to the manuscripts, wherever the translator has omitted words, that appeared of little importance, or a passage in the Greek original is attended with a difficulty, which the translator was unable to solve, and therefore either omitted or altered, according to the arbitrary dictates of his own judgement.

On the other hand, there are cases, in which the ancient versions are of more authority, than the original itself. The greatest part of those, which will be examined in this chapter, surpass in antiquity the oldest Greek manuscripts that are now extant ; and they lead to a discovery of the readings in the very ancient manuscript, that was used by the translator. By their means, rather than from the aid of our Greek manuscripts, none of which is prior to the sixth century, we arrive at the certain knowledge that the sacred writings have been transmitted from the earliest to the present age without material alteration ; and that our present text, if we except the passages, that are rendered doubtful by an opposition in the readings, is the same which proceeded from the hands of the Apostles. Whenever the reading can be precisely determined, which the translator found in his Greek manuscript, the version is of equal authority with a manuscript of that period ; but as it is sometimes difficult to acquire this absolute certainty, great caution is necessary in collecting readings from the ancient versions. Of the causes which create this difficulty, the reader will find a full account in my father's *Tractatio critica de variis N. T. lectionibus*, § 37—48.

Those versions, in which the Greek is rendered word for word, and the idioms of the original, though harsh
and

and often unmeaning in another language, are still retained in the translation, are of more value in point of criticism than those which express the sense of the original in a manner more suitable to the language of the translator. The value of the latter, as far as regards their critical application, decreases in proportion as the translator attends to purity and elegance, and of course deviates from his original; but their worth is greater in all other respects, as they are not only read with greater pleasure, but understood in general with greater ease. By means of the former we discover the words of the original, and even their arrangement; but the latter are of no use in deciding on the authenticity of a reading, if the various readings of the passage in question make no alteration in the sense. No translation is more literal than the New Syriac, and none therefore leads to a more immediate discovery of the text in the ancient manuscript, from which the version was taken; but, setting this advantage aside, the Old Syriac is of much greater value than the New.

The Latin translations of the Oriental versions, which are printed in the Polyglot Bibles, are wretched in an higher degree than can be imagined*; and whoever relies on their authority in support of a reading, like Mill and Wetstein, will inevitably fall into error. Another circumstance to which attention must be given is, that some of the ancient versions have in many places suffered alterations; and great care must be taken to distinguish the modern amendments from the genuine text of the ancient translator. Lastly, those translations, which were not immediately taken from the Greek, are of no authority in determining the genuine text of the original, but only of that version from which they were taken. For instance, all the Spanish, French, and German translations of the New Testament, made before the sixteenth century, were taken immediately from the Latin; and therefore even in those examples where they are unanimous in a reading, their united voices are of no more authority than that of the Latin version alone.

As it is not my intention to write a general history of the versions of the New Testament, I shall confine my inquiries to those which admit of critical application: these are the Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Æthiopic, Armenian, Persian, Latin, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Russian.

S E C T. II.

Of the different editions of the Syriac version.

THE ~~last~~ accounts, which we formerly had of the Syriac version, were in Simon's *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament**, but as most other writers on this subject have betrayed a want of knowledge, the reader will excuse the prolixity, which is unavoidable on the present occasion; and I hope the more to be favoured with this indulgence, as a minute inquiry into the Syriac version, since the first publication of this work, has enabled me to communicate a great variety of information, in regard to a question that has not been sufficiently examined. I published in the year 1755 a book entitled *Curæ in versionem Syriacam actuum apostolicorum, cum consecrariis criticis de indole, cognationibus, et usu Versionis Syriacæ tabularum Novi Fœderis*, to which I shall frequently refer in the course of the present chapter, though thirty years study and experience since that period have induced me in some points to change my opinion. Being unwilling to transcribe from a work that is easily procured, I presuppose it in the hands of my readers, as it will greatly facilitate a right understanding of the following remarks. Of the various editions of the Syriac New Testament, especially that of Widmanstad, a circumstantial account may be seen in the second volume of Hirt's *Orientalische Bibliothek*†; a book to which I acknowledge my obligations for the correction of several errors in the two first editions of this Introduction, occasioned by the misfortune of being unable to procure the different editions of the Syriac version,

* Ch. 13, 14, 15.

version, and being obliged therefore to rely on accounts, which I have since found to be erroneous.

The old Syriac version, which must be carefully distinguished from those made in a later period, contains only the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the epistles of St. Paul including that to the Hebrews, the first epistle of St. John, the first epistle of St. Peter, and the epistle of St. James. It is called by the Syrians Peshito, that is, the literal, though in fact it is much less so than the new Syriac version, which will be described in a following section^a. It has neither the story of the adulteress in the eighth chapter of St. John's Gospel, nor the celebrated passage 1 John v. 7. on which the reader may consult Assemani *Bibliotheca orientalis*, Tom. II. p. 279. This version, which is that of our common editions, is in general use among the Syrian Christians of every denomination, whether Nestorians, Jacobites, or Maronites^b.

The epistle to the Hebrews, though contained in all the copies of the Peshito, seems not to have been translated by the same person who translated the other books of the New Testament. It is true that the language is equally pure, and the version made with equal fluency and ease; yet there is a manifest difference in the modes of expression, a circumstance to which my attention was first directed by my late father, when he instructed me in Syriac, and which induced him to ascribe the version of this epistle to a different translator. In the other books of the New Testament ܐܠܗܐ is used to signify a Priest, and ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ; a High Priest; but in the epistle to the Hebrews, instead of these words, we find constantly ܐܠܗܐ, and ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ; whence ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ is used for Priesthood, a difference which is the more striking, because the translator of the other books has never taken ܐܠܗܐ but in the sense of an Heathen Priest^c. This difference is retained even in the Erpenian Arabic translation of the

^a See Simon *Hist. critique des Vers. du N. T.* p. 159. and Waltoni *Prolegom.* XIII. § 18.

^c See Acts xiv. 12.

the Syriac version, the Arabic translator having used in the epistle to the Hebrews a different expression, which is found in that sense in no Arabic Lexicon, namely, *حبرية*, *عظيم الحبار*, *رئيس الحبار*, *حبر*. After long wavering on this subject, and being inclined either to the affirmative or the negative, as new observations occurred, my doubts have been very lately removed by a discovery, which has confirmed me in the opinion of my father. It relates to Heb. iii. 7. and iv. 7. in which passages a quotation is made from Psalm xc. 7. *וְכָל הַיּוֹם אֶתְּהַלַּךְ בְּכָל יוֹם*, where the prefix *כ*, which is not rendered in the Septuagint, gives the Hebrew a sense different from that of the Greek⁴: yet the Syriac translator has precisely expressed what is found in the Hebrew, namely, *ܐܠ ܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܥܡܐ*. I immediately referred to the Syriac version of the Psalms, and found the very same words, which are used by the translator of this epistle; whence it is natural to suppose that he copied the quotation from the Syriac Psalms, and this supposition is rendered more probable by the circumstance, that, when no allusion is made to this Psalm, as Heb. iii. 15. where the author himself speaks, the translator has *ܐܠ ܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܥܡܐ*. I then compared Heb. iii. 7—11. with Psalm xc. 7—11. and found that these two whole passages agreed word for word in the Syriac Psalms and version of this epistle, with this only exception, that the translator of this epistle has inserted in the tenth verse *ܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܥܡܐ*, because *δὲ* was used in the Greek, which he thought improper to omit. Another extraordinary circumstance is, that throughout the whole epistle where *κατὰ τὰ ἑν Μελχισεδεκ* stands in the Greek, we find in the Syriac translation *ܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܥܡܐ*, i. e. 'in the likeness of Melchisedek', exactly in the same manner as in the Syriac Psalm cx. 4. and where this verse is quoted in the epistle to the Hebrews, namely ch. vii. 21. instead of *καταμεληθήσεται*, a verb is used in the Syriac version

⁴ See note 76 to the epistle to the Hebrews.⁴

⁵ It may be also observed, that Melchisedek, had it been taken from the Greek, would have been probably written not with Zain but with Samech, *ܡܕܢܐ ܠܡܥܡܐ*. See the Syriac Grammar⁵, § 9.

version which signifies 'to lie,' or 'to deceive,' a circumstance in which the Syriac epistle again harmonizes with the passage in the Syriac Psalms, where, though a different verb is used, yet it has precisely the same sense. The passage in the Psalms is ܡܬܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܚܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, in the epistle ܡܬܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܚܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ. Since therefore the Syriac translator of the epistle to the Hebrews has copied the quotation from the Syriac version of the Psalms, the former was of course translated in a period subsequent to the latter, and as the Syrian Christians undoubtedly translated the New Testament before the Old, the real state of the case appears to be as follows :

'If it be asked, whether this coincidence with the Syriac version of the Psalms takes place in every quotation from that book in the epistle to the Hebrews, I answer in the negative. On a comparison I found the proportion to be as follows :

1) Heb. i. 5. corresponds exactly to Psalm ii. 7. and Heb. i. 7. to Psalm civ. 4. That in the first of these examples we find ܡܬܢܝܐ in the epistle, ܡܬܢܝܐ in the Psalm, is of no importance, for the author of the Erpenian Arabic version must have found ܡܬܢܝܐ, as he has translated it by ܡܬܢܝܐ. These examples, however, afford no positive proof, since the coincidence might arise from mere accident.

2) The following passages are so nearly alike that the difference would perhaps vanish, if we had various readings to both versions, viz. Heb. i. 8, 9. to Psalm xlv. 7, 8. and Heb. i. 13. to Psal. cx. 1.'

3) The following passages differ from each other, but it must be remarked, that this difference is occasioned by the circumstance that these quotations in the Greek text of the epistle to the Hebrews, differ from the Hebrew text and Syriac version of the Psalms, viz. Heb. i. 6. Psalm xcvi. 7. where it is even doubted whether this or another Psalm is quoted. Heb. i. 10, 11, 12. Psalm cii. 26—28. Heb. ii. 6—8. Psalm viii. 5—8. where the fine language of the Syriac Psalm is so different from that of the Septuagint and the quotation in the epistle, that it could hardly be admitted in the translation of the epistle. Heb. x. 5—7. Psalm xl. 7—9. where no faithful translator could have adopted the text of the Syriac Psalm, which has ܡܬܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܚܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, aures mihi perfodisti, whereas that of the quotation in the epistle, which follows the text of the Septuagint, is ܡܬܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܚܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ. It was therefore necessary to give a new translation.

follows: The old Syriac translator made his version from the earliest collection of the books of the New Testament, in which the epistle to the Hebrews was not contained, because its authority was doubted: to the translation of the New Testament followed that of the Old, and in the mean time the epistle to the Hebrews having been admitted into the sacred canon, it was afterwards translated into Syriac by a different person; who this person was, and in what age he lived, a total want of historical accounts makes it impossible to determine.

This version was first made known in Europe by Moses of Mardin, whose life is related at large in *Assemani bibliotheca orientalis*⁸. He was sent by Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronite Christians, in the year 1552, to pope Julius III. to acknowledge in the name of the Syrian church the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, and was commissioned at the same time to have the Syriac New Testament printed in Europe⁹. No one could be found either at Rome or at Venice, who would undertake the work: but at last Albert Widmanstad, who had before learnt Syriac¹⁰, and received further instruction from Moses, prevailed with the emperor Ferdinand the First to be at the expence of the impression, which was committed to the care of Moses, and Widmanstad¹¹, who for some time were assisted by William Postell¹. To these persons we are indebted for the first edition of the Syriac New Testament, printed at Vienna in 1555², in which

⁸ Tom. I. p. 535.

⁹ Widmanstad assumed in Italy the name of Jøhannes Lucretius.

¹ See Hirt's *Orient. Bib.* Vol. II. p. 272.

² The occasion of the mistake, into which some of the learned have fallen, that this edition was printed in 1562, is assigned by Dr. Hirt, p. 266, 267, and 285—288. Namely, in some of the copies, on the reverse of the title page, are the arms of the printer Zymmermann, with the following subscription, Cum Rom. Cæs. Maj. gratia et privilegio cautum est ut nemo deinceps hoc opus imprimat. Viennæ Austriæ excudebat Michael Zymmermann, Anno M.D.LXII. Dr. Hirt supposes with great probability, that this was the year in which the printer

which the two last epistles of St. John, the second of St. Peter, the epistle of St. Jude, and the Revelation of St. John are wanting. A thousand copies were printed, of which the emperor reserved to himself five hundred for sale, sent three hundred to the two Syrian patriarchs, and made a present to Moses of two hundred copies, together with twenty dollars. An account of this beautiful and exceedingly scarce edition may be found in Simon Hist. Crit. p. 171. in the second part of the first volume of the *Memoirs of a Library in Halle*¹³, p. 91. and particularly in Hirt's *Orient. Bibliothek*¹⁴. Professor Bruns has observed in the fifteenth volume of the *Repertorium*, p. 154. that among the errata, subjoined to this edition, are four various readings marked with an asterisk, which are not taken from Syriac manuscripts, but from Greek editions; and it was therefore an error to admit them into the later editions of the Syriac version¹⁵. This *Editio Princeps* will ever retain its intrinsic value.

The other editions are described in Andr. Mülleri *Dissert. de versionibus Syriacis*, printed in his *Symbolæ Syriacæ*¹⁶, to whose account several additions have been made by Bruns, p. 157. of the *Repertorium* published by Eichhorn.

2.^o Tremellius's edition at Geneva 1569, in folio¹. It is a copy of the former, though not in Syriac but Hebrew letters. The Greek text with Beza's version, is printed with it, to which Tremellius added a Latin translation of the Syriac, which is said to be very literal¹⁷. He had a Syriac manuscript from the Heidelberg library, of which he is accused by Simon of having made little or no use; but whether the charge is grounded I am unable to determine, as this edition is neither in my library

printer purchased the remainder of the copies which the emperor had reserved for sale. In the copy preserved in the University library at Gottingen, are the arms and subscription, but in that of which I am in possession, they are wanting¹⁸.

¹ It has been said that the original edition appeared at Heidelberg in 1568, to which Dr. Hirt replies, p. 290. that the work was printed at Geneva in 1569, though the dedication is dated Heidelberg, 1 March 1568.

this edition ought to be considered as a supplement to the Hebrew Bible printed by Plantin in 1573 and 1574, or be referred to the same year with the following edition; a doubt which I am unable to remove²⁶. I have been informed by a friend, that there is a copy of this edition in the Weimar library with various readings, which some one has written in the margin from a Codex Viennensis, but without giving any description of this manuscript²⁷. This copy might be of use in biblical criticism.

5. An Antwerp edition, in 16^{mo}, consisting of 380 pages, likewise from the press of Plantin, with Raphel-ling's various readings, printed, like the foregoing, with Hebrew letters¹.

Two other Antwerp editions are mentioned by Müller, printed in Syriac letters, the one 1567, the other 1620. But the former, according to Masch's account, is the same with the Polyglot mentioned No. 3. and the latter is either the same with Trost's edition, or has never existed.

6. The Paris edition of 1584, under the title of *Novum Testamentum*, נְוִיָּם דִּנְסָא דְּיֵשׁוּ, η καινη διαθηκη, *Novum Jesu Christi D. N. Testamentum*. *Ad Christianissimum Galliae et Poloniae regem Henricum III. Potentiss. et Invictiss. Principem, Christianae religionis vindicem et assertorem unicum. Parisiis MDLXXXIIII. Apud Johannem Benenatum*. This edition contains the Greek text, the Vulgate, and, what is the most material, the Syriac version²⁹, accompanied with a Latin translation over each line, but this translation is different from that in the Antwerp Polyglot, and is less literal. Those books, and passages which belong not to the old Syriac version, are faithfully omitted, though the columns of the Greek and Latin texts are continued: but we must except the interpolation at the end of the epistle to the Romans, which neither formed a part of the old Syriac version, nor was admitted into the first editions. I will not accuse Le Fevre³⁰, because it does not appear that he

¹ See Hirt's *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 296.²⁸

he himself took part in the work, though he promoted it, and wrote the dedication ^m. Perhaps it was inserted by the printer; but whoever was the person, to whom it must be ascribed ⁿ, he has produced in this instance a false copy of the Syriac text.

The dedication written by Le Fevre, and addressed to Henry III. is a master-piece of pedantry and superstition, yet, though it cannot be read without laughter, it contains several important accounts, especially those which relate to the Syriac editions of the New Testament with Hebrew types. This writer was a profound linguist, and zealous advocate for the Catholic religion, but incredibly weak and superstitious. He describes to the pious Henry the signs and wonders which should precede the second coming of the Son of man, among which he reckons the foundation of the French order of knights du Saint Esprit, which he considers as a second instance in which the prophecy was fulfilled of the effusion of the Holy Ghost, and subjoins an account of several extraordinary appearances in the heavens, observed at Meissen in Saxony. A general conversion of unbelievers was likewise to take place, for which purpose the king of France was to declare war on the Turks, and be assisted in the expedition by the first-born Son of the Church, but the conversion of the Jews was to be effected by printing the Syriac New Testament in Hebrew letters. Speaking of the Antwerp Polyglot, p. 16. he says, in quâ, præter cæteros labores, mihi cum aliis doctis

^m Le Fevre, p. 16. of the dedication, writes as follows: Cum anno 1581, regia majestas tua in aulam suam istinc me avocasset, certior factus sum typographum Benenatum (quod equidem nomen illi maxime convenit, quippe qui ad id unum natus et a natura conformatus videatur, ut bonas literas, et imprimis sacras, sua sedulitate promoveat) secundam editionem secundum exscriptionem meam literis Hebraicis sed absque punctis feliciter inchoasse, miro quidem gaudio sum perfusus, utque ab incepto non desisteret eum vehementer sum adhortatus: et quidem nisi alia negotia non minoris forsitan momenti me domum revocassent, eum lubenter mea quaecunque opera in totius operis editione sublevassem.

ⁿ Perhaps to Benenatus (Bienné) himself, for Le Fevre, p. 17. ascribes to him multæ et diuturnæ vigilæ et indefessi labores.

doctis communes, Novum Jesu Christi Domini nostri Testamentum ex characteribus Syro in Literas Hebraicas transcripsi ac latinæ interpretationis facibus collustravi; Bibliorum vero apparatus lexicon Syro-Chaldaicum et Rabbinicum adjeci, ut lingua Syra, incarnati Verbi ore divino consecrata, Virgini Mariæ Deigenitrici popularis, apostolis omnibus vernacula et in qua Christus ipse evangelium suum promulgavit quam latissime fieri possent, per universam ecclesiam diffunderetur, ut et Christiani et Judæi proselyti ejus beneficio juvantur, illi quidem ut in officio retinerentur, magisque ac magis confirmarentur, hi autem ad veritatis cognitionem adducerentur, et a castris Mosis, tanquam a primipilo ad imperatorem, in castra Christi se reciperent. It appears then the Hebræo-Syriac editions of the New Testament were designed to answer the same end as the Jewish-German versions, published by order of the Callenberg institution.

7. Elias Hutter, in his *Opus duodecim linguarum*, or Edition of the New Testament in twelve languages, published in 1599, inserted likewise the Syriac version, and because several books were wanting in the preceding editions, he undertook the useless and ridiculous labour of translating them himself into Syriac, with the story of the adulteress in St. John's Gospel, as if it were a matter of importance to have a modern translation of a book, which we are able to read in the original. Besides, it has a great number of faults*, and hardly deserves a place in a library[†].

8. The Cöthen edition, by Martin Trost, 1621[‡], 4^{to}. It is printed in Syriac letters, is in several places pointed, has a translation, and a collection of various readings, which were printed by Walton, in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot[§]. Those parts, which belong not to the old Syriac version, Trost has very properly omitted[¶].

9. In

* See the remarks of Bruns in the *Repertorium*. Vol. XV. p. 159³².

† Some of the copies have on the title-page the date 1622.

9. In the mean time Lud. de Dieu published the Revelation of St. John, from a manuscript formerly in the possession of Scaliger¹⁵, which I believe to be very faulty, in 1627, at Leyden, and reprinted it in 1643, as an Appendix to his *Animadversiones in loca difficiliora V. et N. Testamenti*¹⁶, in Syriac and Hebrew letters.

10. Pococke published at Leyden, 1630, from English manuscripts¹⁷, the four epistles wanting in the old Syriac, namely, the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and the epistle of St. Jude¹.

11. All these parts of the Syriac New Testament were collected and published in the Paris Polyglot, in Syriac letters. I have a strong suspicion that the text of this edition has been altered from mere conjecture; at least many passages in the book of Revelation differ from the first edition, without any reason being assigned for the alteration; and Gabriel Sionita, who had the care of the Paris Polyglot, was not a man on whom we can rely². The Latin translations, which he has given of the Syriac Old and New Testament, are executed with the greatest inaccuracy, though the task of a translator is easier than that of a critic. In almost every page we may discover errors, that betray either hurry or ignorance, and not seldom both qualities united. The Syrians in general make use of vowel-points in those places only, where their absence might occasion ambiguity³, but Gabriel Sionita has added them in every word. In the arrangement of his points he has abided by a strict analogy, from which modern grammarians have derived their rules; whether this analogy was founded on the authority of Syriac manuscripts, or his own conjecture, I will not pretend to determine, but it is certain that the Roman editions, published by the Assemans, differ in many cases from his method of pointing. The more I consider him as a critic, the less reason

¹ For a description of the two last-mentioned editions, see Hirt's *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 309—312².

reason I find to value him, and omit therefore at present what I had written in the two first editions, to the disparagement of Gutbier, who in his edition of the Syriac New Testament had departed from the rules of Gabriel Sionita, for as these are very uncertain, it is possible that Gutbier's Syriac manuscript was pointed on different principles.

12. The next edition appeared in the London Polyglot, in which the story of the adulteress was added, from a manuscript in the possession of Archbishop Usher⁴¹, and preceded by the following inscription: *ܠܠܥܠܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ* Lesson of the sinner, that is not contained in the Peshito⁴². But 1 John v. 7. is faithfully omitted.

13. The edition of Ægidius Gutbier, Hamburgh 1664. As this edition is in general use in Germany, a description of it would be unnecessary⁴³; I shall therefore only observe, that it materially differs, especially in the punctuation, from the Paris and London Polyglots, for which the editor appeals to the authority of a manuscript, which he had borrowed from L'Empereur, and from which he had pointed his copy of the edition published by Trost. But to enable the reader to examine at one view in what respects his edition differed from the preceding, he added in 1667, *Notæ criticae in N. T. Syriacum, quibus præcipua variæ punctationis exempla, aliæque variantes lectiones, quæ observationem merentur, inter se conferuntur*. The story of the adulteress he has inserted from the London Polyglot, and has taken the unwarrantable liberty of intruding into the text the Syriac translation of 1 John v. 7. made by Tremellius.

Having formerly made use of this edition in, reading lectures on the Syriac New Testament, my hearers frequently observed that the readings in their copy differed from

⁴¹ Illam historiam non interpretatus est Polycarpus, vel si quis alius erat Philoxenianæ versionis auctor, sed Maras eam interpretatus est postea anno Domini 522.

White's ed. of the Philoxenian version, p. 628.

from those in mine, and produced frequently the very same reading which Gutbier, in his *Notæ criticæ*, had alleged as that of the London Polyglot, and as different from his own. Another extraordinary circumstance is, that in some copies the figures prefixed to each verse are smaller in the Gospel of St. Matthew, than in the remainder of the New Testament, but in others they are of the same size. These difficulties I can solve in no other manner, than by supposing that the work has undergone several editions, though the date is the same in each⁴³. An edition is said to have been published at Leipzig in 1748, and another at Hamburg in 1749, but I doubt of the existence of both, as no one, to my knowledge, has seen a copy of either, and since that time the book is become really scarce.

14. Christian Knorre of Rosenroth, published at Sultzbach in 1684, the Syriac New Testament in Hebrew letters without points. This edition I have never seen, but Schaaf, in the preface to his Syriac Testament, says, that it is only a re-impression of the Antwerp edition⁴⁴ mentioned above, No. 4 and No. 5.

15. The very best edition of the Syriac New Testament is undoubtedly that of Leyden, published by Schaaf in 1709, and reprinted in 1717⁴⁵. The very excellent Lexicon which is annexed to it will ever retain its value, being, as far as regards the New Testament, extremely accurate and complete, and supplying in some measure the place of a concordance. The variæ N. T. versionis Syriacæ lectiones ex omnibus editionibus multo sudore collectæ are the best collection which have hitherto been given. The Latin translation is the only part of the work which had been better omitted; not that any objection can be made to its accuracy, but because it enhances the price of a most useful edition, and a translation of the Syriac Testament is unnecessary for a scholar, who has devoted half a year's diligence to that language. The editor says, in his preface, 'ut textus Syrus intellectu faciliior esset, ad latus adjunxi versionem latinam, ex omnibus ejus versionibus latinis,

imprimis Tremelliana, et ubicunque mihi videbatur commodum, propria opera compositam.' Schaaf, in common with several other editors, has been guilty of interpolating 1 John v. 7. not on the authority of a manuscript, but from the Syriac translation, which Tremellius made of this verse from the Latin. He has likewise interpolated in other places, as Acts viii. 37. xv. 34. See my *Curæ in actus apost. syr.* p. 100. and 118.

With respect to the arrangement of the vowels, Schaaf and Leusden who assisted at the commencement of the work, were of different sentiments, but the former, though undoubtedly in the right, submitted through respect to the latter, regarding him, as he himself expresses it, like a father. The work was printed as far as Luke xv. 20. when Leusden died, and from Luke xviii. 27. where a new sheet begins, the points are arranged according to the better judgment of Schaaf.

16. Lastly, the Syriac version of the New Testament was published at Leipzig 1713, fol. in *Christiani Rein-ecii Biblia quadrilingua*⁴⁶.

S E C T. III.

Of the manuscripts of the old Syriac version.

THOUGH the Syriac New Testament has been so frequently printed, yet as this version is of the greatest importance, a new edition, corrected from the most authentic manuscripts, is still wanting. In the *Curæ in Actus Apost.* I have taken notice of several faults in our present editions, and in confirmation of my remarks have appealed to the Arabic version made from the Syriac: several of these remarks, especially that on Acts xii. 10. have been again confirmed by a very ancient manuscript, in the possession of Mr. Ridley. In this manuscript, the four Gospels are a copy of the

version of Philoxenus, but the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles, are the old Syriac¹. As appears from the subscription, it belonged in the twelfth century to Dionysius Barsilibæus, a man of great renown among the Syrians, who corrected in several places what seemed to be erroneous. In the preface to the Curæ, p. 11, 12. are given several examples, in which it differs in the Acts of the Apostles from our printed editions², and I will here produce several others where the common text is probably spurious. Matth. ix. 36. all the editions, not excepting the Editio princeps of Widmanstad, have for *εργιμμενοι*, *عزب* soluti, a manifest erratum for *مب* projecti, the reading of the Philoxenian version. Mark xiii. 37. for *πας λεγω*, the common text has *كحلهم* that is *πασιν υμιν*, again an erratum for *كحلهم* omnibus, as in the Philoxenian version³. The 'seven stadia,' *سبعة ايام*, for *σαββατη οδου*⁴, which I mentioned in the Curæ, p. 55. as probably a modern scholion, because the Erpenian Arabic version expresses simply 'a sabbath day's journey,' no one will undertake to defend, who has read the observations of Ludovicus de Dieu on this passage. Acts ii. 42. for *κοινωνια* we find *اِحْبَابِيَا*⁵, but it is very improbable, that, in the time of the old Syriac translator, *κοινωνια* had received the church sense of the word, 'communion of the sacrament;' and what is extraordinary, *ευχαριστια* is written in Syriac characters, when a different word is used in the original, though it was not the usual practice of the Syriac translator to adopt Greek words on other occasions⁶. The author of the Erpenian Arabic version, who translated from the old Syriac, found no such reading in his time, having rendered the passage *وكانوا يشركون في الصلاة وفي الكسر الخبز*, where he has simply and literally expressed *κοινωνια*⁷. If we except Acts xx. 7. where the Arabic translator has a different expression, *جسد المسيح*, corpus Christi, we find *اِحْبَابِيَا* in no other part of the Syriac version, and even there it is probably spurious, and borrowed from the usage of a later church⁸.

Heb. iv. 3. *καθως ειρηκε*, for which no various reading is found, is expressed in the Syriac by *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, an interrogation instead of an affirmation: this is undoubtedly an erratum for *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, as my father remarked in the margin of his Syriac Testament, for the Erp. Arab. version has *كَيْفَ قَالَ*. Heb. iv. 12. after *αρμων τε και μυελων* in the Syriac version, is added a word that expresses *οσμων*, though found in not a single Greek manuscript: the text in this passage is *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ* and though spurious, is as ancient as the time of the Arabic translator, who has rendered it by *والعروق والدماغ والعظام*: but the interpolation betrays itself by a grammatical error, for Dolath ought to have been repeated, and the word written *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*. The Syriac text, Heb. vii. 11. *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, which is translated in the Polyglots, *sed dixit, in similitudinem Aharon erit*, is real nonsense, and even subversive of the author's design: it ought to be *ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, *et non dixit*, as in the Erp. Arab. version *ولم يتل*. Heb. vii. 21. *ܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, per Davidem, is a modern interpolation, as it is not only wanting in the Greek manuscripts, but also omitted by the Arabic translator. 2 Pet. ii. 1. *ܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, in mundo, is an evident erratum for *ܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, in populo, as in the Erp. Arab. version *ني الشعب*. Ver. 17. for *υπο λαίλαπος*, the Syriac version has *ܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, an evident erratum for *ܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, as remarked by my father in the margin of his Polyglot, the reading of the Erp. Ar. version being *العجاجة*. Ver. 18. for *υπεροχθα*, the Syriac version has *ܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ* risus, which my father supposed to be an error for *ܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*, as in the Erp. Ar. version we find *الكباير*.

Mistakes of this kind I find continually in reading the Syriac New Testament, and I am persuaded therefore, not only that our common text of this admirable version deviates from the genuine original, but that a multiplication of editions has been only a multiplication of errors.

A Syriac manuscript of the Gospels, preserved at Nurenberg, was collated, as far as relates to the two first Evangelists,

Evangelists, by John Ernest Gerhard the elder, who published at Wittenberg in 1646, three, if not more, *Exercitationes ad N. T. Syriacum*, in the two first of which he gives a description of the manuscript, and in the third quotes and criticises the various readings. Perhaps he was too minutely attentive to the difference of punctuation, in cases where it regards only grammatical trifles, yet he has shewn himself a man of profound learning in his five-and-twentieth year. Afterwards John Albrecht published at Jena, in 1666, *Variae lectiones versionis Syriacæ e bibliotheca Gerhariana*, which collection had been made by Gerhard, from St. Matthew and St. Mark, but the preface was written by Albrecht, and contains a description of the Nuremberg manuscript. From John ix. 48. to the end, it is written by a different hand, is pointed throughout, which is not usual among the Syrians, and the subscription written by the same hand as the latter part, bears date A. C. 1246. Bruns has likewise communicated various readings, from a Wolfenbüttel manuscript of the four Gospels, in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, Vol. XV. p. 163—168. and Vol. XVI. p. 107—117. .

An essential service would be rendered to biblical criticism by any man qualified for the task, who would undertake the compilation of a complete catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts of the New Testament, of which certain information is to be obtained". Scattered accounts may be seen in Simon *Hist. Crit. des Vers. du N. T.* ch. xiv. p. 169. in Walton's *prolegomena*, p. 91. § 17. and in Josephi Simonis *Assemani Bibliotheca Orient.* Tom. I. p. 561, 562. by which last writer we are informed, that two Syriac manuscripts of the four Gospels are preserved in the Vatican, one dated A. C. 548, the other 736. The *Bibliotheca Medicea*, published by Stephen Evodius Asseman, according to whose account the oldest Syriac manuscript of the four Gospels in that library was written in 586, and Blanchini *evangeliarium quadruplex versionis antiquæ latinæ*, P. I. p. 541. may be likewise consulted. But we must not conclude that

all the Syriac manuscripts are as ancient as is implied by their dates, for later copyists have often transcribed the date, as well as the text of the ancient manuscript, not through ignorance, or with a design to impose, but to denote the edition from which they copied. Those who make a profession of Syriac literature are not always attentive to this circumstance, yet the fact is undeniable, unless we suppose that in Syria, a country which has suffered from incessant inroads and devastations, more ancient and original manuscripts have been preserved than in any nation whatsoever.

In the publication of a new edition of the Syriac Testament, the Erpenian Arabic translation might be treated nearly as a manuscript in the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, because those books, except in a few instances, were translated immediately from the old Syriac^{*}: and the same may be said of the Persian translation, as far as relates to the four Gospels. Various readings might be collected from the Syriac fathers, not only from Ephrem, whose works we have in Syriac, but also from the fragments of other writers, collected by Asseman. In short, with proper attention, an almost perfect edition might be formed, in comparison with those which have been hitherto given; the most ancient version of the New Testament merits all the pains that we are able to bestow, and no work would more eminently contribute to our advancement in biblical knowledge. The rules necessary to be observed in collating Ephrem Syrus, and in critical inquiries in general in regard to the Syriac version, have been given by Storr, in his *Observationes super versionibus N. T. Syriacis*, published at Stutgard in 1772, a most excellent treatise, and indispensable to every man who would criticise on the Syriac version. No one is more qualified to put these rules in practice than the learned writer himself, and I wish that he had proper encouragement and support in the execution of a task, which would render essential service in the criticism of the New Testament.

The

^{*} See the *Curæ in vers. Syr. Act. Apost.* § 2—6.

The order in which the several books are placed, in the Syriac version, may be seen in a Syriac poem of Ebedjesu inserted by Asseman in the Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. p. 8¹².

S E C T. IV.

The old Syriac version was made immediately from the Greek.

THE learned Bengel, in his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* p. 409, has ventured a conjecture, that possibly the Syriac version was not taken immediately or solely from the Greek, but that the translator made use also of the Latin version¹. My father, in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T.* § 23. and in his *Remarks on Bengel's Tractatio de sinceritate N. T.* has produced very weighty arguments against this conjecture: and in order to remove all doubts, I carefully collated, a few years ago, the Syriac with the Latin version, the result of which was a confirmation of my father's arguments, as may be seen at large in the eighth section of the *Curæ*. But since Bengel has himself declared, in his *Concertatio de sinceritate N. T.* that his doubts respected not the genuine Peshito, but only our printed editions, whether they contained that ancient, or a later version, and as we are now in possession of the Philoxenian, every suspicion in regard to the former must vanish of itself.

A coincidence with the Latin in particular readings, affords no argument that the one was taken from the other, and proves only, as will be shewn in the following section, that both were made in a very early age, before the multiplication of copies had produced any considerable variety in the Greek manuscripts. Yet this coincidence is not so great as many have supposed, the readings being not seldom directly opposite, as I have

shewn in the eighth section of the *Curæ*; and in their modes of paraphrasing obscure passages of the Greek text, though the Syriac Testament has been my constant study, I have never found an instance that could justify the smallest suspicion; but, on the contrary, their methods are so perfectly dissimilar, as to make it impossible for the Syriac to have been taken from the Latin version. Besides, the conjecture is in itself improbable in the highest degree, it being hardly credible that in Syria, where Greek was the current language in all the principal cities, a translator of the New Testament would have recourse to a Latin translation rather than the Greek original; and we have reason to believe that the Syriac version was made at Edessa, where the Latin language was perhaps unknown.

S E C T. V.

In what respects the old Syriac version is related to the Latin, the Coptic, and the Greek manuscripts of the Western and Alexandrine editions¹.

THE readings of the Syriac version coincide very frequently with the Latin, in cases where our printed editions of the Greek Testament, or the manuscripts of particular countries deviate from both, a circumstance which redounds rather to the honour of these versions, as they are the two oldest that exist; and the Syriac, notwithstanding the imperfections of the printed text, hath descended to the present age with fewer alterations than the Latin. By the Latin I understand at present not the translation, which is found in many of the *Codices Græco-Latini*, but the common version as corrected by Jerom, ratified by papal authority, and known under the name of the *Vulgate*. The coincidence is sometimes carried so far, that they agree in readings which are found in not a single manuscript, for instance;

Acts

Acts x. 3. *Εἶδεν ἐν ὄραματι*, where both the Syriac and the Latin translator have rendered the passage as if the original were *Οὗτος εἶδεν*, the former having *ܐܝܢܐ ܒܝܬܐ*, the latter is *vidit*: but the old Latin version in the Codex Laudianus, though it agrees with the Syriac in most other cases, omits, in conjunction with several other manuscripts, *in* in the first verse, and construes the passage in the following manner: *Αὐτὸς τε τις ἐν Καισαρείᾳ* *εἶδεν*, vir autem quidam in Cæsarea *vidit*.

But more frequent and more remarkable is the agreement of the Syriac version with those manuscripts, which were formerly called *Codices Latinizantes*, and the Latin version with which several of those manuscripts are accompanied. Of those, which I have enumerated in the eleventh section of the *Curæ*, I will select only the three following, as the most distinguished: the Codex Alexandrinus, in which the Acts of the Apostles are, as Griesbach says, according to the Western edition²; the Codex Cantabrigiensis, which agrees with the Syriac version in the twenty-two first chapters of the Acts in seventy-seven readings, and in the ten first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel in twenty readings, that are found in no other manuscript: and the Codex Laudianus 3. Now an alteration of the Syriac from the Latin cannot possibly be supposed, for the ancient church of Rome, in the time of Pope Damasus, and in the period subsequent to Charlemagne, had no inclination to make the attempt; the modern church of Rome would have altered not from the old Latin, but from the Vulgate; in Syria, where Greek was understood, no man could have thought of correcting the Syriac Testament from a Latin translation, and those Syrians, who were unacquainted with Greek, were undoubtedly ignorant of Latin. A want of sufficient knowledge of the Philoxenian version, which at the time when I published the *Curæ* had never been printed, was the cause of a supposition which I there advanced, that certain readings of the Cambridge,
or

or other similar manuscripts, might have been written either in the margin or in the text of the Philoxenian version, and from this version, which was held in high estimation, inserted gradually in the Peshito. But Mr. Ridley, in a letter dated Nov. 23, 1755, favoured me with a more accurate description of it¹, and since the work itself has been printed, all doubts are removed.

More probable is the supposition that the Syriac has had

* Ad Marci evangelium quod attinet, in decem primis capitibus versionem Syriacam cum Cantabrigiensi vices contra omnes codices continere in lectionibus singularibus te observasse dicis: et præter has unus codicis Cant. lectiones plurima corruptionis ex Latina in Syriacam versionem serpentis vestigia detexisse. At has corruptiones ex Heracleensi irrepsisse suspicaris? Minime: e XX locis, quibus (ut dicis) simplex concinit cum Cantabrigiensi solo, Heracleensis concinit in duobus tantum, scil. V. 26. IX. 27.

En canones criticos, quorum ope has corruptiones, vel lectiones, latinizantes in simplicem ex Heracleensi denso agmine immigrasse te demonstrasse credis! 1. Ex Aḡabiḡa versione nonnunquam vetus Syriaca lectio eruenda. 2. In quibuscumque locis gravis est suspicio, textum simplicis ad Heracleensem versionem reformari. 3. Quod ubi factum esse in uno exemplo intellexerimus, sæpius accidisse suspicari debemus.

His canonibus nixus experiar, quid ex adversa parte possim stabilire. Assumo igitur sententiam tuam contrariam, nempe versionem simplicem, olim latinizantem, ope Heracleensis jam demum in plurimis ad Græcos reformari. In Marc. ii. 16. viii. 22. ix. 33. x. 21. Arabica concinit cum Vulgata latina; eadem igitur olim fuit lectio Syriaca: sed hodierna simplex in his locis cum Heracleensi consentit; unde gravis est suspicio in his locis hodiernam simplicem ex Heracleensi reformatam esse: Heracleensis vero in his locis cum Græcis conspirat; ergo hodierna simplex ope Heracleensis ad Græcos reformata. Et quod in uno exemplo factum intellexerimus, sæpius accidisse suspicari debemus.

Hæc non dixi, ut meam sententiam proferrem, sed argumentandi gratia. Nondum enim in hac controversia ex alterutra parte patronos audiui: non testes expendi: Wetstenii editionem N. T. non perlegi; non introductionem tuam ad tabulas N. T. vidi, non Bengelii, non patris tui tractationes potui comparare. In hac lite igitur minime iudicem ago, quippe minime ad eam dirimendam idoneus. Sed ubi te in alterutram trutinam propensiolem videro, æqui amicus, fideliter admonendum censui.

had influence on the Latin, especially in those examples where an error is committed, that might happen more easily to the Syrian, than the Latin translator. The Latin text is properly a composition of several ancient Latin versions, one of which must have been made by a native Syrian³, as appears from the Syriasms found in the Latin text of several ancient manuscripts, that greatly exceed in harshness the Syriasms of the Greek Testament: this Syriac translator was probably guided, in obscure passages, by the version of his own country, the effects of which appear to be felt at this very day in the Vulgate. With regard to the probability of this conjecture, the reader may consult the *Curæ*, p. 169—173. examine and determine for himself: this at least is certain, that Charlemagne made use of the Syriac version, for the purpose of correcting the Vulgate⁴. But the foregoing hypothesis is very insufficient to account for that general coincidence observed between the old Syriac, the old Latin, and those ancient Greek manuscripts, which were undoubtedly written in the West, as appears from the Latin translations, with which they are accompanied.

This wonderful harmony between the two most ancient versions of the New Testament, one of which was spread throughout Europe and the north of Africa, the other propagated from Edessa to China, could have had no other cause than a similarity of the Greek manuscripts in the west of Europe, and the east of Asia, which must have deviated in an equal degree from our printed text, and the manuscripts of what is called the Greek edition⁵. No immediate connection appears to have existed in those early ages between the Eastern, and the Western churches; the similarity therefore of the Greek manuscripts, from which the two most ancient versions were taken, can be ascribed to no other cause than their high antiquity, a similarity still preserved in the West, in those ages when the *Codices Græco-Latini* were written, as well as the later manuscripts belonging to the Western edition, enumerated in the eleventh section
of

of the Curæ. Whether the same evident, but ancient errors likewise may be discovered in the works of these two distant countries, I leave to the examination of future critics.

Less frequently, though not seldom, does the Syriac version agree with the Coptic, and with those ancient manuscripts that belong to the Alexandrine edition, sometimes when these differ from those of the Western edition. This similarity must also be ascribed to the high antiquity of those manuscripts, whereas the copies of the Greek edition are of a later date.

A reading therefore, supported by the united authority of the Syriac, the Coptic, and the Latin versions, by a quotation of Origen, and the ancient Greek manuscripts of the Alexandrine and Western editions, is not only of great importance, but may in general be regarded as genuine. How many, or how few readings of this kind may be produced, I am unable to ascertain, but the subject is of sufficient consequence to deserve a minute inquiry.

It appears from Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 110. that Alexias Menesis, archbishop of Goa, ordered the Indian Christians, who use in general the Syriac version of the New Testament, to alter it according to the Vulgate, and that this command was executed with such precision, as to obtrude the grossest errors of the Latin on the Syriac text. If this account is true, the modern Syriac manuscripts of that country must latinize in a very high degree, and can be of no critical use to the learned in Europe; but it would be unjust to charge the church of Rome with an instance of folly, which is to be ascribed only to an individual bishop. The Lutheran missionaries in India have been able to collect the best intelligence on this subject, which I hope they will communicate to the public, though it is probable that I shall not outlive their return⁶.

S E C T. VI.

Antiquity of the Syriac version.

THE learned are extremely divided in their opinions respecting the antiquity of the Syriac version; it being referred by some to the very earliest ages, while others have taken all possible pains to prove it to be modern. Now it appears from the evidence of Bar Hebræus, in his *Horreum mysteriorum*, that a more accurate translation of the Greek Testament was made into Syriac in the time of Xenayas, who died in 520, which presupposes the existence of a more ancient version. It will be shewn in a following section, that the Armenian version, which was taken from the Syriac, was written in the beginning of the fifth century: the Syriac version therefore must be still more ancient; and if that be true, which I have advanced in the preceding section, it must have been made in the first century^a. It is indeed hardly credible, as Christianity was so early propagated in Syria and Mesopotamia^b, that the Christian communities in those countries, should have been destitute of a translation of the New Testament in their native language^c: and Melito, who lived about the year 170, expressly declared, that a Syriac version of the Bible

^a It cannot be denied that Abgarus, who was king of Edessa from the 8th year after the birth of Christ to the year 45, was converted to Christianity, though the letters, which are said to have passed between him and Christ, are probably not genuine. See Bayer's *Historia Osrhoena*, p. 95,—125. This Abgarus, according to Gregorius Bar Hebræus, built a church at Edessa, and it is probable, from the Chronicle of Edessa, that this church was not built like those of the poorer primitive Christians of the West, but that it was erected in the form of a temple, and with a row of steps that led to the Holy Place. For it is related in the Chronicle, that in a flood, which happened at Edessa in the year 202, the water entered not only into the church, but rose as high as the Holy Place, which was elevated several steps above the other parts of the building. The custom of erecting churches in the form of temples seems to have been first introduced in Syria, and thence communicated to the Christian countries in Europe.

Bible at that time existed^v, for in his Commentary on the Septuagint, Gen. xxii. 13. he says, "The Syriac and the Hebrew have in this passage the word 'hanging,' in order to render it a more conspicuous type of the cross¹." Manes also, in his disputes with the Christians of the East, quoted the New Testament, yet he is known to have been ignorant of Greek, and could have read the New Testament only in the Syriac: the version therefore is prior to the age of Manes². Lastly, it appears from the testimony of Jerom, that the Syriac Bible was in his time read publicly in the churches, for he says, Ephrem the Syrian is held in such veneration, that his writings are read in several churches immediately after the lessons from the Bible³.

I am not ignorant that the Oriental writers too often intermix in their histories truth and fable, but in cases where their evidence alone can be had, it is unjust to reject it merely because it may be false: and according to this evidence the Syriac version was made in the first century⁴. Gregorius Bar Hebræus, who is better known under the name of Abulpharagius, and whom we justly venerate as the best historian of Syria, writes, 'that the New Testament was translated in the days of the Apostle Addæus, (i. e. Thaddæus)⁵'. This account of Abulpharagius would be rendered still more probable, if it could be shewn that the translator was a native Jew, because the period in which the Jews were converted to Christianity, was undoubtedly confined to the first century: and though I cannot presume to give positive evidence, yet I have discovered traces in the Syriac version, as will appear from the eighth section, which seem at least to justify the supposition.

The subscription of a Syriac manuscript of the four Gospels.

^v Vid. Millii Prolegomena, § 1239.

² See ch. ii. § 2. of this Introduction, and Beausobre *Histoire du Manichéisme*⁴.

³ Waltoni Prolegomena, p. 91.

⁴ See Assemani *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Tom. II. p. 279, and the Index to the 3^d vol. art. Addæus.

Gospels, mentioned in the second volume of Asseman, p. 486. goes so far as to determine the name of the translator. The words are as follows, 'At Edessa was a written Gospel, ancient but still legible. Not a single iota was erased, and it could more easily be read than many modern books, but by reason of its great age the ten first leaves had been lost. At the end was the following subscription :

'This sacred book was finished on Wednesday the eighteenth day of the first month Conun (December), in the year 389 (of the Greeks, i. e. in the year of Christ 78), by the hand of the Apostle Achæus, a fellow-labourer of Mar Maris, and a disciple of the Apostle Mar Adæus, whom we intreat to pray for us. Amen.'

But Ridley, in his dissertation *De Syriacis versionibus Novi Testamenti*, p. 20. has made many weighty objections ; 1. If Achæus be the same person whose name is sometimes written Aghæus, who is described as the successor of Thaddæus, and predecessor of Mar Maris at Edessa, it cannot possibly have been written in 78, because Achæus died in 48. 2. At least three of the Gospels, and the epistles were not written before his death. To these objections may be added, that even in the year 78, the several books of the New Testament could have hardly been collected into a volume, an event which undoubtedly took place before the Syriac version was made, as may be inferred from ch. vi. § 2. of this Introduction. The evidence therefore of this Syriac manuscript is of no authority.

A very convincing argument for the antiquity of the Peshito is its general reception among all the sects of the Syrian Christians, a circumstance which evidently proves it to have been in general use before the Syrian church was divided into parties⁶. Another argument in its favour is the omission of several books which were afterwards received by the Syrians. The old translator must have made his version, if not before the book of Revelation was written, at least before it was acknowledged

ledged as canonical; and the epistle of St. Jude, which was also omitted in the Peshito, was acknowledged by the Syrians as a work of divine authority, so early as the fourth century, as appears from the quotations of Ephrem. But long before that period the epistle to the Hebrews had been admitted into the Syriac Testament, yet the translator lived in a later age than the author of the other books of the Peshito, as I have shewn above in the second section, and could confirm by still more convincing arguments. This is a very satisfactory proof of the high antiquity of this version⁷.

The manner, in which certain words and phrases are translated in the Syriac Testament, affords likewise a presumption in favour of its antiquity. We know that the distinction between bishops and elders was introduced into the Christian church in a very early age, yet this distinction was unknown to the Syriac translator. Συνηγροτοις, Phil. i. 1. he translates 'with the elders,' and επισκοπη, 1 Tim. iii. 1. 'the office of an elder.' The names also of places and persons, which had not been clearly expressed in the Greek, are written with more orthographical accuracy than could have been expected from a writer who had lived in a century, when the memory of those names was lost⁹: and were I not unwilling to detain the reader, I could illustrate this observation by the names Alphæus, Cleopas, Capernaum, Iscariotes, Kananites, and many others.

In the last place Ephrem, who lived about the year of Christ 370, quotes the New Testament according to the Syriac version now extant¹⁰. See his Syriac works, published at Rome¹¹, Vol. I. 18. 37. 137. 189. 221. 313. 318. 331. 357. 395. where we find the following passages quoted from our literal Syriac version, John i. 3. xiii. 16. Col. iii. 5. Gal. i. 1. Matth. xxii. 40. Ephes. ii. 19. 1 Tim. vi. 6. 1 Pet. i. 11. Matth. iii. 17. Luke i. 78. Gal. iii. 13. It is true, that in some examples his quotations are somewhat different, where he quoted either from memory, or found in his copy a reading different from our own; but it is certain that he used the Peshito.

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The foregoing observation was first made by my father in his remarks on Bengel's *Treatise de sinceritate N. T. toenda*. Ridley, in his dissertation *de versionibus Syriacis N. T. sect. vii.* carried the inquiry still further; but the most complete and most accurate treatise on this subject is Storr's *Observationes super N. T. versionibus Syriacis*. Ephrem, in his exposition of the Old Testament, refers constantly to the Syriac version; and as every Christian would begin his translation of the Bible with that part which is of the greatest importance, the version of the New Testament must have been made long before the time of Ephrem.

The inference to be deduced from the several arguments advanced in this section is, that the Syriac version was made either at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century¹².

SECT. VII.

Answer to several objections in regard to the antiquity of the Syriac version.

HAVING examined the positive grounds of the antiquity of the Syriac version, I have now to refute the arguments which have been brought against it.

1. The Syriac translator has sometimes made use of Latin words, which were not current before the middle ages; for instance Matth. xxvii. 65. *κρυφια* is translated by ܩܪܝܬܐ, questionarius. See Grotius upon this passage, and Vossius *de translatione* 70 interpretum, c. 28.

Answer. This is a mere erratum in Widmanstad's edition, and should be written ܩܪܝܬܐ, custonde, which is St. Matthew's Greek word in a Syriac dress¹. This answer was given by Simon in his *hist. crit. des Vers.* p. 164. but Ridley has actually found in his two manuscripts ܩܪܝܬܐ, which is St. Matthew's Greek word *κρυφια*, expressed letter for letter. See his dissertation *de vers. syr. N. T.* p. 21.

2. In the Syriac New Testament are used Greek words which were unknown to the ancient Greeks, for instance, **ܡܝܡܢܐ**, *simo*, a treasure, which is derived from the modern Greek word *ασημένιον*, silver ².

Answer. This is not a Greek but an Oriental word ³, and is written in Arabic **سَم**.

3. The Syriac translator, Rom. i. 16. and in many other places, calls the Greeks **ܕܢܚܠܐ** or Romans, a name which was never given them before the time of Constantine the Great, when Byzantium became Roma Nova, and the territory about that city acquired the title of Romania.

Answer. This objection results from the grossest ignorance. The Greeks are always called **ܕܢܚܠܐ** in the Syriac Testament ³, an instance of which is Rom. i. 14. and the Romans **ܕܡܪܝܢܐ**. The name in question, **ܕܢܚܠܐ**, was given to the Syrians ⁴, and afterwards to the Heathens in general. Hence the Syriac translator uses this word when *ελληνες* is to be rendered Heathens. The only inference which can be drawn from the application of this title is, that the Syriac version was made in a country where Aramæans, not Greeks, could be considered in opposition to Jews, that it was made therefore not on this side of the Euphrates, where many Greeks resided, but in Mesopotamia, and probably in Edessa, the Eastern metropolis of the Christian countries.

4. The Syriac version has the conclusion of the Lord's prayer, 'for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever.' Now as these words were not in St. Matthew before the time of Chrysostom, the translation in which they are found must have been made in a later period. This doubt is raised by Mill ⁵, Prol. 1256, 1257.

Answer. It is not absolutely certain that the conclusion of the Lord's prayer is spurious.

But admitting it to be spurious, the Syriac version may be ancient, though the addition be modern, it having

² Du Fresne Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitatatis, p. 138, 139.

ing met with the fate of other books, and suffered from the interpolation of transcribers. This observation was made by my father in his treatise de var. lect. N. T. § 70. 72. 77. and confirmed by several arguments.

5. Wetstein, in his proleg. p. 109. brings this further charge against the Syriac version, that, Acts xxi. 7. the city Ptolemais is called Acco, a name which it bears Judges i. 31. and concludes that this version is modern, being of opinion that Ptolemais resumed ~~not~~ the name of Acco till after the conquests of the Saracens.

Answer. This inference appears to me to be a paradox, for Wetstein denies not that the city in question was called Acco a thousand years before the time of Christ, and the Oriental names of cities were ever retained by the inhabitants, though Greek names are given them by the Greek writers. Those who have learned Oriental geography from the Arabic authors, must be satisfied of the truth of this assertion; and those who are unacquainted with Arabic, may refer to Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XIV. hist. not far from the beginning of the book, where it is expressly said that the Greek and Latin proper names were never current in the East. In the Coptic version even Alexandria is called not by the Greek name, but is constantly styled Racoti. See Jablonski Pantheon Ægypt. Lib. II. cap. v. p. 232. But if we suppose, with Wetstein, that the ancient Oriental name of Acco had been lost before the time of the Saracens, and the city known only by the name of Ptolemais, its original title would have been hardly recovered by a barbarous and unlettered nation.

6. Wetstein in the same paragraph charges the Syriac version with several false translations, which he quotes as instances of gross ignorance.

Answer. Admitting the charge to be true, it is no argument against the antiquity of the version, as the ancients were as liable to error as the moderns.

7. Wetstein further objects that in the Syriac version the quotations from the Old Testament are translated not from the Septuagint, as they stand in the New Tes-

tament, but from the Hebrew; an alteration which would hardly have been made in the time of the Apostles.

Answer. If this assertion were founded in fact, it would still prove nothing to the disparagement of the Syriac version; for a translator in the time of the Apostles, as well as in a later age, might have used the Hebrew Bible, and supposed that the quotations from the Old Testament might with propriety be regulated according to the original. On the contrary, this argument proves rather the high antiquity of this version; for if the translator consulted the Hebrew Bible, he was probably a native Jew, and therefore of the first century, the Hebrew language being understood by hardly any of the later Christians, not excepting the most learned of the Syrian fathers. But the assertion of Wetstein is not agreeable to the truth, since the Syriac translator follows very frequently the Septuagint, though it may be observed in many places that he was not unacquainted with the Hebrew text. This subject appears to me to deserve a more accurate inquiry, and though I cannot enter into it at present, I will consider it in future more attentively.

8. According to Wetstein, Fabricius declared that the quotations from the New Testament, in the works of Ephrem the Syrian, were different from those in our Syriac version.

Answer. Fabricius was mistaken, as appears from the latter part of the preceding section. He is justly celebrated in the republic of letters, but he had not sufficient information of the works of Ephrem, with which we are much better acquainted at present than in the beginning of the century.

9. Wetstein objects that in the manuscripts of the Syriac version are found the Canons of Eusebius and his letter to Carpianus.

Answer. This is no more an argument against the antiquity of the Syriac version, than the modern division into chapters against the antiquity of the Septuagint version, and if valid, would equally prove the Greek

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Testament to have been written later than the age of Eusebius.

10. The late La Croze also, in his *Thes. Epist.* Tom. II. p. 282. denies the antiquity of our printed Syriac version. He supposes it to be the work of Xenayas, and is of opinion that the true ~~ܡܫܬܬܐ~~ ^{ܡܫܬܬܐ}, or ancient Syriac version, is to be sought amongst the Syrian Christians in Malabar^b. In support of this assertion, he alleges that Greg. Abulpharagius, p. 280, 281. cites Luke xii. 24. 'consider the Ravens,' in the Syriac as follows, ~~ܡܬܬܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ~~ (for thus it should be written, the words being so disguised in the printed edition of his letters as to be devoid of meaning) whereas in our printed Syriac Testament we read ~~ܡܬܬܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ~~. I might ask, whence it appears that Abulpharagius quoted the old version, and not that of Xenayas, which would destroy at once the whole argument. But this is unnecessary, for Abulpharagius, like all the fathers of the Church, has sometimes confounded the words of one Evangelist with those of another. Our printed Syriac version has the same words ~~ܡܬܬܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ~~, Matth. vi. 26. which is parallel to the passage in St. Luke. As La Croze was one of the most learned men of this century, it were to be wished that he had communicated his other doubts concerning the antiquity of the Syriac version; for he tells us, multa quæ idem adserunt observavi. But perhaps they were not more considerable than that already refuted; for though his abilities were great, yet he candidly confesses that he had made no great progress in the Syriac. *Thes. La Croze*, Tom. III. p. 33. We should otherwise have been influenced by the bare opinion of so learned a man, though unsupported by arguments. I must not forget to mention that I could not find the quotation in Abulpharagius, and therefore imagine there must be an error in the number of the page to which La Croze has referred.

Several persons, though men of learning, have mistaken

^b In that country we should probably find the copies in a very corrupt state. See the latter part of sect. 5.

taken the ancient Peshito for the more modern version of Xenayas; Bengel, in his *Tractatio de sinceritate N. T. tuenda*, was guilty of this error, in answer to which I referred my readers in the first edition of this work to the *Biblioth. Orient.* Tom. II. 24. published by Asseman, who was acquainted with both versions, and has pointed out their difference; and in the *Relat. de libris novis*, Fascic. III. p. 97, I extracted from Blanchini a part of the version of Xenayas, with a view of shewing how it differed from the ancient version. But since the later version, formerly in the possession of Ridley, which I shall describe in a following section, has been collated by Wetstein, and the extracts given among his various readings, we need only open our eyes to see the distinction^s.

11. To the foregoing doubts which have been raised by others, I will add a difficulty which formerly gave me no small uneasiness. Several proper names, which could not have been unknown in the first century, are written in a very extraordinary manner, though the translator appears in other respects to have been a man of learning. For instance, 2 Cor. xi. 32. Aretas is written ܐܪܬܐ, Aretos. Now was it possible that a prince, who had ruled in Damascus, could have been so soon forgotten in Syria? and why was the name written according to the Greek, and not according to the Syriac orthography?

Answer. It is true that the name of this prince in the Syriac language is ܐܪܬܐ. But both Syrians and Arabians have adopted sometimes a two-fold orthography, using in their own original works the Oriental names, and retaining the Greek terminations in translating from the Greek^s. See the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. VII. p. 157, 158. or the *Syriac Grammar*, § 631⁷.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the author of the Syriac version, the place where it was written, its character, and use.

IT cannot with any certainty, or even probability, be determined who was the author of the Syriac version; for though the Syrians ascribe it sometimes to the Evangelist St. Mark, at other times to Thaddæus, or as they call him Adæus, or his successor Achæus, yet their accounts are confirmed by no authorities, and Achæus, as well as his predecessor Adæus, died before the first publication of the Greek Testament, as was shewn in the sixth section. See Simon Hist. Crit. des vers. du N. T. p. 160. and Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. p. 212. If I am not mistaken, certain traces of an ancient superstition, with regard to the holiness of celibacy, are observable in this version, which cannot be attributed to the Apostles, namely, 1 Cor. vii. 2. 6, 7. for the second verse, 'let every man have his own wife,' is rendered, 'let every man keep his own wife'; as if St. Paul intended not to recommend an entrance into the marriage state, but only a continuance in it to those who were already married; v. 6. *κατα συγγνωμην*, is rendered, 'as weak'; and v. 7. is added the expression *ܠܥܕܢܐ*, 'in purity'.

It has been the common opinion in Europe, though it was never supposed in Asia, that Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians, is the place where the Syriac version was made. But this opinion is not only unfounded on historical evidence, but is highly improbable in itself, and proceeds from an ignorance of that country; for Greek being the current language in all the cities to the west of the Euphrates, and especially at Antioch, no motive could have existed for making a translation of the Greek Testament in that city. Though no tradition were still extant that the Syriac version was written at Edessa, it would naturally occur as the most probable

probable place, it being a city where the Christian religion was planted in the first century, was adopted by its sovereigns, who erected churches with all the magnificence of heathen temples, was thence early and widely propagated in the eastern parts of Asia, and a city not only whose language was Syriac, but which during many ages was the eastern metropolis of the Christian world.

It is somewhat difficult to assign a reason for its being called ܡܫܝܬܐ: this at least is certain, that the name is not derived from the literalness of the version, as many have supposed, because the Syriac word is translated 'simplex,' for it is much less so than any other Syriac translation, and the over-literal Philoxenian version is rather entitled to this epithet. But I would translate ܡܫܝܬܐ, 'pure, uncorrupted, accurate,' and suppose that the Syrians gave it this title to express their confidence in its fidelity. The word itself is used more than once in the Syriac Testament: Matth. vi. 22. Luke xi. 34. Col. iii. 22. it is put for απλς, where 'simple' signifies 'honest;' Rom. xvi. 18. it is used for ακακος, and Heb. i. 8. for εὐδς.

The Peshito is the very best translation of the Greek Testament that I have ever read; that of Luther, though in some respects inferior to his translation of the Old Testament, holding the second rank. Of all the Syriac authors, with which I am acquainted, not excepting Ephrem and Bar Hebræus, its language is the most elegant and pure, not loaded with foreign words, like the Philoxenian version, and other later writings, and discovers the hand of a master, in rendering those passages, where the two idioms deviate from each other. It has no marks of the stiffness of a translation, but is written with the ease and fluency of an original; and this excellence of style must be ascribed to its antiquity, and to its being written in a city that was the residence of Syrian kings. See Rom. ix. 20. xiii. 1. Heb. vii. 3. 8. Acts v. 37. xix. 39. xxii. 3. xxvii. 3. compared with the first section of the Curæ in Act. Apost. Syr. where I have pointed out the excellent manner in which the

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the Syriac translator has rendered the Greek phrases; and in the third and sixth section of the *Curæ* other examples are quoted. It is true that the Syriac version, like all human productions, is not destitute of faults, and, what is not to be regarded as a blemish, differs frequently from the modern modes of explanation: but I know of none that is so free from error, and none that I consult with so much confidence, in cases of difficulty and doubt. I have never met with a single instance where the Greek is so interpreted, as to betray a weakness and ignorance in the translator; and though in many other translations the original is rendered in so extraordinary a manner as almost to excite a smile, the Syriac version must be ever read with profound veneration.

Several explanations that were necessary for a Greek reader are omitted in the Syriac version, as being useless to a native Syrian: for instance, those of *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*^c, Matth. xxvii. 46. *Ephphatha*, Mark vii. 34. *Siloam*, John ix. 7. *Tabitha*, Acts ix. 36. *Talitha kumi*, Mark v. 41. *Corban*, Mark vii. 11. and *Messias*, John iv. 25. However, it is uncertain whether this omission is to be attributed to the ancient translator, or to subsequent transcribers. See the *Curæ*, p. 60. The affinity of the Syriac to the dialect of Palestine is so great, as to justify in some respects the assertion, that the Syriac translator has recorded the actions and speeches of Christ in the very language in which he spake. The dialect of Jerusalem was East-Aramæan, or, as we call it, Chaldee, and according to this dialect are written the Aramæan words that are found in the Greek Testament, for instance Acts i. 19. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. The Syriac New Testament is written in the same language, but in a different dialect. In Galilee, though West-Aramæan was spoken, that is the dialect of Syria on this side the Euphrates, and of Mesopotamia, yet it was extremely corrupted, as may be gathered from the writings of the Sabii^d. The Syriac New Testament was certainly not written

^c See Weistein's Note to Matth. xxvi. 73. and Norberg de religione et lingua Sabæorum, published in the third volume of the Commentaries of the Academy of Sciences in Gottingen.

written in this corrupt dialect, but in the purest Mesopotamian : and it is probable that Christ, though educated at Nazareth, used not the dialect of that country, but that of Judæa, which was spoken by Joseph and Mary : at least *ταλθα καμι*, and other Aramæan expressions, are not Galilæan but pure Chaldee. The difference between the dialect which was spoken by Christ, and that of the Syriac translator, consisted almost wholly in the mode of pronouncing, and if a proper use had been made of this advantage, the Syriac version would be the most valuable commentary on the New Testament. Many obscure passages would be made clear, if the words were still on record which Jesus spake with his disciples in the Aramæan language, whether the dialect be called Syriac or Chaldee. But the translator appears not to have been fortunate in rendering passages of this nature, of which I will produce a single instance, Matth. xxviii. 1. *τη επιφωσκησθη μιαν σαββατων*. If this had been translated *ܡܝܢ ܫܒܬܐ ܐܝܢܐ*, every Syrian would have immediately understood it, and it would have naturally led to the explanation that I have given of it in the fifth section of the fourth chapter⁷. But it is translated *ܡܝܢ ܫܒܬܐ ܐܝܢܐ*, where he has preserved only one half of the Aramæan idiom : and I have frequently observed that, where it is almost unavoidable to render a Syriasm of the original by the same turn of phrase in the version, the translator has retained it, but where it was less obvious, he was not so fortunate as to make the discovery. This circumstance alone affords sufficient evidence, that the Syriac version was not written by one of Christ's immediate disciples.

We discover sometimes in the Syriac version, a Paronomasia, which was a favourite figure of the Oriental writers : for instance Acts ii. 30. where *της σσημος αυτης* is translated *ܡܝܢ ܫܒܬܐ*, in reference to the following *ܡܝܢ ܫܒܬܐ*, though the same Greek word, in other places, is rendered by *ܡܝܢ*. See also 1 Cor. ix. 13. *ܡܝܢ ܫܒܬܐ* and *ܡܝܢ*.

The mode, adopted by the Syriac translator, with respect

respect to the quotations from the Old Testament, deserves a more accurate inquiry than I have had leisure to make. But I have observed, 1. that he discovers sometimes an acquaintance with the Hebrew text : 2. that the quotations, except in the epistle to the Hebrews, correspond not to the text of the Syriac Old Testament in such a manner, as to justify the supposition that they were taken from it.

In the *Curæ*, in Act. Apost. § vi. p. 73, 74. I have taken notice of certain traces in the Syriac version, which lead to the supposition of its having been made by a native Jew. To the reasons alleged in that treatise, which I submit to the determination of my readers, I will add, that the Syriac translator appears to have been so well acquainted with Palestine, that he must at least have visited that country, for he has frequently restored geographical names in the Greek Testament to their true Oriental orthography. Capernaum is written in the Syriac Testament ܥܦܪܢܐܡ, that is, the village of Nahum; Bethania, is written ܒܝܬ ܢܚܝܐ⁹; Bethphage is written ܒܝܬ ܦܚܝܓ, which perfectly corresponds to its situation, for ܦܚܝܓ, in Arabic, signifies 'a valley between two opposite mountains,' an etymology which alone removes a contradiction which was supposed to exist between the New Testament and the Talmud⁴; and Bethesda, John v. 2. is written ܒܝܬ ܨܬܝܬܐ, which is probably conformable to the derivation, whether we translate it 'place of favour,' or 'place of the conflux of waters.' The Syriac version therefore is the surest, and indeed the only guide, in discovering the etymology of geographical names, for the Arabic versions are too modern, and in other translations it was impossible

⁴ The Talmudists describe Bethphage as being close to Jerusalem, the Evangelists as being fifteen stadia distant from it. This is no contradiction, because Bethphage signifies the valley between Jerusalem and the mount of Olives, as well as the town which lay on the other side of the mount¹⁰.

⁹ From ܢܚܝܐ, 'favour.'

¹⁰ From ܦܚܝܓ, 'to flow together.'

impossible to preserve the orthography of the East. But this praise of the Syriac version I will not carry so far as to suppose that the translator was never mistaken, nor contend that his explanation of the garden and house Gethsemane (Γεθσημαν or Γεθσημανε), Matth. xxvii. 36. viz. ܡܬܢܗ is to be preferred to another etymology, since an inhabitant of Edessa might be well acquainted with Judæa in general, without knowing the origin of the name of a summer-house in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Agreeably to the practice of the Syrians in translating from Greek authors, he has sometimes retained the Greek orthography, and, for *Nair*, has used ܢܝܪ though it was written in Hebrew נעיר. See the Syriac Grammar, § 63. He has often followed the same rule with respect to the names of persons, of which ܐܡܪܝܬ, 2 Cor. ii. 32. is an instance; and his etymology of Barabbas, Matth. xxvii. 16. ܒܪ ܐܒܒܐ, is different from the Hebrew, as Jerom relates in his remark on this passage, that he is called in the Hebrew Gospel, *filius magistri eorum*, which would be בר רבם: but if the Syriac translator was mistaken, it was no dishonour to be ignorant in regard to the name of a malefactor.

Simon, in his *Hist. Crit. des Vers.* ch. xv. has treated of the use of the Syriac version, and has taken from it some useful extracts. John Fr. Bernd has written a treatise, entitled *Schediasma de primariis versionis Syriacæ virtutibus*, Halæ 1732, but the author was at that time not possessed of the Oriental literature, which he has displayed in some later writings; Gutbier, in his preface to his Syriac Testament, has also made remarks on this subject, but they are made for the most part without judgement.

Beside the critical use of the Syriac version, which will be examined in the following section, it leads us sometimes to just and beautiful explanations, where other help is insufficient, for instance Matth. vi. 7. John xvi. 2. Rom. ix. 22. xiii. 3^d. and confirms some ancient rites, in which we are deeply interested, such as the

* See the first section of the Curæ.

the celebration of Sunday, 1 Cor. xi. 20¹². And in discovering either the meaning of an unusual word, or the unusual meaning of a common word, where no assistance can be had from the Greek authors, the Syriac version may be of singular service, as the translator was probably acquainted with the language of common life, as well as with the language of books, and is at least of equal authority with a Greek lexicon of later ages.

Latin translations have been added to the Syriac version, in order to render its use more general, but as they are very erroneous¹³, they cannot be consulted with safety, without attending at the same time to the Syriac text.

S E C T. IX.

Critical use of the Syriac version.

THE chief advantage to be derived from the Syriac version is, in applying it to the purposes of criticism. Its high antiquity, and frequent deviation from the common reading, in passages of importance, must recommend the use of it to every critic, who in general will find himself rewarded for his trouble. Examples may be seen in Mill's Prolegomena, § 1246—1257, and still more in the seventh section of the *Curæ*, where I have constantly marked the rarity of the quoted reading. Those readings, which I have marked as rare, are of two kinds; either such as are found only in one, two, or three manuscripts, of which I have given, in the eleventh section of the *Curæ*, an alphabetical list, as far as regards the Acts of the Apostles; or such as have been hitherto found in no manuscript, whether this arises from their not existing in any manuscript, or from a negligent examination of them, a misfortune which has likewise been the fate of the Syriac version^b.

The difference between the Syriac version, and the greatest part of the Greek manuscripts, is no ground for condemning

^b *Curæ*, sect. 12.

condemning the former. It is natural to suppose, from its great antiquity, that it must deviate in many cases from the Greek manuscripts, the oldest of which were written above four hundred years later, and are mostly the produce of countries remote from Syria. They were probably taken neither from the same copy, nor from the same edition, and length of time must have rendered the difference still greater. But on the other hand, we must not suppose that every reading is genuine, where the Syriac version differs from the later manuscripts, because the ancient Greek copy, that was used by the Syriac translator, had undoubtedly its faults, the version itself has not descended unaltered¹ to the present age², and our printed editions are extremely faulty. It is almost impossible therefore to give general rules on this subject, as it is often difficult to determine whether this difference must be ascribed to an error in the ancient Greek manuscript, from which the Syrian translated, to a corruption of the Syriac text, or a corruption of the Greek manuscripts that are now extant. This point being once determined, we shall make a greater progress in the criticism of the New Testament³.

In using the Syriac version, we must never forget that our present editions are very imperfect, and not conclude, that every reading of the Syriac printed text was the reading of the Greek manuscripts of the first century. Mark xiii. 37, we find ܕܠܗܡܐ, but we cannot certainly infer from this expression, that the reading in the Greek manuscript, used by the Syriac translator, was *εἰ ὑμῖν λέγω πᾶσι* ἡμῖν λέγω, since it is possible that the present Syriac word is an erratum for ܕܠܗܡܐ, the reading of the Philoxenian version. Here though we may conjecture that the old Greek manuscript had the above reading, yet as the erratum in the Syriac is so easy, we can make no certain conclusion till it be ratified by the authority of some Greek manuscript. The critic must perform what the editors have neglected, and above all things endeavour to render the Syriac text as correct

¹ Curæ, sect. 6.² Curæ, sect. 12.

correct as possible. For this purpose, if he has no Syriac manuscripts in his possession, he may have recourse to the Persic version in the Gospels, and to the Erpenian Arabic version, in the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, as recommended in my father's treatise *De var. lect. Nov. Test. caute colligendis*, § 66. 72. 77. In the fifth and sixth sections of the *Curæ*, I have attempted to follow his example, but till we have more knowledge of the old Syriac manuscripts, we shall arrive at no certainty. In using the common editions of the Syriac Testament, those of Goutbier and Schaaf, the various readings printed at the end must always be examined, because they shew the difference between those and the more ancient editions, a caution which is the more necessary, as the later editors have had the imprudence to interpolate whole passages in the Syriac text, namely the beginning of John viii. Acts. viii. 37. 1 John v. 7, &c.

The extracts, which critics have hitherto made from the Syriac version, are very incomplete, although it is universally known, and has been more used than any other, or perhaps than all other sources of critical assistance together. Mill, who was unacquainted with Syriac, was obliged to rely on the Latin translation, the consequence of which was a very great number of omissions and mistakes, of which the reader will find an account in the seventh section of the *Curæ*: I have never counted them, but the number is between three and six hundred. Wetstein has used it with more accuracy, yet I have counted in the Gospel of St. Mark alone three hundred and sixty various readings in the Syriac Testament, that Wetstein has either omitted or quoted erroneously. In the Acts of the Apostles, if the remarks of Mill be used at the same time with those in the *Curæ*, (for I have not extracted a second time what others had done before) the reader will have a tolerably complete collection from that book of the Syriac Testament, though it was impossible to avoid making some omissions, which I have since discovered. J. W. Reusch, a clergyman in Wolferstadt, published at Leipzig in 1742, *Syrus interpres*

terpres cum fonte N. T. Græci collatus, the most complete treatise on this subject; it may be used by those who would criticise on the New Testament, without a knowledge of Syriac, and Wetstein would have made fewer mistakes, if he had paid a proper attention to this work. Yet, in collating the Gospel of St. Mark, I have found in it many omissions, and the reader may himself compare it with the sixth and seventh sections of the above-mentioned *Curæ*.

The preceding observations were made in the second edition of this Introduction; since that time a publication has appeared, in which the errors of Mill and Bengel are more fully displayed, and in some measure corrected, not only in regard to the Syriac, but other Oriental versions. This publication is from Professor Bode, dated 1767, with the following rather unfriendly title, *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana, sive tractatus criticus, quo versionum sacrarum orientalium, Syriacæ, Arabicarum, Polyglottæ, Erpenianæ, et Romanæ, Persicarum, Polyglottæ et, Whelocianæ, Æthiopice et Armenicæ allegationes pro variis N. T. Græci lectionibus a Jo. Millio et Jo. Alb. Bengelio frustra factæ plene recensentur, refutantur, et eliminantur, insertis earundem versionum veris allegationibus*. If the object of this work, as might be concluded from the last words of the title, were not only to correct the errors of Mill and Bengel, but also to deliver complete extracts from these versions, a very considerable part has been neglected, as will appear from the examples which I have taken from only two chapters of the Syriac version, and which I will subjoin at the end of this section. On the other hand, it is possible that the author's intention was merely to amend the faults of his predecessors, and it is even probable, as he has taken no notice of those instances which Reusch had quoted correctly. But in this case, though we are highly indebted to the learned and industrious professor, yet in our critical researches into the various readings of the New Testament, his extracts will be insufficient, and we must always have recourse to the version itself.

The

The following are the above-mentioned omissions, taken from the two first chapters of St. Mark, being readings of the Syriac that are found neither in Mill, Bengel, nor Wetstein.

Mark i. 6. *Ην δε Ιωαννης ενδεδυμενος*—The reading of the Syr. vers. is *αυτος δε ο Ιωαννης ην ενδεδυμενος ενδυμα*, which is compounded of the reading in this verse, and that of Matth. iii. 4. It is probably false, yet worthy of notice.

και εσθίων ακριδας—*και η τροφη αυτη ακριδεις*, from Matth. iii. 4. These two examples shew, that the charge which is laid by Jerom to the Latin versions, that the text of one Evangelist had been altered from that of another, is due likewise to the Syriac version. Tatian's Syriac work, entitled Diatessaron, and described in Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. I. p. 12, 13. might have given rise to these alterations. See the latter part of the seventh section of this chapter.

Ver. 21. *ευθιως τοις σαββασιν εισελθων εις την συναγωγην διδασκει*—The Syr. vers. not only omits *εισελθων*, (as Wetstein has already noticed) in conjunction with the Codex Ephrem and Cod. Stephani η, but has *εν ταις συναγωγαίς αυτων*.

Ver. 23. *εν πνευματι ακαθαρτω*—The Syr. vers. expresses 'in whom was an impure spirit : ' this is probably not a mere paraphrase, but the reading of Luke iv. 33. *εχων πνευμα*, which the translator has rendered in a similar manner¹. Here again is an instance to which the observation may be applied, that was made on the two first examples¹. This reading is the more remarkable, because the old Latin versions in the Cod. Brixiensis and Cod. Veronensis, published by Blanchini, coincide with it, having *qui habebat spiritum*, &c.⁴

Ver. 27. *τις η διδαχη*—The Syr. and Pers. versions have *και τις η διδαχη*.

Ver. 31. *ηγειρει αυτην κρατησας της χειρος αυτης*—The Syr. vers. inverts the order of these words, namely *κρατησας της χειρος αυτης ηγειρει αυτην*. This inversion I should not

¹ In St. Mark, [ζ|βδ] |ω; σδ |οσ Δ|? . In St. Luke, |οσ Δ|? |βδ |ζ|? |ω; σδ .

not have noticed, were it not found in some ancient Latin versions, and the Codex Cantabrigiensis, which has a great affinity to the Syriac version: but the Cod. Cant. has an addition in this place not found in the Syriac⁵.

Ver. 35. ἐξῆλθεν is omitted in the Syr. vers. (as observed by Reusch) and also in the Latin version in the Cod. Veronensis⁶.

Ver. 39. ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν]—ἐν πάσαις ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν.

εἰς ὅλην]—καὶ εἰς ὅλην.

Ver. 40. παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν αὐτὸν]—inverted, γονυπετῶν αὐτὸν, καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν.

Ver. 44. τῷ ἱερεῖ]—Mill observes, that in the Syriac the plural is used, as if the Greek were ἱερεῖσι: he should also have observed, that the use of the plural cannot be immediately ascribed to the translator, but to the person who added the vowels, for ἱερω, without points, may express the singular as well as the plural⁷. Bode has here remarked, that the Syriac translator has explained ἱερεῖ from Luke xvii. 14. a passage which relates to a totally different subject.

Ver. 45. μνηστέτι αὐτὸν]—μνηστέτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Mark ii. 1. καὶ ἤκουσθη ὅτι]—καὶ ὅτε ἤκουσθη ὅτι. This reading is remarkable, 1. because the Cod. Vercellensis in the Latin expresses likewise ὅτε, but in the beginning of the verse καὶ ὅτε πάλιν⁸: 2. because ὅτε and ὅτι producing a disagreeable effect so near each other, the one might be easily omitted, or transposed by the copyists.

Ver. 3. ὑπὸ τεσσαρῶν]—ἐν μέσῳ τεσσαρῶν, which is likewise the reading of the Latin version in the Cod. Brixianus⁹.

Ver. 16. εἰ ὅτι]—διὰ τα, as in the Latin version in the Cod. Vercell. Veron. and Brixianus. This reading is the more remarkable, because Stephanus quotes it from his Codex β, which is supposed to be the same with the Codex Cantabrigiensis. It has not been quoted from the Cod. Cant.¹⁰: but whether we suppose the Codex β to be actually the same with the Cod. Cant., or so nearly related to it, that they might be considered as

equal, the agreement of the Syriac version with a manuscript, to which it has so general an affinity is not unworthy of notice.

S E C T. X.

Of the more modern Syriac versions.

THE translation of the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Revelation of St. John, is undoubtedly modern, and not made by the same person who translated into Syriac the rest of the New Testament. Several words, that are properly rendered by the ancient translator, were misunderstood by the other; for instance *aidios*, Jude 6. he renders falsely 'invisible', whereas the old translator, Rom. i. 20. has rightly translated it 'eternal'. I pass over at present the great diversity in the style of these versions, because it would be difficult to explain it to those who are ignorant of Syriac, and those who are acquainted with the language will easily perceive it themselves *. The above-mentioned books of the New Testament are found in no manuscripts of the Syrian Peshito; neither Nestorians nor Jacobites read in their churches the Revelation of St. John, and Ebedjesu distinguished the three epistles of James, Peter, and John, from the four excepted, by adding the following clause, 'the three epistles, that are ascribed to the Apostles James, Peter, and John, in all manuscripts and languages, and are called catholic.' See Simon, p. 171. and Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. p. 9, 10. 15. That the translation was made immediately from the Greek appears, among other marks, from this, that the use of the Greek article is retained in the Syriac where it is wholly superfluous *. The translator of the book
of

* On the other hand, it is probable that *aidios*, in Jewish Greek, signified likewise 'invisible.' See the Wisdom of Solomon ii. 23. vii. 26.

* See my father's Note on Bengel's Tract. de sinceritate N. T. tueda, § 6. b.

of Revelation has preserved even the termination of the Greek cases, writing ch. xv. 7. ⲙⲉⲗⲁⲥ for φιαλας, and xvi. 2. ⲙⲉⲗⲁⲥ for φιαλην. But he has often betrayed the grossest ignorance, having translated, for example, ch. viii. 13. ⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲉⲣⲁⲛⲗⲙⲁⲧⲓ, 'through the midst of the bloody tail', instead of 'through the midst of heaven : ' and this ignorance of the translator makes it often difficult to determine what was the reading of the Greek manuscript, from which he took his version, a circumstance the more distressing in the Revelation, because the Syriac differs considerably in this book from our common text, and very few Greek manuscripts of the Revelation are now extant. For instance, Rev. ii. 13. the common reading is Ἀντίπαρ, but the Syriac expresses ⲁⲛⲧⲉⲓⲡⲁⲣ.

It is difficult to determine who was the author of this version, and we shall probably come to no decision, till we have an edition of the whole Philoxenian version. In the manuscript, from which Lud. de Dieu published the Syriac Revelation, was the following subscription, ⲡⲣⲱ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥ. In the last word is an evident erratum of Rish for ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥ, which very frequently occurs in Syriac: the word ought to be written ⲡⲣⲱⲥⲓⲁⲥ, and the meaning of the subscription is, 'pray for him, who wrote this, Caspar from the land of the Indians.' But he was only the transcriber who wrote this particular copy, not the author of the version. La Croze^a, who first discovered the above erratum⁴, says that a Syriac liturgy, likewise copied by one Caspar of India, is preserved in a library at Halle, I suppose in that of the Orphan House⁵, which was probably brought from Tranquebar.

It appears then that the MS. of the Revelation, which belonged to Scaliger, and which de Dieu printed, was brought from the peninsula of India, on this side the Ganges. With respect to the author of the version, Asseman, Tom. III. P. II. p. 237. of his *Bibl. Or.* supposes him to have been Maraba (ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ), of whom he gives

^a Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, Liv. III. p. 230.

gives a description, Tom. II. p. 411. and Tom. III. P. I. p. 75—81. This Maraba, which is the same as Mr. Abba, was Mafrejan, or Primate of the East, between the years 535 and 552, and translated the Old Testament from the Greek, though a translation had been already made. That he was the author of the Syriac version of the Revelation is in itself not improbable, for he was by birth a Persian, educated in the religion of Zoroaster, without any instruction either in Greek or Syriac; but, after he was converted to Christianity, he learnt Syriac at Nisibis, and Greek at Edessa, from a Jacobite Christian of the name of Thomas, whom he afterwards accompanied to Alexandria, and there applied himself to making translations. A man of this description might easily have committed the mistakes that are found in the Syriac Revelation, and therefore the opinion of Asseman is not absolutely to be rejected⁶.

Ridley⁷, on the other hand, is of opinion that those books of the New Testament, which are the subject of this section, are a real part of the Philoxenian version⁸, and it cannot be denied that there is a striking uniformity in the mode of translating. In support of his opinion he appeals, 1. to the character of the version itself; 2. to the subscription of a copy of the Syriac Revelation preserved at Florence, in which the transcriber says that he took this copy in 1582 at Rome, from an ancient manuscript, which Thomas of Heraclea had written with his own hand⁷. It is true that we cannot always depend on such subscriptions, and our doubts are augmented by the circumstance that *aïdios*, Rom. i. 20. as Ridley himself allows, is rendered in the Philoxenian version by ܐܕܝܘܣܐ, 'eternal,' whereas, Jude 6. it is translated ܐܕܝܘܣܐ, 'unknown,' or 'invisible.' Admitting the translation to be justifiable, yet the sense given to *aïdios*, Rom. i. 20. would have been full as suitable in the other passage, and the difference seems to imply a different translator; but I will not be positive, since it is possible that

a trans-

⁶ De vers. Syr. p. 39, 40.

⁷ This will be described in the following section.

a translator may without any reason vary in his explanation of a word. With respect to the extraordinary translation of *εν μεταρρανηματι*, Rev. viii. 13, Storr observes that the same etymological mistakes are found in the Philoxenian version, for instance Matth. xxiii. 25. *παροψις*, 'a dish,' is rendered ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ, as if it were derived from *οψις*, 'visus,' and the same *μεταρρανηματι*, in other parts of the Revelation is more properly translated, namely, ch. xiv. 6. by ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ, 'through the heaven,' and ch. xix. 17. by ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ, 'in the midst of the heaven.' In the 49th section of his *Observationes super versionibus N. T. Syriacis*, he subscribes therefore, as far as regards the Revelation, to the opinion of Ridley; and there is so great a similarity between that book and the Philoxenian version⁹, that I can see no objection¹. With respect to the four catholic epistles, Storr is of a different opinion, § 48. The mode of translation in these epistles appears to him to be totally different from that in the Philoxenian version; for instance *εὐσεβεία* is rendered in the latter with too great attention to etymology by ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ, 'beauty of fear,' whereas 2 Pet. i. 6. it is translated more properly ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ, 'the fear of God.' He quotes several other examples of this kind, and concludes that our printed Syriac version of these epistles never made a part of the Philoxenian; but he refers to the latter certain fragments quoted by Pococke from Dionysius.

We shall never be able to decide this question with certainty, till we have an edition of the whole Philoxenian version⁹: at present we must be contented to rely on

⁹ An argument against this opinion might be drawn from Ridley's own words, p. 25. where, speaking of Ephraem, he says, in *Apo-calypsi, si dialectum in vocabulorum forma excipias, mire concinit cum versione Heracleensi Ephraemo duobis sæculis recentiori*. Now the version, with which the quotations of Ephraem, who lived in the fourth century, so remarkably coincide, cannot possibly be the Philoxenian or Heracleensian. But this coincidence has been supported by no example: I conclude therefore that Ridley's observation is grounded on an error, and that he mistook the quotations of Jacob of Edessa, which he found in the works of Ephraem, for those of Ephraem himself.

on the accounts of others, and should therefore deliver our opinions with modesty and caution. But before I conclude this section, the reader will permit me to venture a conjecture with respect to the book of Revelation.

It is the opinion of Storr, (and I can see no ground for rejecting it) that there existed another version of the four catholic epistles, besides the Philoxenian¹⁰, and it was probably made in a very early age; for Ephraem has quoted these epistles (as Hassencamp has shewn in his *Remarks*¹¹), though they never had a place in the *Peshito*. It is difficult to conceive that Ephraem, who wrote in Syriac, though a part of his works remain only in the Greek translation, would have quoted books of the New Testament with this clause, 'for the Scripture, says', if those books made a part of no Syriac version¹². They must have existed then in Syriac so early as the fourth century.

It may be asked if there was not also a more ancient translation of the Revelation of St. John, than the Philoxenian¹³? It appears even that Ephraem has quoted it more than once in his sermons, which he composed in verse (ܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܕܡܢܬܐ)¹⁴, as Hassencamp has likewise shewn in his remarks¹⁵. Another circumstance which corroborates the opinion, that there existed two or even more translations of this book, is that the above-mentioned *ܡܢܬܐ* is translated properly in the latter half of the book, in the former half improperly. This is a fault, which could hardly have been committed by the same translator in one and the same book; for in translating the fourteenth he could not have forgotten the eighth chapter, and would either have translated it as before, or, if in the mean time he was become better acquainted with the Greek expression, he would have corrected his error in the eighth chapter. It is reasonable therefore to conclude, that there were two or more translations, and that one was interpolated from the other; and, if I am not

¹⁰ Δεσφν γὰρ ἡ γράφη. Tom. I. p. 76. of the Greek edition of Ephraem. He there quotes from the third epistle of St. John.

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$\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$ is used in the Greek : but Jacob has the feminine, as it must agree with שׁוֹמֵר . Ονομα is literally translated by שׁוֹמֵר , 'nomen,' whereas the quotation of Jacob has שׁוֹמֵר , 'verbum.'

* Here is a trifling difference, which may be considered either as a various reading, or the result of a free quotation.

† That א is not here followed by א , as in the quotation of Jacob, is to be ascribed to the precision of the translator, who was resolved to express $\alpha\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$ as closely as possible. This appears to be Philoxenian, but in the quotation of Jacob the language is more fluent.

‡ א is used in order to express $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ with more emphasis, but א , which is used in Jacob's quotation, discovers a translator who was less attentive to such emphasis.

§ It seems that the translator by א intended to denote the composition of $\alpha\lambda\alpha\theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$, a nicety to which no attention is paid in Jacob's text.

¶ Here the two texts differ more materially from each other, and express a totally different reading. Jacob expresses the common reading $\alpha\gamma\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, the edition of de Dieu $\alpha\gamma\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta\varsigma \gamma\eta\varsigma$, where it may be observed that $\tau\eta\varsigma \gamma\eta\varsigma$ is found in nine MSS. quoted by Wetstein, to which may be added the Wolfenbottle MS. Since therefore, among the many varieties, which are observable in so short a passage, there is one which makes an alteration in the sense, it is reasonable to suppose that the two texts are different translations.

‡ This phrase, which signifies *inter oculos*¹⁹, is used to express $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\pi\iota\omega\varsigma$ with more precision, whereas the quotation of Jacob has the more usual word א . Also $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ is expressed in the former by א but not in the latter.

† א is used twice to express the Greek article. This is again Philoxenian precision; but the quotation of Jacob is free from this useless accuracy.

¶ Here the two texts again express a totally different reading. The edition

of the present century, was that it existed, and the conjectures that were formed of it were confused and contradictory. La Croze and Baumgarten, critics of the highest rank, suspected that the common Syriac text, first published by Widmanstad, was not the Peshito, but the Philoxenian version; and when I ventured in the first edition of this work to differ from their opinion, I was not in possession of those proofs, which I had at the publication of the second and third. Yet even at that time accounts had been given of it by Renaudot and Asseman, in his *Bibl. Orientalis*, a work to which too little attention had been given. Wetstein's edition of the New Testament presented to the public a more circumstantial account of it, Wetstein having taken a journey to England, in order to collate the very excellent copy of this version brought from Amida, and in the possession of Mr. Gloucester Ridley, minister of Poplar; but as he could use it only fourteen days, his extracts were imperfect, and mistakes were unavoidable. He communicated in his *Prolegomena*, p. 112, 113, a particular description of this version, and of Ridley's copy, which is enriched with various readings taken from Greek manuscripts, on both of which he added observations that contain valuable information, though they appear to have been written in too much haste. I made use of Wetstein's remarks in the *Curæ in Actus Apost. Syriacos*, and ventured several conjectures with respect to certain Latinizing readings, which I supposed had crept into the Peshito from the margin of the Philoxenian version, but which a better acquaintance with this version has shewn to be ungrounded. Mr. Ridley gave me a polite invitation to visit him in England, and make use of his manuscript in person, expressing at the same time a desire that I would direct the publication of at least a part of the work, as an ill state of health prevented him from undertaking the task himself. This request, which gave offence to some of his countrymen, I was unable to fulfil, being detained in Germany by academic engagements; but at my request, he published, in
1761,

1761, a very excellent and important essay, entitled *Dissertatio de Syriacarum Novi Fœderis versionum indole atque usu: Philoxenianam cum Simplici e duobus pervetustis Codd. MSS. ab Amida transmissis conferente Glocestrio Ridley*. In the 10th and 11th sections he describes the version itself, in the 12th the copies of it found in other libraries in Europe, in the 13th the two copies in his own possession (for beside the very remarkable and well known copy, he has likewise a second *), in the 15th corrects the mistakes that Wetstein had made, and in the 16th those which I had made, and at the conclusion he has given a copperplate, with a fac simile. From that time this essay became the most important book on the Philoxenian version, and more information could no one contribute, who had not an opportunity of examining the version itself. Storr had the good fortune to meet with this opportunity in his travels, especially at Paris, and in consequence of his discoveries, he published, in 1772, *Observationes super N. T. versionibus Syriacis*; a treatise which contained much valuable information, and brought us several degrees forward in our knowledge of the Philoxenian version. These writings I have mentioned in the order as they appeared, partly because they were the only sources of information, when I published the three first editions of this work, partly because they furnish a kind of literary history of the progress which we have made in our knowledge of this version, and of the mistakes, which we had committed, for want of proper intelligence. But at present we are advanced at least an hundred degrees; we can now see with our own eyes, without trusting to the relations of others, since Professor White has printed from Ridley's manuscript in 1778 the first volume, containing the four Gospels, under the following title: *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana, ex Codd. MSS. Ridleianis in bibl. coll. Novi Oxoniensis repositis, nunc primum edita cum interpretatione et annotationibus Josephi White, A. M. coll. Wadh. socii et linguæ Arabicæ professoris Laudiani. Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1778*. This edition

edition I have reviewed in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. No. 254. and have given a circumstantial account of the version itself: I shall mention here therefore only the result of those inquiries, and refer my readers to the review for proofs and examples³. Adler found at Rome several other manuscripts, which differed in some places from that of Ridley: of these a description may be seen in the Orient. Bibl.⁴ Vol. XVII. No. 266. Vol. XVIII. No. 277.

The history of the version itself, which is still attended with some obscurity, may be best gathered from the subscriptions at the end of the copies. In the preceding edition I quoted only the translations which had been given of them by Wetstein, Asseman, and Storr, because only one copy had been published of the Syriac original, which differed in many places from the translations⁵. At present I will add, from the Oxford edition, the subscription to the four Gospels in Ridley's manuscript; to which I will subjoin a translation, and notes on several readings that appear to deserve attention. The Syriac text, which is taken from the subscription to a Roman manuscript, in the Bibliotheca Angelica S. Augustini de Urbe, printed in Assemani Bibl. Orient. Vol. II. p. 93. differs in some respects from Ridley's manuscript. It must be likewise remarked, that beside the following subscription, White has printed three others⁶, taken from Roman manuscripts, and communicated by Stephen Evodius Assemani⁶. These, for the sake of brevity, I will call White's Roman. 1. 2. 3.

(2) **ਮਾਮਲਾ: ਕੀ ਹੈ?** **ਮਾਮਲਾ**

!; جدا ای ای تکیه منہ
!; عہد کے بعد منہ

Est autem liber hic quatuor evangelistarum sanctorum, qui conversus fuit

P. 641—650.

[illegible]

Burt

(۵) اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَىٰ آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلِّمْ
اِنَّكَ فَاعِلٌ بِمَا تُهَدِّىْ وَيَا اَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِيْنَ

Iterum scriptus et collatus est in loco dicto anno noningentesimo vicesimo septimo ejusdem Alexandri, Indictione quartâ. Quantum autem molestiam et sollicitudinem in eo et so-

is found in Storr's Paris MS., with exception perhaps to the word **إلى**. But Asseman and Storr have given a different translation: the former renders the passage, *ubi et ipsum mihi exaravi pro peccatricis animæ meæ utilitate, et pro multorum beneficio, qui diligunt quæruntque utilem exactamque divinarum scripturarum integritatem nosse et custodire*. He considers therefore **ألف** as a verb, but Storr translates it as a substantive, by *apex ejus*, and renders the passage *quippe vel apex ejus facit ad utilitatem animæ meæ ægrotae, omniumque eorum qui cupiunt integritatem librorum sacrorum cognoscere et conservare*. But I would rather abide by the explanation of Asseman.

(*) The word *τολ*, *iterum*, on which the history of this version greatly depends, is found not only in Ridley's MS., but in White's first Roman, and apparently "in the second; also in Storr's Paris MS., for he translates *iterum vero descriptus est, et collatus eodem loco dicto*. But it is omitted in Asseman's Codex Angelicus, and White's third Roman MS.

It is to be observed, that in the last-mentioned manuscript, the latter part of the subscription is totally different, being as follows, according to the translation of Asseman¹², *deinde vero summo studio collatus fuit a me paupere et peccatore ad tria exemplaria valde accurata et probata, in sancto monasterio Sancti Domitii, ubi et ipsum exaravi ad usum archipresbyteri Davidis pro animæ ipsius et multorum utilitate, qui amant et qui cupiunt scire confirmationem utilem divinorum librorum. Scriptus autem fuit atque collatus in eodem prædicto loco anno millesimo septingentesimo nonagesimo nono (Christi 1488). Quantum autem laboris, &c.* The writer then of this particular copy, who calls himself Barsuma, had the absurdity to add, in the fifteenth century, to the words used by the anonymous transcriber of the year 616, and which apply to Thomas, namely, *deinde vero summo studio collatus est, &c.* the following, in *sancto monasterio sancti Domitii, &c.* which relate to the transcriber of the fifteenth century alone. This part therefore deserves no attention in the present inquiry.

(b) In eo et sociis ejus, must signify either in the four Gospels, and the remaining books of the New Testament, or, in this and other copies, which last interpretation seems to be the best. Taken in this sense,

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ | ciis ejus habuerim, dominus |
| ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ | solus novit, qui retribuet |
| ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ | unicuique secundum opera |
| ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ | sua in judicio suo justo et |
| ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ | recto, in quo digni effici- |
| ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ | mur misericordia ab eo. |

The history of this version then appears to be the following, 1. Polycarp Rural Bishop of Mabug, at the request, and under the patronage of Philoxenus, undertook, in the year 508, a new translation of the Greek Testament. Ridley is of opinion, that the great variety and corruption of the copies of the Peshito was the motive which induced Philoxenus to promote a new translation: but as we have no ground for this supposition, it is more natural to conclude, that the chief inducement was the desire of having a translation more literal than the Peshito. Not only motives of piety might excite a wish to have a Syriac Testament, that more precisely resembled the original, but likewise the religious disputes, that were at that time very warmly conducted between the Nestorians and Monophysites; and as Philoxenus zealously espoused the latter, he probably hoped from a new translation, to obtain new arguments in favour of his party. But whether this conjecture be grounded it will be easier to determine, when the whole of the Philoxenian version is printed, from observing in what manner those passages are translated, that were usually quoted in the above-mentioned religious disputes. Some inference might be deduced from 1 Tim. iii. 16. if we had several copies of this version, for in Ridley's manuscript, as he himself observes, a word seems to be wanting. But *καρπὸς*, which is added in the margin Acts xx. 28. by no means favours the principles of the Monophysites.

2. Thomas

sense, it is the subscription of a monk, who in the year 616 collated several copies of this version, which were preserved in his monastery, and may therefore be considered as a token of the edition revised, corrected, and published in 616¹².

2. Thomas of Heraclea, from whom this version is sometimes called the Heraclean, undertook a critical correction of it, for which purpose he made a journey to Alexandria, in order to compare it with some of the best manuscripts of the Alexandrine library; and it is probable that he was the author of the various readings that are found in the margin of Ridley's and the Roman manuscripts¹⁴.

This Thomas, whose life is described by Asseman, Tom. II. p. 90—95. was of the sect of the Monophysites, a native of Harkel (ܡܪܟܠ¹⁵) in Palestine, a place which is hitherto unknown¹⁶, and bishop of Germanicia¹⁷, (in Syriac, ܡܪܗܫܐ). Now it appears from the history of Syria, that there was a bishop Thomas of Germanicia, who was dispossessed of his See in 518, for espousing the cause of the Monophysites, and died at Samosata, in what year is unknown, though it is certain that he was alive in 533. He was a contemporary then of Philoxenus¹⁸, and it is probable that his journey to Alexandria, and his emendations of the Syriac version, were prior to his episcopal appointment. But as Asseman is of opinion that the Thomas, who amended the Philoxenian version, lived in 616, he supposed, without any historical evidence, that there lived, an hundred years later than the Thomas recorded in the Syrian annals, another person of the same name, character, and description¹⁹. This conjecture is very improbable, nor is there any necessity for having recourse to it, if we follow that reading of the subscription, which is quoted by Wetstein and Storr.

It was mentioned in the preceding section, that Mar Aba, who came from Persia, learnt Greek at Edessa, from a person of the name of Thomas, whom he afterwards accompanied to Alexandria, where he devoted himself to Syriac translations from the Greek*. Greg. Bar. Hebræus, whose history of the Primates of the East has been extracted by Asseman, makes on this occasion the following remark: 'We might suppose that this was Thomas of Heraclea, if the year 616, in which the Heraclean version was

* Assemani Bib. Orient. Tom. II. p. 411.

published at Alexandria, were not an argument against it²⁰. Now if the above-mentioned reading $\omega\omega\lambda$ be genuine, there must have been two editions of this work, and the difficulty is removed: besides, all the circumstances correspond so exactly to each other, as to render the whole account extremely probable, for Mar Aba, who was primate in 535, might have learnt Greek at Edessa from Thomas of Heraclea soon after the year 508, Thomas might have travelled with him to Alexandria, have been appointed bishop of Germanicia at his return, and dispossessed in 518.

3. In the year 616, a new edition was made, and copies distributed of this version. The name of the editor is unknown, for he speaks only of the great labour that he had bestowed, for which, he says, the Lord will reward him, but added not his name, because, he says, it is not unknown to the Lord. Storr supposes, § 37. that more Greek manuscripts were collated in this edition, but I can see no ground for the conjecture²¹.

4. To the foregoing accounts must be added, that Dionysius Barsalibæus*, who was bishop of Amida from 1166 to 1171, revised this version, and published a new edition, to which Ridley's copy, that is described as having been collated with four manuscripts²², may most probably be referred. See Ridley's treatise, p. 47—50 and Asseman, Tom. II. p. 94²³.

I will now consider the nature and character of the version itself. As it appeared not in print till after the three first editions of the present work, and as I had no opportunity of examining a manuscript, I was obliged to rely on the accounts that were given by others, especially by Storr, who had seen the Syriac original. I here publicly acknowledge my obligations for the information received, which I have since found by experience to be grounded on the truth²⁴, and will subjoin therefore, in a note^b, the observations which I had borrowed,

* His life and writings are described at length in Assemani *Bibl. Or.* Tom. II. p. 156—211.

^b The translation is in the highest possible degree literal, as appears from Storr's dissertation, § 39—43. The Syriac language has
no

the Peshito was written either at the end of the first, or at the beginning of the second century²⁵, it is of less importance to know the readings of the Greek manuscript, that was used in the former, than those of the original employed in the latter.

1. The Syriac language, that appears in perfect purity in the old version, is intermixed in the Philoxenian with a variety of Greek words, which render it unpleasing, and their diversity of style betrays not only a distance of time, but difference of place. The intermixture of Greek words is not merely such as is found in the later Syriac writers, especially in Bar Hebræus, but the translator appears to have been anxiously careful to retain the marks and idioms of the original, that are inadmissible into other languages, and, as if a certain beauty and energy lay concealed in the very forms of the Greek words, he expresses even the vowels, and the terminations of the Greek cases : for instance, Mark i. 28. he has written ܩܕܝܫܐ, because *περιχρως* is there used in the accusative, but Mark vi. 55, he has written ܩܕܝܫܐ. The old Syriac translator, instead of Greek words with terminations of cases, has written pure Syriac, using in the first instance ܩܕܝܫܐ, in the second ܩܕܝܫܐ. Again, Mark iii. 15. *καὶ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν* is rendered ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, but in the old Syriac version is ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ. See Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. p. 124, 125²⁶.

2. The author of the Philoxenian version, as Storr observes, § 47. has evidently made the Peshito the basis of his own, and has altered what he supposed to be not sufficiently precise. This was remarked in the preceding section, with respect to the version of the Revelation of St. John.

3. The version is not only literal, but, in the strictest sense of the word, servile; and it seems to have been the resolution of the translator, that not a single tone of the Greek original should be lost. Mark xiv. 58. *δια τριων ημερων* is translated in the old version intelligibly, and in good Syriac, ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܬܪܝܢܐ, but because *δια* is used in the Greek, the author of the Philoxenian version has rendered

rendered the passage in the following ridiculous and unmeaning manner, ܠܝܢ ܕܠܝܢ ܕܠܝܢ ܕܠܝܢ, 'through (literally, 'through the hand') three days, I build another.' See Orient. Bibl. xvi. 119—122²⁷. Mark xiii.

26. ܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ is rendered in the old version ܠܝܢ: ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ, and as the other translator was obliged to retain this mode of expression, because the idiom of the Syriac language admits no other, he has gone so far as to mark with an obelus the pleonastic suffix ܕܝܫܘܥ in ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ, as not being in the Greek, but has fortunately forgotten to put the same mark over ܕܝܫܘܥ in ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ, which, as well as the preceding, neither was nor could be used in the original. A version thus servilely precise, might perhaps have edified a superstitious enthusiast, but could have given no pleasure to a rational reader, who seeks not the shadow, but the substance.

4. Exceptions are sometimes found to the foregoing observation, where the translation is more free, more agreeable to good sense, and the idiom of the language, and where usual expressions of the Peshito are retained: for instance, ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ, dies natalis, Matth. xiv. 6. Mark vi. 21. Nor does the translator at all times attempt to express the Greek diminutives. See Or. Bibl. xvi. 123. 124.

5. Oriental proper names are written, according to the Greek orthography, in such a manner as entirely to destroy their Oriental etymology; for instance, when ܝܫܘܥ, in Hebrew ܝܫܘܥ, occurs in the accusative, we find in the Philoxenian version ܝܫܘܥ: and what is still more extraordinary, when the same proper name occurs twice in a passage, the Greek orthography is preserved in one instance by inserting one of the *matres lectionis* ܝܫܘܥ, as in the foregoing example, in the other instance it is written according to the true Oriental orthography²⁸. Or. Bibl. xvi. p. 128—132. 162. 163. The translator then has studiously neglected an advantage, which a Syriac version of the New Testament might peculiarly possess, that of expressing properly and intelligibly Oriental proper names.

6. The same phrases that are properly translated in the Peshito, are often falsely rendered in the Phil. version, for instance *κατα τας*, Mark xiii. 8. is given in the former by ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ 'in various places', but in the latter by ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ 'in all places.' In general, Polycarp, notwithstanding his affection for the Greek idiom, was by no means so well acquainted with the Greek language as his predecessor.

7. I have carefully collated the fourteen first chapters of St. Mark, in order to discover to what manuscripts this version is principally related, and with this view have confined myself to those readings, which are found either in a single manuscript only, or in a very few. The result of this collation was as follows.

The Philoxenian version has five readings that are found in no manuscript hitherto examined: namely, chap. i. 44. vi. 15. 21. ix. 19. xiv. 69.

It agrees with the Cod. Cant. in six unusual readings, namely, chap. i. 5. 21. iv. 9. vii. 13. viii. 17. xiv. 42.

And in five with the Cod. Winchelseanus, chap. iii. 21. iv. 11. v. 7. vi. 11. viii. 4.

I found also several single examples of coincidence with particular manuscripts, which may be seen in the Or. Bibl. p. 158³⁰. It is true that a comparison of only fourteen chapters is not sufficient to enable us to form an adequate judgement, and whoever would take the trouble to examine it with all due attention, might determine with more certainty the worth and the edition of the collated manuscripts, as well as of the version itself. The other books of the New Testament should be likewise compared, but if I had leisure for the task, I have no opportunity, as only the four Gospels have appeared in print.

The Greek translation of Chaldee and Hebrew expressions*, as *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*, is translated into Syriac, which in fact was necessary in the Philoxenian version, as the words are so disfigured, that no Syrian could have understood them without an explanation.

The story of the adulteress, John vii. 53—viii. 11. was

* Matth. xxvii. 46. Mark vii. 11-34. xiv. 36. xv. 34. John i. 42.

was translated neither by Polycarp nor Thomas: in some manuscripts therefore the passage is entirely omitted³¹, in others it is found with the addition of a note, signifying that it was rendered by a different translator. In this manner it is found in Ridley's manuscript, as translated in 522 by Mari Aba, mentioned in the preceding section, and Storr found it in the Paris MS. likewise with the addition of a note, expressing that a monk of the name of Paul was the translator, but Storr observes that the paragraph, as it stands in this manuscript, differs from the text of Usher's manuscript, from which it was taken for the London Polyglot³². The close of the 16th chap. of the epistle to the Romans is found likewise at the end of the 14th chapter, but 1 John v. 7. is entirely omitted. In a passage of importance, 1 Tim. iii. 16. where curiosity is excited on account of the Monophysite disputes, and where the greatest accuracy might therefore be expected, we are left entirely in the dark. *Eusebeia* is generally translated in the Phil. version *ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ*, but in this passage the text of Ridley's first manuscript³³ is *ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ*, and, as I understand from p. 49 of Ridley's dissertation, *ܥܠܝܐ* is added in the margin, on which he observes, that *ܥܠܝܐ* and *ܥܠܝܐ* are commonly expressed in this version by *ܥܠܝܐ*. It should seem then that the reading of the Greek manuscript, from which the Phil. version was made, was *ܥܠܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ*, were not the probability diminished by the two following circumstances: 1. that *ܥܠܝܐ* is wanting in the text, and is added in the margin as a various reading; 2. that *ܥܠܝܐ* is here superfluous, and alters the usual phrase, 'beauty of fear,' into 'beauty of the fear of God.' Here Ridley remarks, that though *eusebeia* is commonly translated in the Peshito *ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ*, 'fear of God,' and in the Phil. version 'beauty of fear,' he has never met with an instance where these two expressions are joined together. We might conjecture that the translator intended to unite both readings, *ܥܠܝܐ* and *ܥܠܝܐ*, and to render the passage as if the original were *ܥܠܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ*, but here again the conjecture is

feated, because $\Delta\Delta$ stands in statu constructo. The second manuscript of Ridley³⁴, having the epistles according to the text of the Peshito, can afford us no assistance on this occasion, and the learned are naturally curious to know the reading of other manuscripts of the Phil. version. A single Olaph added at the end of $\Delta\Delta$ would make a considerable alteration³⁵.

Of the Greek manuscripts, which were collated with the Syriac, and from which Greek various readings were added in the margin, an account will be given in the following chapter, in treating of the Codices Thomæ Heracleensis.

In the *Curæ in actus apostolorum Syriacos*, I ventured a conjecture, that the Philoxenian version might in some cases have been interpolated from the marginal readings, and the Peshito from the Philoxenian. Ridley was of a different opinion, as he found by actual experience, that his manuscripts confirmed not the truth of my conjectures. I candidly confess that both the arguments, and the examples, which I alleged in support of them, have since appeared to me to be doubtful; but as doubt is the only mean of discovering the truth, I retained in the third edition the remarks which I had made on this subject in the second. Storr, who has examined several manuscripts of this version, contends that my former suspicions are really grounded. He says, in the 53^d section of his dissertation, that he found in the text of several manuscripts of the Phil. version, what others, and even those of Ridley, have in the margin, of which he gives several examples: secondly, (§ 61, 62.) that the Peshito is in some instances interpolated from the Philoxenian, and sometimes the latter from the former (§ 56, 57.) The reader may compare therefore these sections of Storr's dissertation with the 16th section of that of Ridley.

According to the testimony of Adler, the Roman manuscripts of the Philoxenian version are not only different from that of Ridley, published by White, but, as appeared to him on examination, more correct: we may therefore expect, in some future period, a more correct edition.

edition. See Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVII. N° 266. p. 123. and Vol. XVIII. p. 277¹⁶.

It was observed in the former part of this section, that Wetstein, in order to enrich his collection of various readings, made extracts from Ridley's manuscript, which at that time had never been printed, and these extracts were during many years our only source of information. Now, though we cannot but admire his extraordinary diligence, in selecting in the short space of fourteen days so many valuable materials, yet since the manuscript has been printed, and we are able to compare it with the extracts of Wetstein, we must acknowledge not only that they are very imperfect, as might be expected from so short a time, but sometimes actually false, the mistakes being occasioned as well by a want of sufficient knowledge of the Syriac, as by the hurry in which he wrote. Of these the reader will find examples in the 16th volume of the Orient. Bibl. p. 143—155, taken from the fourteen first chapters of St. Mark. Every critic therefore who would quote various readings from the Philoxenian version, must have recourse to the version itself, and not conclude from the silence of Wetstein in any passage, that no various readings exist. If the work should be ever published complete, I hope that some future critic who has abilities for the undertaking, will supply what is hitherto wanting¹⁷.

SECT. XII.

Of other Syriac versions.

BESIDE the Peshito and Philoxenian versions, it is probable that there existed others, with which at present we are unacquainted. Ridley is even of opinion that the Peshito is a composition of several Syriac versions, made in the first century, in the same manner as the Latin Vulgate. But this is very improbable, and totally unfounded on historical evidence. Syria had an established

blished church at an earlier period than any country in Europe, for the kings of Edessa were converted to Christianity before the middle of the first century, and the ceremonies of the church were attended with solemnity and pomp. When a religion is thus publicly introduced, the first care is to procure an authentic version of the sacred writings for the public service, and the situation of the Syrian church in the first centuries, was very different from that of the Latin in the countries to the north and south of the Mediterranean, where no version was made by public authority, but a great variety of individuals made private translations for themselves.

On the other hand we have seen above, that versions were made by Mari Abba, and Paul the monk, but what books they translated is unknown¹.

The Nestorian Christians who inhabit the mountains of Assyria, whose language differs in some respects from that of the more Western Jacobites, and who pronounce their dialect of Aramæan as we pronounce Chaldee², have a peculiar version, which they call the Karkufite, (ܟܪܟܘܬܝܬܐ). This name is probably derived from ܟܪܟܘܬܐ, which signifies the head, and also the top of a mountain, and Asseman translated it 'montana.' He speaks indeed of this version in treating of the Old Testament, but there is reason to suppose that it includes also the New. We have no further account of this version, than that the celebrated and learned Gregorius Bar Hebræus, or as he is called Abulpharagius, has often quoted it in his commentary on the Bible entitled *Horreum mysteriorum*³. See Assemani *Bibl. Or.* Tom. II. p. 283. I wish I had an opportunity of consulting this version on Acts xx. 28. and 1 Tim. iii. 16. because those are passages, that relate immediately to the religious controversy between the Nestorians and Eutychians⁴. The readings *Θεὸς* and *Θεὸς* would be favourable to the Eutychians, the other to the Nestorians. A learned traveller would merit the thanks of the public who could discover a copy of this version in one of the countries, that border
on

¹ Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 379.

on the Tigris, and still contain many literary treasures of great importance⁴.

Professor Adler found at Rome a valuable Syriac or rather Chaldee version of the New Testament; though it is only a Lectionarium. Of this manuscript, which is known in the Vatican by the name of Codex Vaticanus xix, he gave me an account, which I printed in the 19th volume of the Orient. Bibl. No. 287. and he has himself given a more circumstantial description of it in his Biblical and critical Journey to Rome, p. 118—127³. It is written in characters that differ from the common alphabet, of which I have given a specimen in the copper-plate belonging to the 5th section of the Syriac grammar, under the name of Alphabetum Adlerianum: and I have added another plate with a fac-simile of the remarkable passage Matth. xxvii. 17. where the reading of this manuscript is Jesus Barabbas. The status emphaticus pluralis ends in *ne*, and the prefix to the third person of the plural is not Nun, as usual in Syriac, but Jod: its dialect is therefore East Aramaean or Chaldee. The following is a specimen taken from Matth. xxvii. 15—23. which is all that Adler communicated.

[illegible]

The various readings of this manuscript are of great consequence, but it is not yet known to what dialect of the Aramæan language the version is to be referred. J. S. Asseman, in the short description which he has given of it, says it is written in the dialect of Palestine, but whether he had historical grounds for this assertion, Adler, to whom I proposed the question, was unable to discover. The term dialectus Palæstinæ is very indeterminate, because the dialect used in the northern part of that country, was different from that of Jerusalem, and I would therefore prefer dialectus Judææ, or dialectus Hierosolymitana. But it is uncertain whether this version was made in any part of Palestine, and it is not impossible that it is the same with the above-mentioned Karkufite⁶. In short, it were much to be wished that we had better accounts of it, or rather that we were in possession of the version itself.

S E C T. XIII.

*Of the Coptic version*¹.

WE have likewise a version of the New Testament in the Coptic language, of which I can judge only from the testimony of others. The Coptic was the common language of Egypt before the invasion of the Saracens; it is a mixture of the old Egyptian and the Greek, but is neither spoken nor understood by the modern Egyptians². Accounts of it may be seen in different places of the *Thesaurus epistolicus* la Crozanus, of which the index may be consulted for the articles Copticus, Ægyptus, Wilke, and Wilkins. It has no affinity to the Hebrew, except in single words which have been borrowed from the Arabic, as we are informed by those who are masters of the language, and as every man who can read the Coptic letters may himself discover, both from the Coptic grammars, and from the *Dictionary of La Croze*, published by Woide³ at Oxford in 1775.

Those

Those who have hitherto been able to read and examine the Coptic version, contend that it is ancient, and Wilkins in the preface to his edition of the Coptic New Testament, has supported its antiquity by several arguments, which to the editors of the *Acta eruditorum* for 1717, p. 436, 437, appeared however unsatisfactory. His chief argument is drawn from Antonius, who began to lead an ascetic life about the year 271. It is known that this Egyptian was ignorant of Greek, and yet many have testified that he read the New Testament. But to this argument the authors of the *Acta eruditorum* reply, that the only inference to be deduced is, that there was at that time a translation of the Bible in Egypt, not that the present Coptic was the version read by Antonius. The objection is the more plausible, because there actually exists another version of the Bible in the dialect of Upper Egypt, which shall be examined in the following section. See *Thes. La Croz. Tom. III. 283*, and *Jablonski Pantheon Ægypt. P. II. Prolegomena, p. 130*. The arguments alleged by Wetstein, p. 110, to prove it to be more modern, are totally ungrounded, and it is therefore a matter of doubt whether the Coptic, or that written in Upper Egypt, is the version that existed in the third century⁴. At all events the Coptic must be regarded as a principal version, having given birth to several others in the Arabic language: for since the time that Egypt was invaded by the Saracens, who extirpated the old language, the Egyptians have generally annexed to the Coptic New Testament an Arabic translation, which has almost superseded the original. But the Coptic is still used in the service of the Egyptian church, though understood by none of the audience. The readings of the Coptic have a striking affinity with those of the Latin version, and sometimes with those of the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*. The story of the adulteress is found in some copies, and omitted in others⁵; but 1 John v. 7. is omitted in all. Wetstein has also observed that the Coptic New Testament has a very great similarity to the quotations of Origen, Eusebius, Cyril, and to the Alexandrine manuscripts:

nuscripts : this inquiry I have never made with design, but I have observed in the course of my reading, its remarkable coincidence with the readings of Origen.*

Thomas Marshall had once thoughts of printing the Coptic version⁶, but his design proving abortive, the publication was reserved for the celebrated David Wilkins, a native of Memel in Prussia, who after having studied the Coptic, made a journey to Amsterdam, with the design of committing the Coptic version to the press. But several advantageous circumstances offering themselves at Oxford, he repaired to that University, at whose expence he published the Coptic New Testament, which was printed at the Theatre in 1716⁷. Besides a long preface, he added a Latin translation of the Coptic text : but Jablonski and La Croze have no very favourable opinion of his work, and have ranked him among the mere pretenders to learning, the former having declared that on a cursory perusal of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and the Acts of the Apostles, he found not less than 150 deviations from the Coptic text, in the Latin translation of those books alone. Now this judgment is not only severe and partial, but even grounded on error, for those critics who in later times have paid particular attention to the Coptic language, have a much more favourable opinion of Wilkins. Beside the unavoidable errors of the press, there were many errata in the manuscripts, from which the edition was printed : among these were several grammatical errors, which Jablonski says ought to have been corrected by Wilkins. But according to the rules of sound criticism, no editor is justified, on the first impression of a manuscript, in correcting what he supposes to be faulty : it is his duty to present to the public a true copy of the Original, and not to alter it according to his own judgment, which may be frequently erroneous. Later critics in this language have likewise observed that many expressions, which have the appearance of being ungrammatical, may in another dialect be really admissible, and that an editor who published before the existence of either a good lexicon, or a good grammar,

is at least excusable if he faithfully prints the very mistakes of grammar contained in his manuscript. It cannot be denied that Wilkins took great pains to present the world with a faithful copy, and that his endeavours were not without success. From the first editor of a work perfection is not to be expected, later editors have an opportunity of collating a great variety of manuscripts, and if Woide had undertaken the task, we might have justly expected a very complete edition of the Coptic version⁹.

Mill, who was not acquainted with Coptic, has given extracts from the Coptic version among his various readings, which may still be regarded as authentic, because they were taken from the papers that were left by Marshall⁹. Bengel has made some additions to the extracts of Mill, which are equally authentic, as the author was indebted for them to La Croze. Wilkins in his Prolegomena, p. 11—40, has taken notice of those readings which appeared to him to be remarkable: these have been used by Wetstein, who has in this manner augmented the collection of his predecessors. Yet impartial critics have observed that the readings collected by Wilkins are not all of them authentic, not to mention those which he has omitted: for instance, Luke xiii. 8. βαλω κοπριαν according to Wilkins is expressed in the Coptic dem arationem ei, a very extraordinary translation, since the subject relates to a vine; but Wilkins was mistaken, and the Coptic version has properly expressed the Greek original. This reading Wetstein has judiciously omitted. John xviii. 1. χειμαρρος των χειρων or τε χειρε is, according to Wilkins, expressed in the Coptic by torrens plantatoris, whereas the Coptic expresses exactly τε χειρε, the reading of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, which is found in no other Greek manuscript. This remark is taken from Wetstein, to whom it was communicated by men well acquainted with the Coptic. John xxi. 8. for διακοσιων the Coptic, according to Wilkins, has 700, but in fact it is 800, as Wetstein has rightly quoted in his various readings¹⁰.

Those

Those who trust to the Latin translation for the various readings of the Coptic version, are exposed to the danger of being often led into error, as according to the most favourable opinions, it is by no means accurate. Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein have observed, that instead of *τι με λεγεις αγαθον*, Matth. xix. 17, the reading of the Coptic version, and of the Cod. Cant. was *τι με ερωτας περι τε αγαθου*. Now a collector of various readings who corrected this remark from Wilkins's translation, 'propter quid appellas me bonum' would alter what is right, for the reading of the Coptic version is really such as is alleged by the three above-mentioned critics. In the same manner we should be mistaken, if we supposed that 'vias' was a various reading for *απειλας* Acts iv. 29. or 'ex Tarso' for *εις Ταρσον*, since in both cases Wilkins has given a false translation, unless in the first instance *vias* is an error of the press for 'iras'." A knowledge therefore of the Coptic language is absolutely necessary for every man who would use the Coptic version, and Bode is highly to be commended for having taken no notice of it in his *Pseudocritica Milliana*.

A very accurate specimen of the various readings of this version, taken from the epistles of St. John and St. Jude, were communicated to me by Woide, and may be seen in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. X. p. 198—214¹². I own that not all of them appear to be actually various readings, but as it is better to produce too much than too little, I have inserted the whole, in order to give the reader an opportunity of examining them according to the rules laid down by my father in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, which are founded on true criticism.

S E C T. XIV.

Of the Sahidic version'.

THE Upper Egypt, or the part which lies between Cahira and Assevan, had a particular dialect, which in many respects differed from that spoken in the

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the lower Egypt. As the upper Egypt is called in Arabic *سعيد* Said, or, as several other nations write it, Sahid, this dialect has received the name of Sahidic.

The Sahidic version exists only in manuscript, no part of it having been ever printed^a: yet it seems to be of some importance. We had no further knowledge of it than merely its name, till Woide had the kindness to communicate to me some valuable accounts of it, accompanied with extracts from the epistles of St. John and St. Jude, which I have inserted in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. N° 46. and Vol. X. N° 172^b. It contains all the books of the New Testament; and, what is remarkable, has a very great affinity to the Cod. Cantabrigiensis, of which the reader will find several striking examples in the third volume^c of the Orient. Bibl. p. 201—207. Some of its readings lead to very important conclusions, for instance, the omission of *1505* Acts xvi. 9. whence we discover the harmony of the Egyptian, Western, and Edessene editions^d. This circumstance opens a new field in biblical criticism, and naturally excites a wish that a version, which has so many variations from the common text might appear in print; should this desire be ever fulfilled, we must expect it from the University of Oxford. With respect to the century, in which it was written, I know nothing more of it than what I have already published in the Orient. Bibl. but its great similarity to the Cod. Cantabrigiensis excites a presumption in favour of its high antiquity, and it is probably older than the version published by Wilkins^e.

S E C T. XV.

Of the Arabic version in general.

SIMON in his Hist. Crit. des Vers. du N. T. ch. 18.

has given an account of the Arabic versions, and my father in his Tractatio critica de var. lect. N. T. § 27—31, 67, 74—77, has described them still more fully and

accurately, to which treatises may be added that of Storr, published in 1775 *De Evangeliiis Arabicis*¹. I shall therefore be the more concise on this subject, whenever I can refer to these publications.

There are many Arabic versions of the New Testament beside those which have appeared in print. For since the Arabic language has been extended from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean, and has supplanted the Syriac and Egyptian, the inhabitants of these countries have been obliged to annex Arabic translations to the ancient versions, which are no longer understood. These translations were made immediately from the Syriac and the Coptic, in the same manner as those, which are added to the Greek text, are taken from the Greek²; for it is said by Simon, that the Greek text and the Arabic version were sometimes written together, in support of which assertion, he appeals to the *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Lugdunensis*, p. 281, published in 1674³.

It is the general opinion of the learned, that all the Arabic versions are later than the age of Muhammed, and that before this period, the New Testament was never translated into Arabic. If this opinion were founded on truth, it might afford just matter of surprise, that the Arabs could have so long dispensed with a translation of the New Testament, as the Christian religion was very early propagated in that country⁴. It is said that the Arabs, before the time of Muhammed, were not acquainted with the use of letters: but this is absolutely false, for poetry flourished in Arabia long before that time, and it was the practice of the Arabs, to hang up those poems, which obtained the prize of competition, in the temple of Mecca, and which thence obtained the name of *Muallakat*. This honour was conferred on Labid a contemporary of Muhammed, but the poet himself pronounced the second chapter of the *Koran* superior to his own composition⁵. A more full account of this subject may be seen in Sale's preliminary discourse, prefixed to his translation of the *Koran*, p. 61.

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If a reason must be assigned, I would rather suppose that the Syriac was so well known in Arabia, that the inhabitants of that country, like other Oriental Christians, made use of the Syriac version : or that the Christian religion was so corrupted in Arabia, that they used chiefly the apocryphal Gospels. This at least is certain, that the accounts which are given of Christ in the Koran, are not taken from the four genuine Gospels. But I really see no satisfactory reason for concluding, that all the Arabic versions are modern : and some of those arguments alleged in favour of this opinion, those for instance that are contained in the 30th section of my father's treatise, apply only to the Arabic version of St. Paul's epistles, that is printed in the Polyglots, but they affect not the antiquity of the four Gospels. The subject therefore deserves a further examination ; especially with regard to

* I will mention a few of the arguments that have been alleged, to shew that all the Arabic versions are more modern, than the age of Muhammed : but none of these arguments afford any proof. Brian Walton appeals to the names of persons and places in the Old Testament, which are written in the Arabic versions in the same manner as in the Koran⁶. But shall we therefore conclude that they were taken from the Koran? It is probable that Muhammed wrote these names according to the orthography already adopted, for the Arabs were not acquainted with the history of the Bible : and in every Arabic version, whether ancient or modern, the same mode of writing the proper names was unavoidable⁷. Others again appeal to the Arabic translation of *vers.* Luke xi. 31. which is rendered by *قبلة*, locus, quo quis se dirigit inter precandum, a word which has allusion to the command of Muhammed, to pray with the face towards Mecca, which lay to the south. But this custom was much more ancient than the time of Muhammed, who abolished it, and ordered the Arabs to turn towards Jerusalem, though he revoked the order at the express desire of the Arabs themselves, and permitted the ancient custom⁸.

The most important argument that can be alleged against the antiquity of all the Arabic versions, is that Muhammed in relating biblical histories, makes such mistakes as he would hardly have committed, if he had seen an Arabic translation of the New Testament. But it must be remarked,

1. That many false and apocryphal Gospels were at that time current in the East, from which he not only might, but actually did derive many of his errors⁹.

to the Revelation of St. John, because Hippolytus, a zealous advocate of its authenticity, is said to have been bishop of Aden in Arabia Felix, about the year 220th.

S E C T. XVI.

Of the editions of the Arabic versions.

THE Arabic versions, which have appeared in print, must not be considered as one and the same translation, for they are very distinct from each other, both with respect to their age, and modes of expression. When Mill therefore in his various readings quotes the Arabic version, he leaves us at a loss to determine what particular version he intended¹.

My father in the 27th section of the above quoted treatise, has mentioned the following editions of the Arabic versions.

1. The Roman edition of the four Gospels, in folio, published in 1591, and said to have been reprinted in 1619. The edition, of which I had been able to collect only imperfect accounts, I can now describe more circumstantially, and with greater certainty, as I am in possession of a copy brought from Italy by Professor Hwüd.

It was printed at Rome in 1590 and 1591 in the Medicean printing house: 1590 stands on the title page, 1591 in the subscription: to some of the copies is annexed a Latin translation, which has been already noticed

2. That Muhammed was entirely ignorant of chronology, and that, even if he had read the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, he would still have been ignorant how many ages Moses lived before that period, as he confounds the name of his sister with that of the mother of Jesus¹⁰.

It appears then that the strongest objection is of no weight, and that it is reasonable to conclude that the Arabs had an ancient version of the New Testament, though we cannot determine to which of the Arabic versions in particular this title of antiquity is due¹¹.

ticed by Simon. The copy in my possession is without a translation, and consists of 368 pages ; another copy with the translation in our University library has 462 pages, not including the leaf which contains the postscript *Typographus lectori, &c.* the list of Errata, and the subscription *Romæ e typographia Medicea MDXCI.* The Latin translation is printed under each line of the Arabic text, and is taken from the Vulgate, though the Latin text is in some measure altered so as to make it correspond to the Arabic. It was perhaps added for the use of the missionaries, or of those who were instructed for that purpose. Both editions are ornamented, or rather disgraced with plates engraved in wood, which, though they do credit to the engraver considered as productions of art, reflect no honour on the editors, who inserted them. The baptism of Christ is represented, not according to the Oriental custom of immersion, but according to the modern practice of aspersion : for this purpose our Saviour is placed not in Jordan, but at the edge of the river with his feet only immersed, while John the Baptist, kneeling on a rock, pours water on his head. It is true that this description deserves no place in a work like the present, which is merely critical, but as the editors of this very important edition are unknown, we are naturally curious to have at least some notion of their character.

As this is the *Editio princeps* of the Arabic Gospels, it is necessary to give a short description of the text. The manuscript from which it was taken, is totally unknown, for the work was published before the custom was introduced of writing prefaces : yet, as far as we can judge, it appears to have been accurate. I have found on comparing it with the catechism of the Druses, (who are certainly not Christians, though they have placed among their sacred books the four Gospels, which they have disfigured with very unchristian and irrational expressions) that the passages there quoted from the Gospels coincide with this edition : the version therefore must have been long and generally known in Asia². Erpenius observes in the preface to his Arabic New Testament, that this edition

has a great resemblance to the manuscript, from which he printed the four Gospels, excepting the thirteen first chapters of St. Matthew. The version was certainly taken from the Greek : but Simon was of a different opinion, because he found it very different from those Arabic versions, that are annexed to the Coptic, and more similar to those, which are joined to the Syriac ; whence he concluded that it was taken, not from the Greek, but the Syriac text. Now this conclusion is false, for were it taken immediately from the Syriac, it would resemble the Greek versions, that are written opposite to the Syriac text, not in some only but in all respects³. In fact it deviates in such a degree from the Syriac, that it cannot possibly have been taken from it : and its coincidence with that text, in certain remarkable readings, proves only that both versions were taken from the Greek manuscripts, that were nearly related to each other. Whoever could communicate intelligence with respect to the history, antiquity, and author of this version, would be entitled to public thanks.

The pretended edition of 1619 is the mere artifice of a bookseller, who hoped to bring the old copies into circulation by prefixing a new title, as if the work had undergone a new edition. Vogt in his *Catalogus librorum rariorum*, p. 270, says, *non tamen duplex editio prodit, sed saltem novus titulus præfixus est operi, siquidem in calce voluminis utriusque editionis legitur ; Romæ in typographia Medicea 1691*. It is true that not all the copies have this subscription, it being wanting for instance in that of our University library, which has on the title page 1619. Yet this is no proof of a new edition, but only that the impostor had wisely cut out the last leaf, containing the subscription ; and he printed at the bottom of p. 462, with which this copy ends, the word *FINIS*. A perfect uniformity in the text, the number of the pages, and the wooden impressions, clearly shew that it is one and the same edition.

2. This edition of the four Gospels, was reprinted with several alterations in the Paris Polygot, to which
was

was added an Arabic version of the remaining books of the New Testament. It is a misfortune that the disputes, which arose among the editors, have been the means of depriving us of the necessary accounts of the manuscripts, from which the version of the epistles was taken, and perhaps that of the Gospels corrected⁴.

My late father in the 30th Sect. of his above-mentioned treatise, has given his reasons for doubting the antiquity of this version : Velthusen in his Observations on various subjects, p. 100, has made objections to his arguments, and in the 6th Vol. of the Orient. Bibl. p. 87. I promised to examine the evidence again : this promise I will here fulfil.

To the antiquity of this version my father objected,

a. That Spain, Rom. xv. 24. is translated اندلس *Andalusia*.

Answer. In the 28th verse it is translated اسبانية : one of the two readings therefore must be an interpolation, and as it is very improbable, that the translator would have rendered Σπαρια by any other word, we must conclude that the former is a corruption. And Professor Storr, without any regard to this question, has shewn that the Arabic versions have been very frequently interpolated from marginal notes.

b. That Italia, Acts xviii. 2. in contradistinction to Attalia, is translated ايطالية الفرنجية the Frankish, or European Italy : whereas it is known that the epithet Frankish was not applied to Europe till after the Crusades.

Answer. This argument is of no force, because the epithet might as easily proceed from a modern interpolator, as from an ancient translator. Or rather, it is certain that it came not from the Arabic translator, not only because it would imply a knowledge of history, to make an opposition to the kingdom of Attalus, but because no native Arab would have expressed himself in that manner, the article ال being necessary to both nouns, if they are to be rendered 'the Frankish Italy'. Some commentator

⁴ See the Arabic Grammar, § 67. n. 1.

tor had written opposite to ايطالية in the margin الأفر نحية 'the country of the Franks,' which a later copyist inserted in the text.

c. That the Greek χ is very frequently expressed by ش Sh, for instance Tyshicus for Tychicus. This argument I omitted in the two first editions, being unable to discover its application, for we are totally ignorant in what age the Arabs began to use ج for χ . And I have since found in my late father's copy, a remark which he himself had written as an objection to this argument, that this practice is observable in other Arabic versions, even in that published by Erpenius.

d. That for Beroëa, Acts xvii. 10. is used حلب الغربية the Western Aleppo. This argument I again omitted for the same reason as before. Aleppo was called by the inhabitants of that country, and is still called by the modern Asiatics حلب, اَلْهَلَب, but by the Greeks Βεροιαι. An ancient translator therefore might, as easily as a modern, have been guilty of the impropriety of giving the name of Aleppo to Beroëa in Macedonia, and have added the epithet 'Western' as a mark of distinction. The matter therefore still remains in doubt.

Gabriel Sionita has taken very unnecessary pains in correcting what appeared to him to be bad Arabic in this version, before it was printed in the Paris edition. A translation of this kind is recommended not by modern ornaments, but by its genuine antiquity.

3. The Arabic version printed in the Paris Polyglot, was reprinted in the London Polyglot⁵.

From this edition Mill has given several extracts of the various readings, which he took, as he himself confesses⁶, from the Latin after-version. He justly esteemed it to be an immediate version from the Greek text, and not an offspring of the Syriac⁷. The fact is certain both in respect to the Gospels⁸, as mentioned above in speaking of the Roman edition, and also the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles⁹. For instance, Ephes. iii. 8, the translator has expressed even the Greek comparative

⁵ Prolegomena, § 1296.

⁷ Prolegomena, 1296, 1297.

comparative of a superlative *ελαχιστοτερος* by *لحقرا دنبا* i. e. 'the most unworthy of the lowest,' and whoever will take the trouble to compare any single chapter with the Greek text, will be immediately convinced. The version of the epistles can lay no claim to high antiquity, but it was written in an age, in which the Arabic was become the current language of many Christian countries in the East, and Christian Arabic writers had adopted Greek expressions : we find *επισκοπος*, for instance, converted into *استقف*.

4. Erpenius published the Arabic New Testament at Leyden in 1616, from a manuscript written in the upper Egypt in the year 1342⁸; which manuscript he accurately copied, even where there appeared to be grammatical errors. This is therefore the most faithful and genuine edition of the Arabic version⁹; but as the editor has annexed no Latin translation, quotations are seldom made from it, except that in the Acts of the Apostles Mill has taken his readings from this edition, and not from the Polyglots¹⁰.

In treating of this edition, it will be necessary to make a distinction between the version of the Gospels, and that of the other books of the New Testament.

The versions of the Gospels in the above-mentioned editions is one and the same, though the editions themselves differ from each other. This question, on which the learned had been much divided, seems to have been reduced by Storr to a certainty¹¹. It cannot be denied that these editions vary sometimes in cases, which relate to important readings of the Greek text, that of Erpenius occupying a middle rank between the Roman and the Polyglot, and approaching sometimes to the readings of the former, at other times more nearly resembling the latter : but the general coincidence is too great to admit the supposition of their being distinct translations. Storr has made it appear extremely probable, that different copies of this version have been altered in different places from the Syriac, others from the Coptic, others again from marginal notes. Those
readers,

readers, who would further prosecute this enquiry, should have recourse to his dissertations. As these editions then differ sometimes materially from each other, it is very insufficient to quote the Arabic translation, as evidence for a reading, under the simple title of Arabs : particular notice should always be taken, whether the reading alleged be peculiar to one, or common to them all, and the quotation should be made under the name of Arabs Rom. Arabs Pol. or Arabs Erp. This request may appear new and extraordinary, and the thought has never occurred either to Mill, Bengel, or Wetstein : but no one, who has read the remarks on the single passage, John v. 2. in the twelfth volume of the *Orient. Bibl.* will maintain, that the usual mode is consistent with reason and truth^a.

In that manuscript of this interpolated version of the Gospels, from which Erpenius published his edition, was an Arabic subscription, which I am unable to communicate in the original, because Erpenius has not printed it with the text, but has given only a Latin translation of it, which he has inserted in the preface. *Absoluta est hujus libri descriptio die 16 mensis Baunæ^c, anni 988 martyrum justorum^b. Descriptus autem est ex emendatissimo exemplari, cujus descriptor ait, se id descripsisse ex alio exemplari emendato exarato manu Johannis Episcopi Cophtitæ, qui Johannes dicit se suum descripsisse ex exemplari emendatissimo, quod edidit D. Nesjulamam F. Azalkefati.*

As far as I understand from this translation of Erpenius, Nejulamam (for so it ought to be written in English, as best corresponding to the Arabic pronunciation) was not the translator but only a new editor^d of a more ancient version, the copies of which he probably compared, and selected those readings, which appeared to

^c That is, 16 June.

^b That is, in the year of Christ, 1271, according to the estimate of Bengel in his *Tractatio de sinceritate N. T. tuenda*, § vi. n. 6. The year of the Martyrs is originally an Egyptian Era, and is probably that year of the Diocletian persecution, in which the dreadful massacre happened at Esne in the Upper Egypt. See the 211th note to *Abulfedæ Ægyptus*.

to him the most authentic. We should be able to form a much better judgment of the version, if we could procure accounts of Nejulamam, and especially in what century he lived. He appears to have been by birth a Copt, and either to have altered the Arabic text according to the Coptic version, or to have preferred the readings which most resembled those of the Coptic. If my readers will take the trouble to refer to what I have written on John v. 2. in the twelfth volume of the *Orient. Bibl.* N° 187, they will see how unfortunate the ancient editor was in the choice of his readings in this passage, having here confounded them in a very extraordinary manner, through want of knowledge of the Hebrew. They will likewise perceive, 1. that the Arabic version was made immediately from the Greek, for in two editions the words *πρεβατικη κολυμβηθρα* are retained and written in Arabic *Abrubathiki kolimbithra*¹⁴; in the third they are translated, 'sheep pond.' 2. That it is interpolated in many places from the Syriac. 3. In other places from marginal notes. 4. That the readings of different preceding copies have been confounded in those which were written in later times.

In a work then disfigured in this manner by interpolations, no argument can be brought against its antiquity from the circumstance of its containing in several places single modern words, which may be ascribed as easily to a modern copyist, as to the ancient translator. For instance *παρασκευή*, Friday, which is called in ancient Arabic *يوم الجمعة*, is translated Matth. xxvii. 62. by *يوم التجمع* the day of Assembly, a word consecrated in Muhammedan Arabic to the service of religion. Now could it be shewn that the latter was not in use among the Arabs before the time of Muhammed, as the name of Friday, and that the former, which signifies the evening (namely, that preceding the sabbath) was not borrowed from the Jews, two positions which it would be difficult to prove, yet the ancient translator might have written *يوم الجمعة* and a later copyist have changed it into *يوم التجمع* as word in more general use¹⁵.

The

The version of the Epistles, which Erpenius published, he supposed to have been taken immediately from the Syriac. I have carefully collated the Acts of the Apostles with the Syriac text, and have found it undeniably true, that most chapters were translated from that version ¹⁶. Even the paraphrases of the Syriac version are retained in the Arabic, and mistakes committed, which could not have happened in a translation from the Greek. But some few chapters, for instance, the 11th and 12th, appear to have been translated from the Coptic, for which I can account in no other manner, than by supposing that the copy of some transcriber was defective in these chapters, and that he filled up the deficiency by inserting them from an Arabic version, which had been made from the Coptic. In the *Curæ* in *Actus Apost. Syr.* § 3—6, the reader will find a more particular description. With respect to the book of Revelation, my father has shewn, in the 29th section of his above-mentioned treatise, that it was most probably taken from the Coptic, which I have confirmed by several examples in the 53^d sect. of the *Curæ*, where I have remarked at the same time, that several verses are undoubtedly translations of the Syriac. The Arabic version therefore of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation, has no uniform character, being a compound of different translations; and whoever makes use of it in a critical sense, must not confine himself to single passages, but examine whole chapters, in order to discover whether they were translated from the Syriac, or the Coptic. In the Epistles I have observed fewer deviations from the Syriac, yet we meet even here with several examples, for instance *κληρων*, 1 Pet. v. 3. is translated in the Syriac by *ܡܢܬܠܐ* 'a herd,' but in this Arabic version by *الرعية*, a word which properly signifies monks, though it may be used for the clergy in general ¹⁷. But I own that I have not examined the Epistles with the same attention, as the Acts of the Apostles. If some man of learning, who has access to manuscripts, would compare this version with the Syriac-Arabic, and the Coptic-Arabic New Testa-

Testament, he would be able to throw light on a subject that is at present obscure.

No complete extracts have been made from it, and the few which we have, are in general intermixed with extracts from the Arabic of the Polyglots. What I have selected from the Acts of the Apostles, may be seen in the seventh section of the *Curæ*.

5. The Roman Congregation de propaganda fide, published in 1671 an Arabic and Latin Bible, under the inspection of Sergius Risius, Bishop of Damascus. But it is of no use either to a critic, or an expositor of the New Testament, having been altered from the Latin version. See Simon, p. 215—219. and more especially Clement *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, Tom. III. p. 425—431. in which this edition is described at length:

6. The English society for promoting Christian knowledge, published in the year 1727 a very neat Arabic New Testament, for the use of the Christians in Asia. This edition is very scarce, for though 10,000 copies were printed, none were sold in Europe, but only a few were sent as presents to some of the learned¹⁸. The text is taken from the Polyglots, but the editor, Salomon Negri, by order of the Society, altered it in those passages which vary from the reading of our present Greek text¹; and therefore however useful for the edification of Oriental Christians, it cannot be applied to any critical

¹ Professor Storr has expressed a wish, that my late father had produced more instances, in which the Arabic text had been altered by Salomon Negri. Now I could add several examples of this kind, but the following will be sufficient. In this edition the text of John v. 2. is,

وكان يهرسلهم عند (سوق) لافان بركة التي تسمى
بالعبرانية بيتكسدنا, et erat in Jerusalem apud (viam) ovium piscina, quæ nominabatur Hebraice Bethesda. This Arabic text differs from the Roman, the Polyglot, and the Erpenian, and is a manifest alteration of Salomon Negri, whose merits in other respects, especially in the promotion of Arabic literature in Germany, are immortal. He has even altered the mode of expression, so as to render the language more fluent; he has also explained *αγοράιον*, not as signifying *porta ovium*, but *via ovium*.

critical purpose. The editor has even taken the liberty to insert 1 John v. 7. without cautioning the reader that it was not taken from any manuscript. To prevent others from falling into the same mistake with myself, I will relate a circumstance respecting this edition. I received as a present from Petersburg an Arabic New Testament, lettered on the back Nov. Test. Arabicum Petropol. Not being in possession of that published in London, I supposed that this was a separate edition, and had actually begun to examine the reasons why the text of this edition varied from the others, till the date excited my attention, and afterwards fully convinced me that it was no other than the London edition; and I have been since informed by Büsching, that numerous copies were sent to Petersburg, in order to be distributed from Russia among the neighbouring Muhammedans.

Beside those above-mentioned, an Arabic Bible is said to have been printed at Bukarest in 1700^k, and the Gospels at Aleppo in 1706. But I have no knowledge of these editions, except what is said of them in *Le Long Bibl. Sacra*¹⁹, Tom. I. p. 125, 126. and in *Helladii status præsens Eccles. Græcæ*, p. 17. I should think myself much obliged to any person, who wishes to promote the study of biblical criticism, for information on this subject, whether they were published from manuscripts, and whether the editor has altered the text, or faithfully abided by the original. It appears from the preceding catalogue, that we have hitherto no such edition of the Arabic New Testament as the critic could wish, and Erpenius seems to be the only editor whose fidelity can be commended. Single books of the New Testament, published in Arabic, I pass over at present by design²⁰.

The extracts which have been given by Mill, Bengel, and

^k Professor Aurivillius published at Upsal, in 1776, a Dissertation, in which he describes a fragment of an Arabic Bible in his possession, which he supposes to belong to this edition, though his fragment has a different date. If his conjecture be grounded, the edition of Bukarest is of no critical use, being merely a reimpression of the edition published by the Roman Propaganda, mentioned N° 5.

and Wetstein, are too uncertain to be entitled to any confidence. They are not only imperfect, but frequently false, and are quoted in so indiscriminate a manner, as to be almost useless²¹. Wetstein deserves to be commended for acknowledging this fault in the second volume of his New Testament, p. 454. He says of certain extracts made by Gideon Curcellæus, which go no further than Luke xviii. and were sent to him too late for publication, *nec tamen nullam utilitatem ex illis cepissem, si citius fuissent repertæ: ita enim versiones Arabicas Erpenii et Polyglottorum accuratius indicare potuissem, quæ nunc indistincte et promiscue, tanquam si una esset versio citantur*. Professor Bode, in his *Pseudocritica Milliana*, has pointed out, and corrected the mistakes of Mill and Bengel, but has not supplied the deficiency by giving complete extracts himself; and he has sometimes translated the Arabic, by too closely attending to the derivation of the words, in a manner that is inconsistent with the actual usage of the Arabs, which alone can determine in every language. For instance, John v. 2. he has translated *تعرف ببركة الفان* quæ cognoscitur in piscina ovium. In reading this translation, it is natural to conclude that the reading of the Arabic text must be very different from that of the Greek; but an Arab would understand by this expression, which occurs very frequently in the Arabian writers, nothing more than quæ vocatur piscina ovium.

S E C T. XVII.

Of the Ethiopic version.

THERE is no Oriental version of which we have so imperfect a knowledge as of the Ethiopic, because very few among the learned have applied to this language, and the accounts which they have given of it, even those taken from the Ethiopic prefaces to the Roman edition, are in a high degree erroneous. But this defect

defect has in a great measure been supplied by my father, in his *Tract. de var. lect. N. T.* § 24, 25, 26. 64. and more particularly in his *Preface to Bode's Evangelium sec. Matthæum ex Vers. Æthiopica*. I will give therefore only a short extract from these two Essays¹.

Chrysostom, in his second Homily on St. John, p. 561². says, that the Ethiopians had in his time a version of the Bible, and as none can be produced, except that already printed, though some have without foundation asserted the contrary, it must be admitted that this version is of great antiquity³. From the frequent confusion of words, which sound alike in the Greek, but have not been confounded by any other translator, it follows that this version was taken immediately from the Greek⁴. It agrees frequently in its readings with the Alexandrine manuscript, and as Griesbach has observed in his *Symbolæ*, p. 67. with the quotations of Origen⁵. Neither of these circumstances can appear extraordinary, as it was natural for the inhabitants of Abyssinia to procure their copies of the Greek Testament from Egypt. The translation of the Gospels is much superior to that of the Epistles, where the translator appears to have been very unequal to the task.

This version was first published at Rome in 1548 and 1549. The editors⁶ had a very imperfect manuscript of the Acts, of which they supplied the chasms from the Vulgate⁷: the version therefore of this book is of less value in determining the readings of the New Testament. Walton reprinted this Roman edition in the London Polyglot, but his copy being in some places illegible, the editors filled up the deficiencies according to their own judgement, so that the Roman edition retains the same worth, as if no other was extant. The Latin translation was made by Dudley Loftus, and corrected by Castell, but it is of little value, and has led Mill and other collectors of Various Readings into error⁸.

As we have no edition of the Ethiopic version, that is the result of a careful collation of various manuscripts,
we

we must never suspect the authenticity of a word in the Greek text, because it is wanting in the Ethiopic. Mill was guilty of this mistake, § 1213—1218. of his *Prolegomena*, alleging among other instances αἱ ἐλπίζουσαι ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ, 1 Pet. iii. 5. and καὶ χάριν τιδὸς ἐσφαξεν αὐτὸν, 1 John iii. 12. which he believes to be spurious, because not contained in the Ethiopic version; when, in fact, as often as its evidence is single, it is scarce worthy of attention?

The public is much obliged to Professor Bode for his critical assistance in collating the Ethiopic Gospel of St. Matthew with the Greek text. The title of his book is, *Evangelium sec. Matthæum ex versione Æthiopici interpretis in bibliis polygl. Anglicanis editum, cum Græco ipsius fonte studiose contulit, atque plurimis tam exegeticis quam philologicis observationibus textum partim, partim versionem illustravit auctor Christoph. Aug. Bode*¹⁰. A second service which he has rendered the public, is his *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana*¹¹, but it is rather a correction of errors, than a new collation. The deficiency has been in some measure supplied by my father in his copy of Mill's New Testament, in the margin of which he has written many quotations from the Ethiopic. These have never been published, and if the learned should enquire for this copy after my decease, they will find it in the library of the Orphan-House in Halle.

But the best extracts from the Ethiopic version are and must be uncertain, because we have no accurate impression of the version itself. It is not a little extraordinary that Abyssinia, where the Christian religion was so early propagated, should be one of those countries, of which we have the least knowledge. Lewis XIV. of France, and Frederick V. of Denmark, sent persons into that country in order to make discoveries; but the Frenchmen were murdered, and Norden the Dane was obliged to retreat. Even the Moravian brethren, who have encompassed sea and land to make proselytes, have not been able to penetrate into Abyssinia. The ill

success seems to have risen from a want of geographical knowledge, which travellers might find in the remarks on Abulfeda; and if, instead of following the course of the Nile by the way of Assevan, they had taken another more usual route, which is frequented every year, their attempts might have been crowned with success. Till some future travellers shall bring us from Abyssinia authentic manuscripts of the Ethiopic version,¹² we must be contented with selecting the best from accounts, that are unavoidably defective.

SECTION XVIII.

Of the age of the Armenian version.

WE have an ancient Armenian version of the New Testament, but as I am unacquainted with the language, I must take my accounts from other writers, and principally Simon Hist. des Vers. ch. 17. Mill's Prolegomena, § 1402—1404. Schroeder's Dissert. de antiquitate et fatis linguæ Armeniacæ, printed in his Thesaurus linguæ Armeniacæ, which was published at Amsterdam in 1711, Le Long Bibl. sacra, Tom. I. p. 136. et seq. from the preface to the Historia Mosis Chorenensis, published by the two Whistons¹, the History itself, and lastly from the Thesaurus epistolicus la Crozianus, which admirable book I have found of so much service, that I could wish my readers would refer to the work itself. In Winkler's Cimelia Æthiopica bibliothecæ Berolinensis, in the 42^d. and following pages are given extracts from an Ethiopic manuscript, entitled Lucta et martyrium S. Gregorii Patriarchæ in Armenia, which relate chiefly to the Armenian version, ascribe it to Gregory as the author, and refer it to the age of Constantine the Great. But it will appear, from much more authentic documents, that these Ethiopian accounts are fabulous. A description of the printed editions is given in the Hal-lische Bibliothek², Vol. III. p. 189—194. Bode has likewise

likewise treated of this version in the preface to his *versio latina primorum iv. capitum Matthæi ex vers. Armena*³; but as the historical part of his description is chiefly taken from the first edition of this introduction, I can derive no assistance from it for a second.

The Armenians had in the earliest times no letters peculiar to their own language, much less a translation of the Bible; and whenever they wrote, they were obliged to borrow either from the Persian, the Syrian, or the Greek, (see Schroeder, p. 31. and Moses Choren. cap. liv. p. 299. Simon was of opinion that the service of the Armenian church was performed in Syriac; but it appears from Moses Choren. p. 273. that it was performed in Greek. See also Renaudot de perpetuo ecclesiæ consensu, Tom. II. p. 540.) But after the introduction of Christianity into that country, by command of King Tiridates, learning, the usual attendant of that religion, began to flourish in Armenia. Miesrob, either in the fourth or fifth century, invented letters that accurately expressed the sounds of the Armenian language: an invention which, according to the tradition of the country, was revealed to him in a dream, after the author had in vain attempted to make the discovery himself, and taken many useless journeys to procure assistance from the learned.

From the unanimous testimony of the Armenian writers, the church of that country is indebted to Miesrob for their translation of the Scriptures. He lived at the end of the fourth, and in the beginning of the fifth century, and is said to have finished his version in the year 410. It is attested by Moses of Chorene, a disciple of Miesrob, who adds, that he began with the Proverbs of Solomon. The words of Moses, in Whiston's translation, p. 299. are as follow: Mesrobes vero elementa Armeniaca ad normam syllabarum Græcanicarum disposuit, et statim interpretationi operam dedit: consul-toque a Proverbiorum libro initium capiens totos xxii. sacros libros novumque fœdus in Armeniacum sermonem convertit, ipse utique cum discipulis suis Joanne Ecclensi

Ecelensi et Josepho Palnensi. This celebrated historian was himself an assistant in the work, though in mentioning the others he has omitted his own name: for Schroeder observes, that he apologizes in a letter for the shortness of his history, by pleading that his time was engaged in the translation of the Bible. He imagines that Moses omitted his own name through modesty; but this is undoubtedly a mistake, and the true state of the case is as follows: Moses, p. 299. speaks of the first version, in which he took no part; but that he assisted in the third version of the Bible, he himself declares, p. 313. He lived in the fifth century¹, as Whiston has shewn in the *Thesaurus la Crozianus*, Tom. I. p. 352. 361. and Tom. III. p. 281. The internal character, and the readings of the Armenian version, have convinced the critics in that language, and especially La Croze, a man of the most profound erudition, that the antiquity ascribed to the Armenian version exceeds not the truth.

The opinions of the learned have been divided, whether it was taken from the Greek original, or the Syriac version. Simon is in favour of the latter, from the supposition that the service of the Armenian church had been performed in Syriac; but La Croze, in a letter which Beausobre and l'Enfant have inserted in the Preface to their New Testament, p. 211⁴, very properly objects, that he was ignorant of Armenian, and therefore not a proper judge of the question. On the other hand, La Croze being partial to a language in which he was without a rival, and extolling the Armenian version as superior to every other, may be suspected of partiality, in denying that it was taken from the Syriac. We will therefore set aside these authorities, and examine the arguments them-

¹ He constantly speaks of himself as a scholar and contemporary of Miesrob, who sent him to Alexandria, and employed him on other occasions. I mention this, because La Croze places Moses in the ninth century, and describes him as a soldier by profession. Whiston on the contrary contends that there is no circumstance in the life of Moses, which can bring him down lower than the middle of the fifth century, not excepting the council of Chalcedon, held in 451.

themselves, from which the point may be determined with greater certainty.

The Armenians pretend that it was taken from the Syriac, and Le Long, in his *Bibl. Sacra* I. 137. quotes the evidence of Coriun, who mentions in the life of Miesrob 'that Miesrob sent Eznie' and Joseph to Edessa, to translate the holy writings from the Syriac.' But this is not applicable to our question, for 'by the holy writings' is meant not the Bible, but the works of the Syriac fathers, as appears plainly from Moses Chor. p. 311. But the account given by Moses himself, *Lib. III. cap. liv. p. 300.* is material to the purpose. 'He (Miesrob) returned from Iberia to Armenia, and found the great Isaac (the patriarch of Armenia) employed in translating from the Syriac, being able to procure no Greek manuscripts. For all the Greek books had been burnt by Meruzan, (a Persian general, and enemy of the Christians, as may be seen, p. 271—273.) and the Persian governors permitted not even the Greeks, who lived in their part of Armenia, to use any other language than the Syriac.' This passage is so plain, that I wonder no one has hitherto quoted it. It is moreover certain that there are readings in the Armenian version, which are found in no manuscript or version, except the Syriac: for instance the addition, *Matth. xxviii. 18.* As my Father hath sent me, so send I you⁶.

But on the other side of the question there is another passage in Moses Chorenensis, as much overlooked as the former, and which decides the matter in dispute. *Lib. III. cap. lxi. p. 313.* is the following relation, 'Our translators returned, (from the council at Ephesus) and delivered to Isaac and Miesrob the letters and decrees of this assembly, with a copy of the Bible carefully written, which as soon as Isaac and Miesrob had received, they cheerfully submitted to the task of again translating what they had translated twice before. But as they were deficient in knowledge, and many parts were rendered imperfectly, they sent us to the famous school at Alexandria to learn this excellent language.' Here is a full
and

and credible account of the care bestowed by the Armenians on their version of the Bible, and that they translated it twice from the Syriac, and a third time from the Greek⁷. It is therefore no wonder that they succeeded in their endeavours, and that the Armenian was superior to other versions, since it only verifies the common remark, 'that he can see the farthest who rests on the shoulders of another.' Hence we may assign the reason why the readings of the Armenian version are so frequently different from the Syriac.

The Armenian version would be an inestimable treasure, had it descended to the present age unaltered by time and superstition. But the churches of the lesser Armenia, or Cilicia, submitted in the thirteenth century to the authority of the Pope; and Haitho, or as he is more properly called Hethom, who reigned from the year 1224 to 1270, became shortly before his death a Franciscan friar. This prince was not only attached to the church of Rome, but likewise acquainted with the Latin language; and publishing a new edition of the Armenian Bible, he altered, or rather corrupted it from the Vulgate. He translated for instance all the prefaces of Jerom; and as the words of 1 John v. 7. were not in the old Armenian manuscripts, he inserted them probably from the Latin: for thirty-seven years after his death this passage was quoted at a Council held at Sis, in Armenia, and is found in other Armenian records. See *Galani Consilia*, P. I. p. 436. 461. 478. and *Thes. Epist. la Crozianus*, Tom. III. p. 4. and 69.

It is therefore natural to suspect that Haitho has too closely followed the Vulgate in other instances; and if this be true, the alteration must be general, because the subsequent manuscripts of the Armenian version were taken from the edition of Haitho. Adler asserts it as a fact, though he gives no proof, in his *Museum Cuficum Borgianum*, p. 159, 160. He mentions indeed an Armenian manuscript more ancient than the time of Haitho, written in 1087, and preserved at Rome in the *Bibliotheca Casanatensis*; but this affords no assistance in

in regard to the New Testament, as it contains only the five books of Moses. Griesbach on the other hand, p. lxxvii. denies that the Armenian version latinizes, because it very frequently agrees with the quotations of Origen. But, not to mention that the Latin version itself coincides with Origen in many important readings, it cannot be inferred from the coincidence even of a great number of examples, that Haitho made no alterations; and it is not to be supposed that a man, who corrected through motives of piety, would designedly corrupt the whole. The subject therefore requires a new investigation, which no man can attempt, unless with a knowledge of the Armenian he unites the good fortune of having access to the ancient manuscripts, that were written before the time of Haitho.

S E C T. XIX.

Of the printed editions of the Armenian version.

THE first printed edition of the Armenian version was published in the last century, by Uskan, bishop of Erivan. Simon relates, p. 198, that much confusion had crept into the copies, and that the Bible was at the same time become so scarce in Armenia, that a single copy cost 1200 livres. Hence a council of Armenian bishops, assembled in 1662, ordered the Bible to be printed in Europe. I remember to have read, in the last and complete edition of Chardin's travels, that Uskan intended to have printed it in France, but not being able to obtain permission, he printed at Marseilles the Liturgy alone, and that with considerable alterations. This is one of the passages which the Papists struck out from Chardin's travels at the publication of the first edition. At length Uskan printed the Bible at Amsterdam, in 1666, and the New Testament separately, in 1668, which was reprinted in 1698. It is a very beautiful edition, but La Croze and G. Whiston have accused

the editor of having corrupted in some places the Armenian text; Thes. la Croz. Tom. I. p. 389. and Præf. ad Mosen. Chor. p. 10. This at least is certain, that 1 John v. 7. was not in his manuscript, for Sandius, in his *Interpretationes paradoxæ*, p. 376. declares, that he had seen the manuscript, from which the Amsterdam edition was printed, and that it wanted that verse*. In like manner John v. 4. is wanting in the Armenian manuscripts, yet it stands in Uscan's edition, and La Croze observes, in his letter to l'Enfant², that Uscan himself acknowledges in his preface, that he had altered some passages from the Vulgate. But La Croze has treated Uscan with candour, and supposed that his mistakes arose not from an intention to deceive, but from ignorance and superstition.

As the Armenian is little understood among the learned, we have only very scanty extracts⁴ of the Armenian readings⁵. Those which Mill has inserted, he received

* As the preface of the two Whistons to *Moses Chorenensis* is accessible, perhaps to only a few of my readers, I will quote from it some of the remarkable readings of the Armenian version of the New Testament⁶.

Matth. xix. 17. The Armenian translator has rendered the passage, 'But he spake to him; why askest thou me after that which is good? One is good. But if thou wilt,' &c. See sect. 13. of this chapter.

Matth. xxvii. 16, 17. He uses in both names the word Barabbas, saying Jesus Barabbas. This is the most ancient reading, but it was rejected by Origen, in his 35th Homily, who thought that the name of Barabbas ought not to be annexed to that of Jesus. See chap. vi. sect. 12.

Luke xi. 2, 3, 4. he omits the words, 'which art in Heaven,' and also the third petition. In these two omissions he coincides with the Latin Vulgate: and that Uscan made no alteration here appears from the evidence of La Croze, who relates that these passages are omitted in the ancient Armenian manuscript, preserved in the royal library at Berlin.

Acts vi. 9. Several critics have endeavoured to shew, that the reading *Δις* is preferable to that of *ἑκατέρωθεν*, and Reland, in his remarks on Josephi *Antiquitat.* xvi. 6. has supported the former reading on very plausible grounds. In his time it was only conjecture, but it is now supported by authority, for the Armenian version has the reading

received from Louis Picques; but Bengel and Wetstein were indebted to La Croze. A new field therefore lies open to a critic, who would apply to the study of this language⁶.

S E C T. XX.

Of the Persic versions.

WE have two Persic versions of the four Gospels, of which the most ancient, and that which is most valued by the learned, is printed in the London Polyglot, accompanied with a Latin translation¹ by Sam. Clarke, and notes by Thomas Graves². This critic has very justly observed, that the Persic is a translation of the Syriac, for it sometimes retains even Syriac words, and subjoins a Persic interpretation: and in other places confounds the meaning of words, that have a similar sound only in the Syriac. The matter is likewise highly probable in itself, for the Christians, who lived scattered in the Persian empire, made use of Syriac as the language of the church, and as the language of literature; and it was common for the Persians to study in the schools of Syria, especially at Edessa. The principal use then of the Persic version, is in discovering the false readings that have crept since that period into the Syriac. It might be added, in confirmation of what was said above, that the Persic omits passages, that are wanting in no manuscript or version except the Syriac: for instance Matth. xxvii. 46. Mark vii. 34. Mill and Bengel

reading 'Libyan.' But it still remains a question, whether the Armenian translator actually read *λιβυαν*, or only gave that interpretation to *λιβερτιαν*, for Wetstein says, non major est inflexio *λιβυαν* in *λιβερτιαν*, quam sextarii in *ξισης*, aut spicatæ in *πικτικης*, aut penulæ in *φιλων*. The evidence therefore of the Armenian version is in this case dubious, and I can see no reason for departing here from the common text.

¹ John v. 7. is not contained in the ancient Armenian manuscripts.

Bengel have taken their extracts from this version for their collections of various readings.

There is another Persic version of the Gospels, which Abraham Wheloc began to print in 1652, and after his death, Pierson finished in 1657. It was published in London, and three manuscripts³ were used by the editors. It is thought to be much more modern than the other, and I find in Læ Long's *Bibl. sacra.* that Wheloc supposed it an immediate translation from the Greek⁴, but Renaudot believed it to have been taken from the Syriac.

Renaudot likewise observes, that the other manuscripts materially differ from these two versions, and that the Persians in their public worship make use of a different version, which was probably the most ancient, and should it ever be made public, would be of more value than the other two united⁵.

To correct mistakes, that are made in the extracts of Mill, recourse must be made to Bode's *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana*.

S E C T. XXI.

The Latin version is the source of almost all European versions.

WE now turn from Asia and Africa to Europe. Of all the European versions, none is so ancient as the Latin, which may be regarded almost as the common parent of all the Western translations. For though many of these were taken from the original Greek, yet the translators either had recourse to the Vulgate for assistance, or they were so accustomed from their youth, if not to the Latin itself, to translations derived from it, that, without the actual design of making innovations, it was impossible to avoid betraying a similarity to the Vulgate: and if it be denied that they were its immediate offspring, it had at least a considerable share in their

their formation. The French, Italian, and Spanish Bibles, that were published before the sixteenth century, and of which Simon has given entertaining accounts in his *Hist. Crit. des Vers.* chap. 28. 40. 41. were taken wholly from the Latin. The same may be said of the old German Bibles, printed in 1462¹, 1467, and 1483, which I have fully described in the *Syntagma commentationum*, p. 1—22. published in 1759, in which Bibles it is expressly said, that they were corrected with great care and diligence according to the Latin. The common versions of the Papists, which have been made since that time, follow likewise the Vulgate; and though several learned members of that church have attempted more accurate translations in the living languages, they were still accustomed from their youth to the Latin. It is true that Luther translated from the Greek, yet marks of the Vulgate are visible through the whole translation: nor would he have been able to produce so accurate a translation of the Bible, the present sources of critical assistance being at that time totally unknown, unless he had recurred to the aid of the Vulgate, and resolved not to forsake his guide, but where it led into open error. In support of this assertion, I appeal not only to the many instances of accurate translation, and few of false interpretation, that are common to Luther and the Vulgate, but also to those errors in Luther's version, which cannot be derived from the original Greek. For instance *επισκευτομαι* is rendered 'to visit,' because he found *visito* in the Latin. It by no means derogates from the character of the great Luther, that he adhered to this very ancient version; and perhaps the success of his translation, at a time, when the Oriental languages were little known, and few commentaries existed of any value, may be ascribed to the assistance, which he derived from the Vulgate, where, though he has corrected mistakes, he has never altered without necessity.

The translation of Luther has had material influence
on

¹ With respect to this date, see *Clement Bibliothecae curieuse* Tom. III. p. 320—323. n. 39, 40.

on those, which were made by his followers in the Reformation, not excepting even the English, where examples might be produced of Germanisms, that to every Englishman must appear obscure¹. And it will be needless to prove at large, that most of the translators of the Bible in the two last centuries, have been accustomed to the Latin, or to versions immediately derived from it.

S E C T. XXII.

Of the Latin version in general.

TO avoid confusion in treating of the Latin version we must distinguish what existed before the age of Jerom, from the edition, which was corrected and published by the learned father, and is generally known under the name of the Vulgate. The Vulgate must be again examined in three different points of view: first, as it was published by Jerom; 2dly. as corrupted in later ages, partly by mistakes of transcribers, partly by interpolations from more ancient Latin versions; 3dly. as corrected in the sixteenth century by Papal authority, and introduced into the church of Rome.

Of the ancient versions before the time of Jerom, a full account may be seen in Simon Hist. Crit. des Vers. ch. 3, 4, 5, 6. in Martianay's Prolegomena to the Gospel of St. Matthew, which he published according to the old version, in Mill, § 377—605.; and in Mosheim's Commentarii de rebus Christianorum ante Constantium Magnum, p. 225—229. This last treatise deserves especially to be read, because the author has freed the history of this version from several mistakes, that were generally committed, and from which I was not exempt in the first edition of this work. It will be observed in the sequel, that this ancient version is annexed to the Greek text in the Cod. Boernerianus, Claromontanus, and Cantabrigiensis. Beside these, several other copies are extant; among which may be reckoned
those

those mentioned in Uffenbach's Travels, Vol. III. p. 471—480.; some of these are very extraordinary, especially that in the possession of Aymon.

We had formerly, and indeed so late as the first part of the present century, some fragments of this version in print, but few whole books of the New Testament, namely the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle of St. James, which Martianay printed in 1695, from two very ancient manuscripts. To these were added, in 1715, the Acts of the Apostles, which Hearne published at Oxford from the Cod. Laudianus 3. a very excellent work, but extremely scarce, on account of the few impressions that were taken: we are therefore much indebted to Professor Hwüd for having reprinted the Latin text, in his *Libellus criticus de indole codicis N. T. bibliothecæ Cæsareo-Vindobonensis Lambecii xxxiv. accessit textus Latinus Antehieronymianus e codice Laudiano.*

The want of a printed edition is the reason that so many of the learned have made mistakes in speaking of this version, and falsely understood the clearest passages of the fathers, that allude to it. But Pope Benedict XIV. who was highly valued by the Protestant, as well as by the Roman church, has acquired immortal honour in the Republic of Letters, for having ordered to be published, in 1749, a magnificent edition, taken from five (properly only four genuine) manuscripts^a of this version. The title of this work, which consists of four¹ volumes in folio, including the Prolegomena and the treatises annexed to it, is, *Evangeliarum quadruplex Latine versionis antiquæ, seu Italicæ, nunc primum in lucem editum ex codicibus manuscriptis aureis, argenteis, purpureis, aliisque, plusquam millenariæ ætatis sub auspiciis Joannis V. regis fidelissimi Lusitaniæ, a Joanne Blanchino.*

^a The names of these manuscripts are Vercellensis, Veronensis, Corbejensis, Brixianus, and Forojuliensis²: but this last contains only the corrected version of Jerom, and ought therefore not to have been printed with the others. Dobrowsky has shewn this very clearly in his *Fragmentum Pragensæ evangelii Marci*. Pragæ 1788.

Blanchino. The beauty and largeness of the types, the great number of learned treatises, and the copperplates with which it is ornamented, make the work so very expensive, that it is seldom to be found in private libraries, though it ought to be in general use: an editor therefore would deserve the thanks of the public, who would publish in a less sumptuous manner the Latin text of the four manuscripts, (for that of the Forojuliensis is unnecessary) and omit the dissertations, by which means the work would be reduced to a moderate quarto. While Blanchini was engaged in preparing it for the press, P. Sabatier published in 1743 his *Biblia Latina versionis antiquæ, seu vetus Italica*, of which the third volume contains the New Testament. But Sabatier took not his text from manuscripts of the Latin version only, but from the *Codices Græco-Latini*, or Greek-Latin manuscripts: for instance, the Acts of the Apostles from the above-mentioned Cod. Laudianus 3. published by Hearne. Here we may naturally inquire, whether these Latin versions were in general and public use, or whether they are not to be ascribed to the private industry of different transcribers, who copying the Greek Testament, subjoined a Latin translation correspondent to the Greek text of their respective manuscripts. After reading Hearne's edition of the Acts of the Apostles, we might be inclined to suppose the latter: but their coincidence with the quotations of the Latin fathers shews, that these very translations of the Greek text, as it stood in the most ancient manuscripts, were in general use in an age, that precedes the date of any manuscript now extant. As the Greek-Latin manuscripts have chasms, Sabatier has supplied them, though this is very unsatisfactory, from the Vulgate, and sometimes added in the notes quotations from the Latin fathers. For instance Acts xxvii. 5—14. 18—23. 29. xxviii. 20. are wanting, which is the more disagreeable, because they contain passages, where the critic is in need of information, whether the reading of the old version, chap. xxvii. 14. was *Εὐρακλῦδων*, or, like that of the later version,

version, *Ευρακυλων*³, and chap. xxviii. 1. Melita, or Meslitene. Whoever could supply these chasms, from manuscripts of the old version, or more properly versions, and still more, whoever would continue the work of Blanchini, and publish the Acts and the Epistles, would greatly promote the critical knowledge of the New Testament⁴.

S E C T. XXIII.

Of the great number of ancient Latin versions, among which the Itala is no longer distinguishable. One of these was termed Vulgate.

IT appears from the testimony of Augustin, that the Latin church had a very great number of translations of the Bible, that they were made at the first introduction of Christianity, but that the authors are totally unknown. His mode of expression in regard to this subject is rather hyperbolic, ‘*Qui Scripturas ex Hebræâ linguâ in Græcam verterunt numerari possunt, latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuivis primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.*’ August. de doctrina Christiana, Lib. II. cap. 11. This passage has given rise to various disputes, and many have even ventured to deny a plurality of Latin versions, but a careful perusal of the manuscripts published by Blanchini is sufficient to confute this opinion, and to shew that there is no necessity for doing violence to the words of Augustin. It is true that the versions are not absolutely distinct, as appears from their frequent coincidence, but they are compositions that have resulted from combining more ancient and separate translations, which have been interwoven with each other, by selecting those parts, which either deserved the preference, or most easily occurred to the writer. In the margin of one manuscript was written,

written, perhaps in many places, the text of another, which a future transcriber inserted in his copy, or when passages, or leaves were wanting in one, they were supplied by extracts from another. Having collated the Gospel of St. Mark, in the Syriac version, with the *Evangeliarum quadruplex*, I found the Latin versions in general divided, some being in favour of the reading for which I consulted them, while others were against it, a circumstance which clearly proves them to be the result of different translations. In short, they are exactly of such a nature, as might be expected from versions that arose in the manner above described, and of which Jerom says, *si latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant, quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria pœne, quot codices.*

In reading the Latin text of the Greek-Latin manuscripts, such as the Cod. Cantabrigiensis, Laudianus 3. Boernerianus, &c. the thought naturally occurs, that the difference is in a great measure to be ascribed, if not to completely new translations, at least to the Latin having been altered from the Greek in each respective manuscript; for the notion that the Greek has been altered from the Latin, if we except a very few instances, is erroneous².

Some of these Latin versions were probably written later than the first ages of Christianity³. Rom. xii. 13. is *χρησας των αγιων*: but instead of *χρησας*, three Codd. Græco-Latini have *μελεις*, and though the old Latin version published by Sabatier has *necessitatibus*, yet it appears from his note that others had *memoriis*. This fault (for a fault it evidently is) could hardly have taken place before the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century, for it conveys the language and sentiments of a later age, *αγιοι* being used, not in the sense of the New Testament, where it is applied to the primitive Christians in general, but in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, saints, or martyrs, characters unknown at Rome, when St. Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans.

Of these various translations, there was one in particular, that in the writings of Augustin is styled *Itala*, a very celebrated name, but a name that has been so abused, that not only all the Latin versions, that existed before the time of Jerom, have been taken for one and the same, but the very individual version, that is meant by Augustin. I was led into the same error at the first publication of this work, but the words of Augustin, who alone of all the writers of antiquity mentions the *Itala* by name, 'in ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ,' clearly shew that it was only one out of many translations, and that there is no ground for giving this title to every Latin version, that existed before Jerom's edition of the Vulgate. If it be asked, to which of the old versions the name of *Itala* must be ascribed? I answer, that we are totally unable to determine; for though Augustin has highly commended it, he has not given a single extract, which might serve to distinguish it from the rest. Yet it appears to have been generally known in that age, and to have differed materially from the version, that was used by the church of Africa, the country of Augustin, from whom it probably received the name of *Itala*, to distinguish it from the latter. But we cannot infer from this title, that it was in use at Rome, and Mosheim very justly observes, that in this case it would rather have acquired the more suitable, and honourable appellation of *Romana*. To Mosheim we are indebted for the correction of the above-mentioned error, which before his time was universal, and is visible even in the title-page of the editions of Martianay, Sabatier, and Blanchini.

Jerom makes mention of a Vulgate, which was probably the Latin version in use at that time in Rome, and which itself was, in a greater or less degree, a composition like the others.

S E C T. XXIV.

Of the general style of these versions, and conjectures in regard to their authors.

THE style of these ancient versions, which is still visible in the Vulgate, though amended by Jerom, is not only devoid of classic elegance, but inaccurate and impure, though Gesner has quoted from it several examples in his Thesaurus. We find not seldom absolutely false Latin, and such, as no native Roman could have written, of which the following examples are taken from Martianay's edition of St. Matthew, ch. ii. 16. tunc Herodes videns quoniam (for quod) illus esset a Magis. ii. 18. noluit consolari, which is used as if it were a passive. iii. 15. dimisit ipsum, for permisit ipsi. vi. 16. exterminant facies suas. vi. 19. ubi ærugo et tinea exterminat. xiii. 6. ederunt (for ediderunt, unless we ascribe this error to a copyist) fructum. xiv. 1. benedixit eos. Mistakes of this nature, as well as a too servile attention to the idiom of the Greek, betray a translator, who was neither a native Italian, nor had learned the language by the rules of grammar¹.

At other times we find expressions, that have the appearance of being improper, and yet may be justified by the usage of the Latin language. For instance Matth. v. 32. dimissam adulterat. v. 43. odies inimicum. vi. 4. in absconso. vi. 6. vii. 9. 11. petere aliquem, in the sense of 'to request any one.' vii. 9. alio, as a dative. vii. 19. unus scriba, where unus resembles a modern indeterminate article, and in the same manner ix. 18. princeps unus. xi. 7. lamentavimus. xiii. 15. cluserunt oculos. xiv. 22. jussit discipulis suis. xviii. 24. decem millia talenta. These are remnants of the Latin, as spoken by the illiterate, especially in the Provinces². Every language abounds with phrases in common life, which a classic writer endeavours to avoid: the most accurate are exposed indeed to the danger of sometimes inadvertently

tently admitting them, even where the seriousness of the subject requires a dignity of language; but if they occur too often, and are even ungrammatical and vulgar, they betray either an author without education, or a foreigner, who had learnt the language by rote, in the company of the illiterate.

To those above enumerated may be added certain words, which are used in a sense that is very rare in the classic writers. *Opinio* is used in the sense of 'report,' *Matth.* iii. 24. xiv. 1. xxiv. 6. *Salmacidus*, a word quoted by Cicero from Ennius³, is found *James* iii. 11. *Orto sole aestuarunt*, *Matth.* xiii. 6. where *aestuo* is used in the same poetical sense, as it is applied by Virgil.

Cumque exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis. Expressions of this kind are very numerous, and they discover either the native of a province, who is unable to disengage himself from his provincialisms, or a foreigner who could form no judgement of the propriety of language, but in writing serious prose adopted either the phrases of common life, or such as he could recollect from the poets⁴.

But the Latin of these versions is not therefore to be treated with contempt, for though no scholar would attempt to imitate their style, he may learn by their means the language in a greater extent. For it is certain that no man can know more than the half of a language, nor have an adequate notion of its etymology, who is acquainted only with the small portion, that is preserved in elegantly written books. Those phrases of common life, which are used by men of liberal education at furthest in epistolary correspondence, and even the expressions of the illiterate, are not unworthy the notice of Philology. We are indebted to the Latin comedies for many terms in the mouths of vulgar characters, which no serious writer could use, when speaking in his own person. If these are received with pleasure by every critic, as augmenting his treasure of Latin words, no cause can be assigned for treating the Vulgate with contempt, which for the above-mentioned reason I would prefer to the

Bible of Castellio. I have frequently conversed on this subject with the celebrated Gesner, who used to say that the Vulgate was to him an auctor classicus, not because he could learn from it to write elegant Latin, but because it enabled him to survey the Latin language in its whole extent. The genuine original meaning of sacramentum and cælicolæ may be learnt from these antient versions.

Lastly, they contain very numerous Hebraisms, or rather Syriasms, that are diametrically opposite to the genius of the Latin. These surpass all that is observable of this kind in the Greek Testament, not excepting the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. We cannot therefore account for them as imitations of the original, and we are naturally led to suppose that some of these versions were made by Jewish converts, whose native language was the Syriac. In the *Curæ in Actus Apost. Syriacos*, p. 168--173. I took notice of several examples, in which traces may be discovered of the Syriac edition^s. Ridley, who from the hint which I had given, prosecuted the inquiry still further, collected in the 9th sect. of his *Dissertatio de versionibus Syriacis* still more examples, among which that of Rom. ix. 25. is so remarkable, though it appears to be doubtful, that I will subjoin it in a note with the author's own wordsⁿ. Those, who

ⁿ Ad eundem modum Rom. ix. 25. legimus in textu καλῶν τοῦ οὐ λαοῦ μου, λαοῦ μου: καὶ τῆς οὐκ ἠγαπημένης, ἠγαπημένης. Nullus hic dubitandi locus. Vertit tamen latinus, *vocabo non plebem meam, plebem meam: et non dilectam, dilectam: et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam*. Nullius codicis fretus auctoritate unum in duo membra videtur resolvere: sed non est nisi ambiguae vocis, cujus significationem non tenebat interpres, in utrumque sensum explicatio. Syrus enim transtulit ܠܐܡܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܝܢܐ. Prius vero, quam appingerentur vocales, dubium esset, an sit *non dilectam, dilectam* cum Græco, an, *non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam*, cum Hebræo. Latinus igitur in utrumque sensum vocem, non Græcam, sed Syriacam, interpretatus est. But this example, though very plausible, leads to no absolute certainty, because οὐκ ἠγαπημένη is the reading of the Septuagint, Hos. i. 6. ii. 23. from which the Latin reading 'non misericordiam consecutam' might have been taken.

who officiated as teachers in the Christian communities during the first century, were chiefly Jewish converts, for being instructed from their youth in the knowledge of the Old Testament, they were better qualified to explain the New, than one born and educated in idolatry. And it is not improbable that these very persons applied themselves to translating, that each community might possess the New Testament in its native language⁶.

In the Greek-Latin manuscripts the translators have sometimes grossly offended against the rules of the Latin grammar, and they seem to have been led into error by a too servile adherence to the idiom of the Greek, being probably better masters of the latter than of the former.

The language of these versions has had material influence on the Latin of the church, which is not only unclassical, but has a tincture of the Oriental idiom, though in a much lower degree than the versions themselves⁷.

S E C T. XXV.

Further remarks in respect to the origin, antiquity, and authors of the old Latin versions.

I HAVE observed in the preceding section, that the oldest Latin versions appear to have been made by native Jews, and therefore written in the first century. This conclusion is confirmed by the testimony of Augustin, who refers them to the earliest ages of Christianity, and the premises receive additional probability from the circumstance, that Oriental proper names are sometimes written in the Latin Testament not according to the Greek, but the Syriac orthography; for instance, *Καπερναυμ* is written Caphernaum, with ph, as in Syriac *ܟܦܪܢܗܘܡ*, the village of Nahum, and *Ισκαριωτης*, Scarioth, as it is in Syriac *ܫܥܪܝܘܬܝܬܐ*. A knowledge of these orthographical minutiae in Oriental names, added to the badness of the Latin, is an evident proof that the author was not a native of Italy¹.

The reason, which induced Mill to refer the origin of the oldest Latin version no higher than to the time of Pope Pius, in the middle of the second century, that the Christians in Rome during the first century, who came from Egypt, Judæa, and other countries, were acquainted with Greek, and therefore not in need of a translation, is hardly of any weight. For it presupposes without proof, that the version was first made for the use of the Christian community in Rome, whereas it is certain that the greatest part were written for the use of the provincial towns in Italy¹. Nor must we forget that many members of the Christian church were of the lowest class, who were unable to comprehend the New Testament in the original Greek. It seems likewise to be an error in Mill and other critics, when they suppose that the Latin version was made by public authority, or under the direction of the bishop of Rome: for it is inconsistent with the account of Augustin, the only writer from whom we can derive information, who says, *ut cuius in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari*². Now it is very improbable, if a translator had been appointed by a bishop, or a council, that a writer would have been chosen, who was so little master of the Latin. I am therefore of the same opinion with Ridley, and suppose that the real state of the case was as follows. The New Testament was read in the Christian churches, in the same manner as the Old Testament in the Jewish synagogues; and as the Jews, after reading the original Hebrew, explained it by a Chaldee paraphrase, so the Christian bishops, and public teachers expounded the passages in Latin, which they first read in the Greek. In the beginning, this was done *ex tempore*, but by degrees, in order to facilitate the public service, these translations were committed to writing, and at length communicated to the different members. By these means we may account for their great variety, and the confusion, which might have been avoided by a version ordained by the public authority of the Christian church.

S E C T. XXVI.

Of the great confusion, into which these versions gradually fell.

THE confusion, ~~unavoidable in these~~ versions from their very commencement, arose by degrees to such a height, that Jerom, in his preface to the Gospels, complains that no one copy resembled another. To the practice of putting together parts of separate translations, and making in this manner a motley composition, we may likewise add the three following causes.

1. The expressions of one Evangelist were transferred into the writings of another, and by these means the four Gospels converted, as it were, into four Harmonies. Jerom, in the above-mentioned preface, makes the following complaint: *magnus siquidem in his nostris codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eadem re alius Evangelista plus dixit, in alio, quia minus putaverint, addiderunt: aut dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille, qui unum e quatuor legerat, ad ejus exemplum cæteros quoque æstimaverit emendandos. Unde accidit, ut apud nos mixta sint omnia, et in Marco plura Lucæ et Matthæi, rursum in Matthæo plura Joannis et Marci, et cæteris reliquorum, quæ aliis propria sunt, inveniantur.*

2. Marginal notes, consisting either of expositions, or oral traditions, concerning the history of Christ, were inserted by subsequent transcribers in the text.

3. It was usual, in countries where Latin was spoken, to accompany the Greek manuscripts with a Latin translation, which was written either in a column parallel to the Greek text, or immediately under it. Now it appears from the inspection of these Greek-Latin manuscripts, that the object of transcribers was sometimes to render both texts as nearly alike as possible, and as they were often men of no learning, they were exposed to the danger of altering the Latin improperly. Of this the following is an instance: *μαθοι σκοπειν*, Phil. ii. 4. being written according to the ancient manner *ΕΚΑΣΤΟΙ ΕΚΟΡΟΥΝΤΕΣ*, a copyist unacquainted with the

Greek grammar might falsely divide it into *κατα* *κοινωνίας*, and this was actually done by the writer of the Codex Boernerianus, for he had altered the Latin translation into *singuli laborantes* ¹.

S E C T. XXVII.

Critical use of the Latin version.

IN respect to the value and critical application of the Latin version, or versions, to the discovery of genuine readings in the Greek text, the opinions of the learned have been not only divided, but even diametrically opposite. Some have passed the highest encomiums on the purity of the text in the Greek-Latin manuscripts, and have supposed that the discovery of the genuine *Itala*, which it is in vain to expect, as the hope is founded on a mistaken name, would be of the highest importance, in a critical inquiry into the New Testament. It was the opinion of the late Bengel, that the coincidence of the Latin version with the Codex Alexandrinus, was in every instance the strongest argument in favour of the authenticity of a reading: but he meant not the *Itala* alone, and ascribed the same value to the Vulgate, as published by Jerom. Its high antiquity, and the praises of Augustin, though these relate merely to its literal exactness, have been the chief causes of its great authority. Now this literal exactness is often carried so far as to produce mistakes against the rules of grammar; but whether the manuscripts, in which these are observed, are to be referred to the *Itala*, or whether this was written in better Latin, is a point which we are unable to determine. If the above-mentioned opinion, to which I subscribed in the first edition of this work, be true, the Latin version must have great influence in deciding on the authenticity of the Greek readings.

But other critics are of an opposite opinion, and they suppose that the Greek text has been corrupted in
 numberless

numberless examples from the Latin : in which case the coincidence of the Greek and Latin texts would rather weaken, than support the evidence in favour of a reading. These were the sentiments entertained by Wetstein, and his arguments appeared so plausible, that in the second edition of this Introduction I became a convert to his doctrine. But at present I am convinced that the charge is ungrounded, or at least more severe, than is warranted by fact, and it is more probable that the Latin translation in the Greek-Latin manuscripts has been altered from the Greek, than the Greek from the Latin. The alterations, that may have taken place in the Greek, might rather be attributed to the Syriac. See below, chap. viii. sect. 3.

In the old Latin versions, those namely which existed before the time of Jerom, or have been added in the Greek-Latin manuscripts since that period, is a very great number of excellent readings, that are confirmed not only by the best and most ancient Greek manuscripts, but by other ancient versions, especially the Syriac and the Coptic.

But we cannot therefore conclude that they are universally genuine, for examples might be given of important readings, in which one Latin version contradicts the other : and whoever compares the *Evangeliarium* of Blanchini, will see with his own eyes the truth of Jerom's assertion, *si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda respondeant, quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria pæne, quot codices*. In collating the Syriac with ancient Latin versions, I found one half in favour of the Syriac, the other half against the Syriac reading.

As it cannot be denied that the oldest Latin versions are of very high antiquity, notwithstanding some of their readings are false, their principal use in the criticism of the New Testament is, that they lead us to a discovery of the readings of the very ancient Greek manuscripts, that existed prior to the date of any that are now extant. Though we are left in doubt, where their testimony

testimony is different, yet, where their evidence agrees, the decision is of great authority.

Bengel, who observed the want of uniformity in the Latin text, has recommended an attention to the number, goodness, and antiquity of the manuscripts, as the surest means of discovering the genuine reading. This advice would be very applicable, if there had never existed more than a single Latin version, but in a variety of different translations, that which is genuine in the one, may be spurious in the other; and since in every work, the true text is that which came from the hand of the author, there may be different readings in different versions, yet all of them authentic.

Were it possible to distinguish the *Itala*, a term used by Augustin alone, and by him in only a single instance, from the other Latin translations, though no extract is on record which might lead to the discovery, it would be still a matter of great doubt, whether it would deserve the preference in determining the authenticity of a reading. The praises bestowed on it by Augustin, as being more literally exact than the versions that were common in Africa, afford no proof that it was taken from a more accurate Greek manuscript, than other translations. Even had it been affirmed by the pious father, yet, as he was ignorant of Greek, and a total stranger to learning in general, his opinion on that subject would have been of little weight. But admitting that the discovery of the *Itala* would reward the pains employed in the search, where is it to be sought? If it is one of the five manuscripts published by Blanchini, how is it to be distinguished? Or shall we conclude that the *Itala* is that, from which the Latin fathers have borrowed their quotations? Now these quotations disagree among themselves, and could not therefore have been taken from the same version: but setting this circumstance aside, it is a very arbitrary inference, that the Latin fathers, in different parts of the Roman empire, have constantly recurred to the version commended by a writer of Africa,

in preference to those in use in their respective churches. Nay, Augustin himself, though he commanded the *Itala*, might have quoted from the version that was usual in his own country, in the same manner, as German divines, though they preferred a later translation, would still quote the Bible from that of Luther.

It were to be wished, that the various readings of the old Latin manuscripts were carefully collected, and annexed, on a more extensive plan, to such editions as those of Mill and Wetstein: but they should be arranged in such a manner, as to prevent their being confounded with those collected from Greek manuscripts. By the editions of Sabatier and Blanchini, the task is rendered much easier than before, but these alone are not sufficient, and the work would be imperfect without a collection of manuscripts. These must not be quoted in a vague manner *Codices Latini*, still less must the word *Itala* be used, but the different manuscripts must be carefully distinguished from each other, by their respective titles, *Latina Vercellensis*, *Latina Veronensis*, &c.

The foregoing wish, which I expressed in a former edition, Professor Griesbach has already begun to put in execution¹.

SECT. XXVIII.

Correction by Jerom¹.

THE great confusion which prevailed in the copies of the old Latin version, induced Pope Damasus to employ Jerom in correcting it; and among all the Latin fathers, before and after his time, it seems that none was better qualified for the task. Jerom finished this useful work about the year 384, and he says himself, at the end of his *Catalogus de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, ‘*Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi.*’ Fabricius Stapulensis, and others, have understood this only of the Gospels, because he says, in the preface to the

the Gospels, hæc-presens præfatiuncula pollicetur tantum quatuor Evangelia, codicum Græcorum emendata collatione. But Simon, in the seventh chapter of his *Hist. Crit. des Vers.* very justly observes, that Jerom, in his letter to Marcellus, complains of those persons who preferred the old version to the new, and that he is there speaking of the epistles of St. Paul; and further, that the Vulgate, after the time of Jerom, was manifestly different from the old version, in all the books of the New Testament; whence we may naturally conclude, that the correction was not confined to the four Gospels. He partly expunged the spurious readings, and partly corrected the translations, which appeared to be erroneous; but it must be confessed, that, with the best intention, he has sometimes altered for the worse. He constantly appeals to the Greek original, as the touchstone, by which the version must be tried: but he acknowledges himself, that he attempted not to amend all the errors, but only those of the greatest importance, and hence we may explain the reason why his commentary sometimes differs from his version². We shall find in the sequel, that the present Vulgate of the church of Rome agrees not entirely with Jerom's version: and perhaps this may be the reason why it sometimes disagrees with that father's commentary. The two learned Benedictine monks, Martianay and Pouget, published the genuine version of Jerom, from a very beautiful manuscript at Paris, in 1693, under the title *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi divina bibliotheca hactenus inedita*, and prefixed to it their excellent Prolegomena, to which, and to Simon, chap. 7—12. I refer my readers for a more full account of it, and of the present Vulgate, than the nature of this work permits³.

S E C T. XXIX.

Fate of the Vulgate after the time of Jerom.

THE new edition of the Vulgate by Jerom, superseded not the old and uncorrected version, for the labour of the learned father was regarded by many as a blameable innovation, the old version was still permitted by the Church of Rome, and when Leander bishop of Seville inquired of the Pope which of the two deserved the preference, he received for answer, *sedes Apostolica, cui præsideo, utraque translatione utitur*. This was carried so far, that the Anglo-saxon version was taken from the old Latin, not from the corrected Vulgate of Jerom¹. In the course of time the versions were intermixed with each other, a confusion of which Cassiodorus was the principal cause, who ordered them to be written together in parallel columns, that the old version might be corrected by the Vulgate: and though Alcuin by command of Charlemagne provided more accurate copies^o, it fell again into such confusion, and was so disfigured by innumerable mistakes of the copyists, that the manuscripts of the middle age materially differ from the first editions, that appeared in print. The mixed text of the middle ages is found in a higher or lower degree, in all the manuscripts of the Vulgate, that were written during that period. The most celebrated is that preserved in the Library of the Monastery of St. Emeram in Ratisbon, written in the year 870, by order and at the expense

^o See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 84. The words of Theganus in *du Chesne Scriptores Francici*, Tom. II. p. 277. are worthy of notice, because it appears from them, that the Latin version was collated not only with the Greek, but with the Syriac. 'Dominus imperator nihil aliud cepit agere, nisi in orationibus et eleemosynis vacare, et libros corrigere. Nam quatuor evangelia Christi in ultimo anno ante obitus sui diem cum Græcis et Syris optime correxerat.' In the page of Wetstein's Prolegomena, which follows that above-quoted, an account is given of other alterations, that were made in the Vulgate during the middle ages; but I omit them at present, because they are of little importance in sacred criticism.

expense of Charles the Bald, in golden letters, bound in gold, and set with pearls and precious stones. This manuscript belonged to the Abbey of St. Denys, but it was brought to Germany by Arnulphus, and deposited where it is found at present. It contains only the four Gospels, the text of which deviates in a high degree from the present Vulgate, and appears to be a confused mixture, though no doubt can be made that all possible pains were bestowed on it. A description of this manuscript, with extracts of its variations (that is various readings of the present Vulgate, and remnants of the old version) has been given by Coloman Sanftl, Librarian of the Monastery, in a treatise published in 1786 with the following title. *Dissertatio in aureum et pervetustum SS. evangeliorum codicem MS. monasterii S. Emerami, Ratisbonæ*.*

Herebert Stephens was the first who attempted to remedy ^{the} this confusion, by publishing the Latin New Testament from ancient manuscripts in 1543 and 1545. Though this edition was rejected and prohibited by the Papists, on account of errors with which they charged the editor, it was used by John Hentenius, who derived from it very great advantage, and having collated several other manuscripts, published in 1547 a new and more correct edition under the inspection of the Divines of Louvain. These again, after having corrected the printed text partly from Latin manuscripts, partly from the original itself, published at Louvain in 1573 an edition of the Bible, that is much superior to the preceding. This was done in consequence of an order of the council of Trent, that council being desirous to have the readings of the Vulgate examined and ascertained. But the labour of the Divines of Louvain received not the entire approbation of the Pope, and Sixtus the Fifth forbade the printing of various readings in the Vulgate, an order which the members of the Church of Rome evade, by collecting readings to the ancient version. The same Pope commanded a new inspection of the Vulgate to be made in Rome, the result of which was a new edition that was
finished

finished in 1588, but not made public before 1590, after it had undergone a careful revisal. Sixtus V. pronounced it, with the clause, *apostolica nobis a domino tradita auctoritate*, to be the authentic Vulgate, that was the object of inquiry in the council of Trent, which he styles '*perpetuo valituram constitutionem.*' But his successors were of a different opinion, and Clement VIII. published another authentic Vulgate, that differs more than any other edition from that of Sixtus V. and mostly resembles that of Louvain. But in order to preserve the infallibility of the sovereign pontiff, it was pretended that all this was done in consequence of an order given by Sixtus V. with a view of correcting the errors of the press, that he had discovered in his edition. Yet it still remains a flaw in the Papal character, of which Protestants have taken advantage in a manner that sensibly affects the Church of Rome; especially James in his *Belham papale, sive concordia discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. Londini 1690*, and in his *Treatise on the Corruption of Scripture, &c. 1611*. But perhaps the Pope has been treated unjustly, for every legislative power, whether temporal or spiritual, may declare a law in *perpetuum valitura*, that is, a law that shall remain in force, till repealed by the power that made it. Moses has applied to his laws the same or similar expressions, for instance *לעלם*, yet the law of Moses was transitory, and abolished by Christ. As Simon has given a full account of these editions in the 11th chapter, I refer my readers to his critical history, and at the same time request them to compare Baumgarten's Description of remarkable books¹. Vol. III. p. 17—34.

S E C T. XXX.

In what manner the Vulgate is regarded by Papists and Protestants.

THE Church of Rome, and the Protestant Church, consider this Vulgate in a very different light. By some it is extolled too highly, by others unjustly depreciated,

depreciated, who speak with contempt of an ancient and excellent version, upon the emendations and editions of which so great care and pains have been bestowed. Few have preserved a proper medium.

The Church of Rome is obliged to treat this version with the utmost veneration, since the council of Trent in the sixth session declared the same to be authentic, and to be used whenever the Bible is publicly read, and in all disputations, sermons, and expositions. The words are somewhat ambiguous, and in the Latin are as follows : *insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus considerans, non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur sacrorum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit et declarat ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot seculorum usu in ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.* Hence several bigoted Divines of that Church, conclude that the Vulgate is absolutely free from error, and that no one is at liberty to vary from it in a translation or exposition. But the more sensible part is of a different opinion, and interpret the words in a moderate sense. According to their explanation, "authentic" signifies not "infallible," but "legal," and the Council has not declared this version to be authentic in all cases, but only in public readings, disputations, sermons, and expositions, that is, no other version shall be read in the church ; and as the Council observed in it no errors, which might lead to other doctrines of faith, that doctrine is pronounced to be proved, which can be proved from the Vulgate, and no one is permitted to deliver from the pulpit an exposition, that is not found in this version. The words being thus explained, the council of Trent did no more than every church has a right to do, with respect to a translation that contains no errors of faith ; and the Church of Rome is the more to be justified, as it has given the preference to a version of the highest antiquity.

antiquity. However, I confess that there is an ambiguity not only in the word *authentica*, but also in the word *publicis*, whether it is to be taken with *lectionibus* alone, or whether it equally belongs to *disputationibus*, *prædicationibus*, and *expositionibus*. Whoever is engaged in controversy with the Romish clergy, should acquaint himself thoroughly with the Vulgate, and diligently investigate the real sense of its phrases, as the surest means of discovering the truth, and confuting his opponents. In arguing, for instance, whether marriage be a sacrament, he must carefully examine, in what sense *sacramentum* is used in the Vulgate. But inquiries of this nature demand more application, more knowledge of Latin and of Christian antiquity, and a more intimate acquaintance with the fathers, than superficial readers imagine.

Highly as the Vulgate is extolled by the church of Rome, it has been depreciated beyond measure at the beginning of the sixteenth century by several learned Protestants, whose example was followed by men of inferior abilities. At the restoration of learning, when the faculty of writing elegant Latin was the highest accomplishment of a scholar, the Vulgate was regarded with contempt as not written with classic purity. And after the Greek manuscripts were discovered, their readings were preferred to those of the Latin, because the New Testament was written in Greek, and the Latin was only a version: but it was not considered that these Greek manuscripts were modern in comparison of those originals from which the Latin was taken; nor was it known at that time, that the more ancient the Greek manuscripts and the other versions were, the closer was their agreement with the Vulgate. This has been clearly evinced by Simon, who made it a particular object of his attention in his *Hist. Crit. du Texte et des Versions du N. T.* and has pointed out the real merits of the Latin version. Our ablest critics, such as Mill and Bengel, have been induced by this treatise to abandon the opinion of their predecessors, and have ascribed to the Vulgate a value perhaps greater than it deserves.

S E C T. XXXI.

General remarks on the Gothic version of Ulphilas.

AFTER altering my opinion more than once upon this subject, I am at present persuaded that the version published under the name of the Gothic, is really a Gothic, and not a Frankish version. Those who would prosecute this inquiry further than the limits of this introduction allow, may have recourse to the prefaces and treatises of Marshall, Benzel, Lye, and Knittel in their respective editions of the Gothic version: to Heupel's *Diss. de vers. Gothica iv. evangelistarum*, Wittenberg 1693: *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra* T. I. p. 371. *Thesaurus epist. La Croz. T. III. p. 78.* and Chamberlayne's *Oratio dominica in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas versa*, p. 125—149, where the epistle of La Croze is reprinted: Wachter *de lingua codicis argentei*, a very learned essay printed in the second continuation of the *Miscellanea Berolinensia*, p. 40—47: and to the following works of Ihre, *De lingua codicis argentei*, Upsal 1754. *Ulphilas illustratus* 1752—1755. and *Specimen glossarii Ulphilani* 1753. It is not my design to mention every author, who has written on this subject, but only those from whom I have derived instruction, to whom those readers may refer, who wish to have more ample information, than what is contained in the short extracts, that will be given in this and the following sections.

The Goths, to whom the present subject relates, were not only a race distinct from the Goths of Sweden, but derived not even their origin from that country. Their ancient habitation was to the east of the Borysthenes; but wandering gradually westward towards the provinces of the Roman empire, they at last settled in Wallachia. It was during their residence in that country that they received a translation of the Bible in their native language, from their celebrated Bishop Ulphilas, whose name is variously written by the Greek and Roman authors

Vulphila^s,

Vulphila¹, Urphila, Gilphula, &c. and who invented the Gothic alphabet, or rather composed it in imitation of the Greek. He translated the Old Testament as well as the New, without the exception of any single book, for though Philostorgius² asserts that Ulphilas omitted the Book of Kings, from an apprehension that the martial spirit of his nation might be roused by the relation of the Jewish wars, yet this opinion has been confuted by Knittel in his learned commentary³.

The author of this version, who has had the good fortune enjoyed by few ancient translators of the Bible, to have his name transmitted to posterity, was by birth a Cappadocian, and lived in the middle of the fourth century. Philostorgius places him in the reign of Constantine the Great, who is said to have held him in great veneration, and to have called him the Moses of his time. But this was a mistake in Philostorgius, because it is certain from the accounts of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, that Ulphilas lived in the time of Valens and Valentinian, and was even employed by his countrymen in an embassy that took place in 378. His life is best described by Archbishop Berzel in the preface to his edition of Ulphilas⁴.

Ecclesiastical writers have ranked him among the Arians, and have observed, what appears to be no very pertinent remark, that the Arian doctrines have had no influence on his version of the Bible. It is said that the orthodox of antiquity have never represented the Gothic Bible as spurious, and that in those parts of it which are extant, no traces can be discovered of a corruption in favour of the opinions of Arius. This observation might be of importance if the Arians had the same temptation to alter passages of scripture as the Socinians, or if among the fragments of the Gothic version, those passages were still extant that contain the chief arguments for Christ's divinity. An Arian, who believes the Son of God not only to have existed before all created beings, but that he was the creator himself, could be under no necessity of altering even the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, because

¹ Hist. eccles. Lib. II. c. 5.

² Sect. 255.

because the whole controversy depends, not so much on the words themselves, as on the mode of explaining them. But the five first chapters of this Gospel are no longer extant, and in the few fragments of the epistle to the Romans, the principal passage, ch. ix. 5. the only text which can create difficulty to an Arian, is wanting. It appears therefore extraordinary, that Knittel should make use of this argument^r as a proof that our present version is really the Gothic of Ulphilas, and not another ancient German translation, when in the few fragments that remain, there is hardly a passage where an opportunity for corruption could have taken place.

An account of the testimonies which the ancients have given of the Gothic version, may be seen in the 254th section of Knittel's treatise; I shall therefore only observe that it appears from the Martyrology of Nicetas, preserved by Simeon Metaphrastes^s, that the version was made immediately from the Greek. It is necessary to make this observation, because later writers have doubted, whether it was not taken from the Latin. But, independent of this evidence, it would be natural to conclude that a native Cappadocian, who was Bishop of a nation in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and was sent ambassador to the Greek emperor, would translate from the original Greek, with which he was much better acquainted, than with the Latin version.

There is a passage of importance on this subject, which has escaped the notice of the writers mentioned in the beginning of this section. It is found in very barbarous Latin, at the end of a manuscript preserved at Brescia, containing the old Latin version of the four Gospels, and quoted by Blanchini in the Prolegomena to the first volume of his *Evangeliarium quadruplex*. p. 8. sed ut dixi, quæ ipse a vero propheta suscepta vobis tradidi, prosequimini, et si minus plenæ adsertionis esse videbuntur, et ideo ne in interpretationibus linguarum, secundum quæ in interiora libri ostenduntur, legenti videatur.

^r Caret Codex Argenteus omni Arianorum corruptione. Purus est et hac labe Carolinus Codex noster. § 265.

videatur. Aliud in Græca lingua, aliud in Latina vel Gothica, designata esse conscripta, illud advertat quis, quod si pro disciplina lingua discrepationem ostendit, ad unam tamen intentionem concurrat. Though this passage is not very intelligible, yet so much may be gathered from it, that the Gothic version was known in Italy, and that a distinction was made between it and the Latin version. It is explained at length by Semler in his essay on the Gothic version⁴, who considered it as a preface to a collation of the Gothic text with the Greek and Latin.

S E C T. XXXII.

Of the fragments that have been hitherto discovered of the Gothic Bible.

WE have only a few remains of this, in many respects, important version. The principal of these are contained in the famous Codex Argenteus, which has the four Gospels, though not without considerable chasms. It is written on vellum, and has received the name of argenteus from its silver letters, but the initials are golden. The deep impression of the strokes makes it probable that the letters were either imprinted with a warm iron, or cut with a graver and afterwards coloured. This deep impression has been of use in discovering the letters, where the colour is faded. The alphabet is such as might be expected from Ulphilas, perfectly similar to no known alphabet, but a manifest composition of the Greek and Latin. When this book was first discovered, it was bound very irregularly, but Junius reduced it to the order in which it is found at present. Some of the zealous advocates for this manuscript have maintained, that it is the very copy, which Ulphilas wrote with his own hand. Now it is not only very improbable, that the only copy which is now extant should be precisely the original, but I have discovered several

several various readings in the margin, a circumstance which clearly shews it to have been written at a time when several transcripts had been already made.

We have no knowledge of this important manuscript prior to the discovery of it in the Abbey of Werden in Westphalia, whence it was brought to Prague, and there fell into the hands of the Swedes, who sent it to Sweden. After lying some time in the library of Queen Christina, it suddenly disappeared, without any one's being able to account for the loss, and was again brought to light in the Netherlands. Some have supposed that Isaac Vossius received it as a present from the Queen, others that he brought it away by stealth, but Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, repurchased it for 600 dollars, and presented it to the University of Upsal, where it remains at present.

This part of the Gothic version has been four times printed. The title of the first edition is *Quatuor T. N. Jesu Christi evangeliorum versiones perantiquæ duæ, Gothica scilicet et Anglosaxonica: quarum illam ex celeberrimo codice argenteo nunc primum deprompsit Franc. Junius, hanc autem ex codicibus manuscriptis collatis emendatius recudi curavit Thomas Mareshallus, Anglus, cujus etiam observationes in utramque versionem subnectuntur. Accessit et Glossarium Gothicum, cui præmittitur alphabetum Gothicum, Runicum, &c. opera ejusdem Fr. Junii. Dordrecht 1665.* This edition is printed in Gothic letters, or such as are found in the *Codex Argenteus*, and was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1684. But another edition was printed in Latin letters in 1671 at Stockholm, accompanied with the Islandish, the Swedish, and the Latin Vulgate.

In these three editions, of which the two latter were taken from the former, were many inaccuracies that arose from the difficulty of decyphering the letters, many of which were illegible in consequence of the colours being faded, while others were rendered obscure by the deep impression of the letters in the front of the leaf. To remove these difficulties, a critic was necessary, who

with very good eyes united both a knowledge of the language, and leisure and industry for the undertaking. The Swedish Archbishop Benzel, who was Head Librarian at Upsal, devoted whole years to the study of the Codex Argenteus, but after having taken a fresh copy, written a Latin translation, and prepared the whole for the press, the world was deprived of this excellent man, who died in 1743 at the time that he intended to publish his new edition. However the task was finished by Lye, who prefixed a short but excellent preface, and likewise a Gothic grammar, as appears from the following title, *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Gothica, ex codice argenteo emendata atque suppleta, cum interpretatione latina et annotationibus Erii Benzellii, non ita pridem archiepiscopi Upsaliensis. Edidit, observationes suas adjecit, et grammaticam Gothicam præmisit Edwardus Lye A. M. Oxoniæ typographeo Clarendoniano, 1750.* In this edition, which is printed with Gothic letters, the errors of the preceding are corrected, and many of the various readings, with which the Gothic version furnishes the Greek Testament, are remarked in the notes.

This is the best edition hitherto published, but it has appeared, from a later and still more accurate examination of the original manuscript, that many errors still remain to be corrected. The learned Ihre published in 1752 and 1755, two small essays that bear the title of *Ulphilas illustratus*, in which the erroneous passages of all four editions are correctly printed in Latin letters, accompanied with a Latin translation and notes. Future critics, therefore, who would correct the mistakes in the various readings collected from the Gothic version by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, and supply what they have omitted, must to Lye's edition join the *Ulphilas illustratus* of Ihre, who has discovered not less than 56 faults in the Gospels only of St. Matthew and St. Mark. It is true, that many have no influence on the readings of the Greek text: yet on a comparison of the extracts made by Wetstein with the *Ulphilas illustratus*, I have corrected the following passages, Luke i. 29. ii. 4.

v. 34. vi. 12. 20. vii. 6. 20. 40. viii. 2. 24. 30. 37. 47. ix. 3. 38. 41. 50. xv. 31. xvii. 9. 36. and several others. The above mentioned works of Ihre, which are difficult to be procured out of Sweden, have been published by Büsching in 1773 under the following title, *Johannis ab Ihre scripta versionem Ulphilanam et Mæsogothicam illustrantia ab ipso auctore emendata, novisque accessionibus aucta.*

In the year 1763 was published another fragment of Ulphilas, taken from the Codex Carolinus in the library of Wolfenbüttel. In this library is preserved an ancient manuscript, written in the 8th or 9th century, of the Origenes Isidori Hispalensis, a part of which is written on vellum, on which part had been written the version of Ulphilas in Gothic characters, accompanied with an old Latin version in a parallel column. Through ignorance of its value, the vellum leaves had been gradually torn out to serve for coverings to other books, but it was fortunately discovered by Knittel before the whole was destroyed, who with very great difficulty decyphered the Gothic and the Latin, which he published with very learned notes and essays under the following title, *Ulphilæ versionem Gothicam nonnullorum capitum epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos—ex litura codicis cujusdam manuscripti rescripti, qui in Augusta apud Guelpherbytanos bibliotheca adservatur, una cum variis variæ literaturæ monumentis hujusque ineditis, eruit, commentatus est, datque foras Franc. Anton. Knittel.* It contains only the few following passages, Rom. xi. 33—36. xii. 1—5. 17—21. xiii. 1—5. xiv. 9—20. xv. 3—13: yet he has collected from them 39 various readings to the Greek Testament, of which one third however may be referred rather to the idiom of the Gothic dialect, than to a variation in the text of the Greek manuscript from which the version was made. The Latin translation, which occupies the first column, appears to have been made in the sixth century in Italy, a circumstance which will remind the reader of an observation which I made above, respecting the use of the Gothic version in that country.

Of this fragment Ihre published a new and very important edition that bears the following title, *Fragmenta versionis Ulphilanæ continentia particulas aliquot epistolæ ad Romanos haud pridem ex codice rescripto bibliothecæ Guelpherbytanæ a Franc. Ant. Knittel edita, nunc cum aliquot annotationibus typis reddita a Johanne Ihre. Accedunt duæ dissertationes ad philologiam Mæsothoticam spectantes. Upsaliæ 1763.* This publication should be in the hands of every critic, who would build on a solid foundation.

SECT. XXXIII.

Of the language of this version, and whether it should be called Gothic or Frankish.

I HAVE taken for granted in the two last sections, that the version published under the name of the Gothic, is really such, and to be attributed to Ulphilas, though it is a subject on which the learned have been much divided. It must however be remarked, that those who have been most eminently distinguished for Gothic literature, and have devoted the greatest attention to the *Codex Argenteus*, as Marshall, Junius, Wachter*, Benzell, Lye, Ihre†, and Knittel, are unanimously of opinion that the version is Gothic. On the other hand, there have not been wanting men of profound learning, who have supposed it to have been written within the limits of Germany, and have taken it in particular for a Frankish version: but we must allow, that these have been in general more distinguished for their knowledge of other languages than the Gothic, and that they have not immediately applied to the study of the *Codex Argenteus*, with the same industry, as those whom I have mentioned above.

It

* In the *Miscellanea Berolinensia*. Contin. I. p. 40—47.

† In his *Dissertatio de lingua Codicis Argentei*, published in 1754.

It is said that Hickes was the first who doubted whether the *Codex Argenteus* were Gothic. Arnas Magnæus in a letter to Bassewitz, published in Lye's preface, p. 7. has likewise expressed some doubts on this subject: but in fact his opinion amounts only to this, that the language of the *Codex Argenteus* more nearly resembles the German than the Swedish, and therefore that it was more probably written by some German tribe, than by a race of Goths that might have come from Sweden. La Croze in the above-mentioned letter to Chamberlayne goes still further, and maintains it to be a Frankish version, which he supports with so many specious arguments, that many of the learned, among others Bayer*, have subscribed to this opinion. Wetstein in his *Prolegomena* expresses the same sentiments, and Mosheim thought to have discovered a new argument in its favour which he communicated to me in conversation, and intended to have delivered at large in the *Relationes de libris novis*, in reviewing Lye's edition of *Ulphilas*. But as that recension never took place, I will quote the argument in a following section, that it may not be lost to the world, though I am at present persuaded, that the whole opinion is ungrounded.

A decision in this controversy is the more difficult, as beside the fragments, which are the subject of dispute, no books are extant that were written in the language of those Goths, who wandered from the banks of the Borysthenes to Italy and Spain. And what has greatly contributed to perplex the arguments is the commonly received opinion, that this nation was an offspring of the Goths of Scandinavia, whence a too great similarity has been expected between their language, and those which are spoken in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. In fact the language of the *Codex Argenteus* occupies a middle rank between those and the German, and approaches the nearest to the coarse dialect which is spoken by our peasants in Thuringen. But as the Northern languages in general have an uniformity of character,
the

* *Thesaurus epistolicus La Crozianus*, Tom. I. p. 49: Tom. II, p. 281.

the learned have decided in favour of a Gothic or Frankish version, as they happened to discover in the Codex Argenteus a resemblance to the Scandinavian, or the present German¹.

Magnæus, who determined in favour of the latter, has been refuted in several instances by Benzel, but in many others, as far as I am able to judge, he was not mistaken. The Codex Argenteus, as he observes, has an article like the German, whereas the Scandinavian languages express it by a termination². This appears to be a solid argument, notwithstanding it is supposed by Benzel that the German had formerly no article, and that they borrowed it from the Greeks, though their article is very unlike the German, and that of the Codex Argenteus. Another proof, which is given by Magnæus, is the formation of the participle, and of several substantives by prefixing the syllable *ga*, exactly in the same manner as the Germans prefix *ge*. But on the other hand the participle is frequently formed in the Codex Argenteus without any prefix, and in those cases it resembles the Scandinavian³. To the arguments of Magnæus I will add the following, that in the Codex Argenteus infinitives are frequently formed by prefixing *ga*, as *galaikan*, *gatairan*, which corresponds to the Thuringian idiom, in which the peasants for *weichen*, say *gewicha*, or *gewichen*, and in Otfried gilesin is used for *lesen*⁴. But I will rather leave this enquiry to those who have made a particular study of the ancient German, and will only add, that many words of the Codex Argenteus are used in Sweden and Denmark, but not in Germany⁵.

Yet after all, if the greatest affinity subsisted between the language of the Codex Argenteus and that of the Germans, it would afford no argument that Ulphilas was not the author. For who will undertake to prove that the Goths of the Borysthenes spake the same language as the Goths of Sweden, or even that their dialect approached nearer to it, than to the language of the ancient Germans? No reason can be assigned for supposing them to be a tribe, which came from the north
of

⁵ See *Ihre de lingua Cod.* arg. § 24, 25.

of the Baltic: their original habitation was the northern boundary of the Euxine, and being either common ancestors or brethren of the Germans and Swedes, their language must have a resemblance to that of both nations, and might possibly be more similar to the former. High German, Frankish, Low Saxon, Anglo-saxon, Swedish, Danish, Islandish, are only dialects of the same ancient language, which in the course of ages have gradually deviated from each other. The higher we ascend, the greater is their resemblance, and as the language of the Codex Argenteus occupies as it were a middle rank, it affords a very strong presumption of its being that of the Goths of Mæsia, and written in an age before the tree had spread itself into so many branches. See *Ihre de lingua cod. arg. sect. 21.*

S E C T. XXXIV.

Arguments by which the Codex Argenteus, and Carolinus are proved to be Gothic.

AS beside these manuscripts no ancient fragments are extant, either of the Gothic or the Frankish dialect, with which they might be compared, the decision of this question would be attended with great difficulty, had not the diligence and penetration of several learned critics, especially Wachter, Ihre, and Knittel, without the aid of other ancient writings in those dialects, discovered arguments, which determine in favour of the former. It is true, that not all are perfectly convincing, and Knittel in particular has produced them in such numbers, that many are unavoidably weak, and diminish the force of evidence, which he intended to augment. But the following, which I have selected from the rest, seem very satisfactory, and I shall be the less accused of partiality on this subject, as I formerly maintained an opposite opinion. At the end of each argument I will refer to the author from which it is taken.

1. It

1. It is certain from the testimony of the ancients that a Gothic version actually existed, whereas not only no accounts are on record of the existence of an ancient version in Germany, (I mean in prose, for a metrical version has no reference to this question) but it appears from the expressions which are used by Otfried, that no one in this country had attempted to translate the Bible before his time. Consequently, it is more rational to suppose, that an ancient version composed in a dialect of the German language, taken in its most extensive sense, is Gothic, and not Frankish, or German taken in the more confined sense of the word. Ihre, § 3. Knittel, § 281.

2. We have likewise historical evidence that Ulphilas invented an alphabet for the Goths, which he used in his version of the Bible. When we find therefore an ancient German version written in peculiar characters, one half of which is from the Greek, the other from the Latin, it is natural to ascribe it to the Goths who lived on the borders of the Danube. For in Wallachia, where they at that time resided, the Latin was spoken, and their nearest neighbours were the Greeks. A mixed alphabet therefore, as found in the Codex Argenteus, is such as might be reasonably expected: whereas it is inconceivable that an alphabet introduced into Germany should have been half Greek, and incredible, had it ever been used in this country, that no trace of it should be remaining, and that our most ancient records should be entirely different from a set of characters, that were used in a version of the Bible. Knittel, § 258—262, but he seems to have weakened this argument by carrying it too far.

3. The language of the Codex Argenteus is distinguished from that spoken in Germany by a great variety of words, of which no trace can be discovered, even among the radicals of our language, and in our most ancient records. (Wachter, p. 45, 46.) This circumstance affords no presumption that the language of the Codex Argenteus was current in Germany since the ages
of

of Christianity, but it is well adapted to the Goths of Moesia who had their peculiar expressions, which never found their way into this country, and adopted others from the nations with which they were surrounded. The auxiliary verb, 'to have,' which is usual in every dialect of Germany, and in every language that is derived from the German, is unknown in the Codex Argenteus; which again makes use of a dual, which was never known in the German; for had it ever existed, it is impossible that all remembrance of it should have been totally lost¹.

Still lower is the probability that the Codex Argenteus was a Frankish version in particular, because it differs more from the old Frankish dialect, than from those used in other parts of Germany. Ihre, § xi. Knittel, § 284. where the comparison is made with the greatest diligence and accuracy.

4. Some of the words in the Codex Argenteus that fail in the German and all the languages of the North, are still used in the lesser Tartary, the ancient seat of the Goths; for instance, swiltan² 'to die,' from swalt 'death,' a word quoted by Busbeck from the language of the Crim Tartars³. (Wachter, p. 43.) Knittel, § 240. has augmented the catalogue of these words so as to injure the cause which he intended to support, for he has produced several that are likewise German, and furnish therefore no argument that the Codex Argenteus was not written in Germany.

5. In the Codex Argenteus many words are adopted immediately from the Greek. Here I understand not such as have been common to the German and the Greek from the earliest ages of antiquity, and shew either an original relation, or original connection between the two nations, but such Greek words, as are found in no other German dialect, than that of the Codex Argenteus, and have been transferred from the Greek after the complete formation of both languages: for instance, Atta, father, αττα. Ams, the shoulder, αμος, where even the s is retained from the Greek termination. Spyreidans, baskets, σπυριδανς.

στυγιδις. Rhatizo, easier, ῥαδιος. Maizo, greater, μαιζω. Afstassais (αφστασις) bokos, bill of divorce. This betrays not a dialect that was used in Germany or in the North, but that of a nation, that lived in the neighbourhood of the Greeks. Even the mode of expressing the sound of *ng* in the Codex Argenteus is purely Greek, and never used in Germany, where the Latin orthography has been received, for Finger is written in that manuscript Figgr, as the Greeks would have expressed it by a double gamma. Wachter, p. 41, 42.

6. The Cod. Argent. has Slavonian words, such as Fan, a master, which have never been adopted in Germany, and prove it to have been written in the dialect of a nation that bordered on Sarmatia, not in that of the Franks. Wachter, p. 43.

The same may be said of many Latin words. It is true that the Germans, among whom the Franks are included, have borrowed many words from the Latin, but these are confined to the language of religion, literature, arts, and sciences, which our ancestors had learnt from the Romans. The Cod. Argent. on the contrary, has many Latin expressions of common life that were never heard between the Rhine and the Oder, such as Anacumbjan, to sit at table, accumbere. Militondans, soldiers, militantes⁴. Wachter, p. 44. 55. Ihre, § 12, 13. To which perhaps aqua, water, might be added, which is found Luke vi. 49. in the margin: but Ihre in his Glossarium Ulphilanum, p. 36. holds it to be pure and ancient Gothic⁵.

This argument is the more decisive, when we consider that the Goths in the time of Ulphilas lived in Wallachia, a country in which Roman colonies had been planted, and where a corrupt Latin is spoken at this very day. To this may be added a circumstance hitherto unnoticed, that in Constantini Porphyrogeneti ceremonialis aulæ Byzantinæ, Vol. I. p. 222—225. is produced a number of words which are there called Gothic, and said to be used within the dominions of the Greek emperor⁶. In the list of these Gothic words is a considerable
number

number that are really Latin, which have gradually supplanted the Gothic, and produced the present Wallachian. See the *Relationes de libris novis*, F. IV. p. 405—408. where Gesner has explained the Latin words which in the *Caer. Byz.* are termed Gothic⁷.

8. Several words, which ancient writers have quoted as Gothic, but which are unknown in the German, have been discovered by Knittel, in the *Codex Argenteus*, and *Carolinus*. The reader will find them, § 242—252. but not to weaken the force of the argument, he should pass over those which are found in other dialects of the German, such as *Bold*, *audax*.

9. Lye, in the 35th page of his preface, has produced an argument that is entirely new. He found in the *Inscriptiones antiquæ* of J. Baptista Donius, published by Gorius at Florence, in 1731, p. 496. the copy of an ancient conveyance of an estate written in bad Latin, and preserved at Arezzo, to which the original proprietor, who styles himself *Gudilubus*, had subjoined a clause written in the same language and in the same characters, as the *Codex Argenteus*. Now the Goths are the only German tribe, that ever settled in this part of Italy, whence he concludes (and he is followed in this opinion by Ihre, § 16.) that this language and these characters are Gothic. For though the Franks made incursions into Italy, it was only in detached campaigns, and they were never in possession of landed property, in such a manner as to warrant a conjecture that an ancient deed of conveyance, written in a dialect of the German, is Frankish. Of this subscription, which is the only remnant of a German dialect that is similar both in language and letters to the *Codex Argenteus*, and *Carolinus*, Knittel has treated at large, § 219—224. Were it possible to discover more documents of this nature, which Lye supposes might be found in the libraries of Turin, the controversy might be determined with still greater certainty⁸.

S E C T. XXXV.

Confutation of the arguments alleged to prove, that the Codex Argenteus is not Gothic.

I WILL now produce the arguments, which induced La Croze to believe the Codex Argenteus a Frankish, and not a Gothic version, and subjoin to each a confutation. They were answered indeed by Wilkins, though in a very unsatisfactory manner, in the preface to Chamberlayne's *Oratio dominica polyglotta*, but Ihre and Knittel have treated this subject with great perspicuity. The answer given by Laurentius Arnell I have never seen.

1. 'The Codex Argenteus was discovered in the abbey of Werden, in the county of Mark, in Westphalia, a country never inhabited by the Goths. Hence the place, at least, where it was found, affords no presumption that the version is Gothic, but is rather in favour of a Frankish version, because the county of Mark was a part of the most ancient kingdom of the Franks.'

It is consistent with justice to explain this argument, not as a proof that the Codex Argenteus cannot be Gothic, for La Croze meant only to assert, that we cannot immediately infer from the place of its discovery, that the version is Gothic, till other tokens of evidence are found in its favour: and since these tokens of evidence have been actually found, the argument of La Croze of course ceases to be any objection. In fact no conclusion whatsoever can be drawn from the place, where a manuscript is discovered, to the language in which it is written; for even Oriental productions lie buried in the libraries of Europe. But since the discovery of the Codex Carolinus, which appears to have been written in Italy, and of the ancient conveyance at Arezzo, the subscription of which, as well as the Codex Carolinus, is written in the same language and the same letters as the Codex Argenteus; the argument of La Croze, if it proves any thing, proves rather the contrary of what he intended.

Wachter has accounted in a very probable manner for the appearance of the Gothic Gospels, and especially so magnificent a copy as the Codex Argenteus, in the county of Mark. He is of opinion that Clodovaeus, or Childebert, after a victory over the Goths, found it among other spoils, and brought it into the country of the Franks, and quotes for that purpose several passages from Gregory of Tours^{*}; one of which is so remarkable, that it deserved to be transcribed, *Childebertus inter reliquos thesauros ministeria ecclesiarum pretiosissima detulit. Nam LX calices, xv patinas, xx Evangeliorum capsas detulit, omnia ex auro puro, ac gemmis pretiosis ornata. Sed non est passus ea confringi, cuncta enim ecclesiis et basilicis sanctorum dispensavit, ac tradidit in ministerium.*

2. 'The letters of the Codex Argenteus are very like the characters of the ancient Franks, as given in the last edition of Mabillon's *Ars Diplomatica*, Lib. V. p. 347. it is therefore probably a Frankish version.'

This argument would have more weight, if the resemblance were found in all the letters; but the Codex Argenteus has its own peculiar alphabet distinct from the Frankish, and no inference can be drawn from the similarity of certain letters, for both Goths and Franks borrowed their letters from other nations; those which they had in common from the Latin must of course be alike, and this likeness might be afterwards increased by the residence of the Goths in Italy. *Ihre*, § 7. *Knittel*, § 271, 272. But the best answer to this argument is a comparison of the two alphabets.

3. 'Ulphilas lived in Wallachia, and had continual intercourse with the Greeks: it is therefore probable that he wrote the Gothic not in Latin, but in Greek letters. Yet in the Codex Argenteus we find the Latin letters F. G. H. R. S. O. Q. and the small letter d, with only a bend of one of the strokes. The Codex Argenteus therefore is not Gothic.'

I considered this argument as very superficial, even when

^{*} Lib. III. cap. 10.

when I supported the opinion of La Croze in general. For Italian colonies had been planted in Wallachia; the name itself is derived from Welsh, a name which we still give to the Italians, and the modern Wallachian is derived from the Latin. Ulphilas therefore had it in his power at least to make use of Latin letters. See the remarks in the preceding section, on the intermixture of the Latin and the Gothic.

4. 'We are informed by Gregory of Tours' that Chilperic, king of the Franks, who reigned from the year 564 to 587, introduced four letters, ω , Ψ , Σ , Δ , which were to express the sounds of a long O, Ae, The, and Uui. La Croze is of opinion that the alphabet into which they were introduced was the Frankish, and that three of them are to be found in the Codex Argenteus. On this relation therefore, though the text of Gregory must previously submit to alterations, he grounds the position that the Codex Argenteus is written with the alphabet of Chilperic, consequently Frankish, and composed in the sixth century.'

This very bold argument had formerly the greatest influence in inducing me to side with La Croze; but after more mature deliberation, having reflected that it has no other foundation than conjectural amendments of Gregory's text, and having read the answers which have been given to it by Ihre (§ 7, 8, 9, 10.) and Knittel (§ 278—280.) I revoke my former opinion. La Croze himself confesses that no trace of ω is visible in the Codex Argenteus, which alone shews it to have been not written with the alphabet of Chilperic: yet the critical, though arbitrary alterations, which he has made in Gregory's text, seem to presuppose the use of that alphabet in the Codex Argenteus, and that the passage alleged in proof may be best explained from that manuscript. In the Codex Argenteus Ae is never expressed by Ψ , The by Σ , or Uui by Δ (a letter not found in the Codex Argenteus): it was therefore needless for La Croze to venture critical conjectures, to prove that Chilperic had

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ordered these innovations to be made. Were his conjectures exposed not to the charge of improbability, yet a passage relating to four letters could hardly be admitted as a proof, when, in order to make it such, we must have recourse to two alterations, and to two exceptions. Ihre has not only pointed out the improbability, but shewn with very convincing arguments that Gregory of Tours alluded not to the Frankish, but the Latin alphabet.

5. The following is an argument of the late Mosheim. 'In Constantini Porphyrogeneti cærimom. Byz. Tom. I. p. 222—225. are two catalogues of Gothic words, that were usual in his time, but have no resemblance to the language of the Codex Argenteus. This version therefore is not Gothic.'

To form a proper judgment of this argument, the reader should refer to the *Relationes de libris novis*, Fasc. IV. p. 405—408. where the two catalogues are printed with Gesner's Remarks. The greatest number, especially in the first catalogue, of words that are called Gothic, are in reality corrupt Latin; for instance βονας (bonæ) for καλαι, γαυδιοντες for χαιροντες. Neither of these catalogues therefore is to be considered as a list of such words as the Goths had brought from their original habitation, the country to the north of the Euxine; but such as were usual in Wallachia in the tenth century, and were called Gothic, because the Goths had once inhabited that country, and many of the inhabitants were still descended from Gothic ancestors. And we are not warranted to conclude, because the language of Wallachia is a corruption of the Latin, and was known to the Greeks of the tenth century under the name of the Gothic, that the ancient inhabitants of the northern boundary of the Euxine, who in the fourth century were in possession of Wallachia, made use of a dialect that had no resemblance to the German. A part of these pretended Gothic words, especially in the second catalogue, has a great affinity to the Hebrew, as σιθα, seat thyself, Heb. שבה. But as no one supposes that the Goths ever spoke Hebrew, they must be either mistakes, or
they

they were taken from the jargon of the Wallachian Jews. Lastly, we find several words that have no resemblance to any known language, and are probably become unintelligible through mistakes of the transcribers: but they are as little entitled to the name of Gothic, as the rest of the catalogue, which, if it proved any thing, would prove too much; for the names of the Gothic heroes alone shew the affinity of their language to the German, to which the words recorded by Porphyrogenetus have not the smallest resemblance.

S E C T. XXXVI.

Whether the Gothic version of Ulphilas was taken from the Greek or from the Latin.

IT appears from the two preceding sections, that the version contained in the Codex Argenteus is undoubtedly Gothic, and there remains therefore only one question to be decided, whether Ulphilas translated from the Greek original, or a Latin version. The internal evidence alone is insufficient to determine, for after a comparison of the Gothic text both with the Greek and with the Latin, we have as much reason to decide in favour of the one, as of the other. Bengel, who believed it to have been taken from the Greek, was still obliged to admit that it contained many traces of the Latin: Wetstein, his violent and even ill-bred antagonist, maintained at first a contrary opinion, but in his Prolegomena to the Greek Testament he subscribed to the sentiments of Bengel. See Bengel's *introductio in crisin N. T.* § xxxii. Obs. xx. Cons. iii. (p. 408. of the first edition, p. 43, 44. of the second) Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 114—116, and Benzel, p. 6, 7.

That method which is usually the safest in questions of this nature, an immediate comparison of the version with that original from which it is supposed to be taken, is in the present instance, as before observed, attended

with uncertainty; for the conclusion derived from the comparison of one page contradicts that which is drawn from the other. But these contradictions may be reconciled, and the whole subject will receive a new light, if we adopt a method in other cases precarious, and examine a priori which of the two might be most naturally expected. By these means we shall solve the problem, which made the subject of controversy between Bengel and Wetstein, and discover a new argument, that the Codex Argenteus and Carolinus are really parts of the Gothic version of Ulphilas.

We are informed by Simeon Metaphrastes that Ulphilas translated from the Greek, and the Bishop of the Goths was so circumstanced, that we must be guilty of violence, if we refused our assent to this testimony. For the inventor of the Gothic alphabet, of which at least the half is taken from the Greek, who used Greek letters to denote numbers^a, setting B for 2, and E for 5, and who went ambassador to the court of Constantinople, would have hardly rejected the Greek original to translate from a Latin version.

On the other hand, it is not improbable that he had recourse to the Latin version, as a source of aid in difficult passages. The Roman colonists, who were settled in Wallachia, those at least among them who were converted to Christianity, must have read the Bible in the Latin version; and the assertion of Wetstein, that Ulphilas was ignorant of that language, must appear ungrounded to every man who knows the dialect that is still spoken in Wallachia. Nor is it impossible that Ulphilas made use of manuscripts that belonged to the Western edition of the Greek Testament. But if neither of these opinions were true, the Gothic Bible might have been corrected from the Latin after the death of Ulphilas, either in Wallachia or Italy. Of the two fragments of the Gothic version, the Codex Carolinus is a part of a Gothic Latin Bible, that is of a Latin Bible accompanied with a Gothic translation.

We shall incur therefore no danger of violating the truth,

^a See John vi. 9. with Ibre's remark in the Ulphilas illustratus.

truth, if we maintain the two following positions, 1. The Gothic version was taken immediately from the Greek. 2. It has in many instances a striking affinity with the Latin. As the matter is so evident, I shall omit several arguments, such as that produced by Wetstein, that the Gothic version has several Latin words, and sometimes Latin terminations in the proper names. For these may be considered as Wallachisms, which had found early admittance into the Gothic, and were retained by Ulphilas, agreeably to the practice of the country, in the same manner as Luther, though he translated from the Greek, wrote *Christus*, not *Christos*, which no man would use as an argument, that Luther translated from the Latin.

It is perhaps to the influence of the Wallachian pronunciation that we must ascribe the orthography of several proper names of the Gothic version, in which we find for instance, as in the Latin, *Kafarnaum*, and *Scariot*. John vi. 59. xiii. 26. See Ihre's *Ulphilas Illustratus*, l. c.

But the following arguments appear to be decisive, and first in favour of the former of the two positions, that the Gothic is translated immediately from the Greek.

1. The author of this version has sometimes falsely translated from an error in regard to one or more letters of the Greek word, whereas it is accurately rendered in the Latin. Thus he read *τρῶη* for *τρύη*, Luke vii. 25. though not only the Vulgate, but all the manuscripts of the old Latin, published by Blanchini, have *deliciis*, and in the same manner *πεπρωκεν* for *πεπληρωκεν*, John xvi. 6.

2. The Gothic has many readings that are found in no Latin version, some of which it has in common with Greek manuscripts, though others, not inconsiderable in number, are peculiar to it alone. The latter indeed are neutral, and belong not to the present question; for if we contend that the Gothic was translated from the Greek, because these readings are in no Latin version, our adversaries have an equal right to argue that it was taken from the Latin, as they are found likewise in no Greek manuscript. Of the former kind, which alone

relate to this inquiry, we find an instance, Luke ii. 15. where *ἄνθρωποι* is omitted in the Vulgate, and all Blanchini's manuscripts, but retained by Ulphilas. Many more may be seen in Benzél.

3. It retains in many words the Greek terminations, as, *γαλιλαιας, ιερουσαλμων*, Luke v. 17.

4. The order of the Greek words is often retained in the Gothic, though a translator is not bound to so painful an attention to the original. For instance, Matth. xxvii. 43. *Θεὸς εἰμὶ υἱὸς* is rendered 'Goths im sunus,' but the Latin has a different arrangement, *filius Dei sum*.

In regard to the second position, that the Gothic has an affinity with the Latin, we may observe that Mill has pointed out its coincidence in a great number of instances with the Codex Cantabrigiensis, but as we are at present persuaded that the Greek text of this manuscript has not been altered from the Latin, we can deduce this only inference, that the Gothic accedes to the Western edition of the Greek Testament, and has so far an indirect relation to the Latin version. But the two following Latin readings, not found even in the Cod. Cant. are very convincing. Luke ix. 50. is added in several Latin, but not a single Greek manuscript, *nemo est enim, qui non faciat virtutem in nomine meo, et poterit male loqui de me*, of which at least one half is in the Gothic version, namely, *ni ainshun auk ist manne saei ni gawaurkjai maht in namin meinamma*. (See Ulphilas illustratus.) Luke i. 3. after *εδοξε καμῖς* is added in the Gothic, without the authority of a single Greek manuscript, *jah ahmin veihamma*, 'and the Holy Ghost,' a spurious reading inserted from the Latin; for Blanchini's Codex Veronensis has 'placuit mihi et Spiritui sancto.' Other instances may be seen in Wetstein, who observes that even the title prefixed to the Gospels in the Gothic version is borrowed from the Latin formule, 'incipit evangelium secundum Marcum.'

The Gothic version is so verbally exact, that the order of the Greek construction is not seldom retained in violation of the genius of the Gothic language, which makes it

it the more extraordinary, that so many readings are found in this version, that have hitherto been discovered in no Greek manuscript¹.

S E C T. XXXVII.

Of the Slavonian or Russian version.

THE Russian, or, as it ought to be expressed in more general terms, the Slavonian version, deserves to be more generally known, and to be examined by the critics of the New Testament with the greatest attention. I sincerely lament that I neglected in my youth an opportunity of learning that language, not knowing the treasures which it contains, both for the critic and the historian, as I must now depend on the few accounts which I have been able to procure. I am partly indebted to Kohl's *Introductio in historiam et rem literariam Slavorum, sive historia critica versionum Slavonicarum maxime insignium, nimirum Codicis Sacri, et Ephraemi Syri*: but it is to be lamented, that the author, who to Grecian literature joined a knowledge of the Russian language, is deficient in those very articles of intelligence, which can be had only from that country, and so totally devoid of critical curiosity, as to take not the least notice whether 1 John v. 7. is contained in the Slavonian version, or not. I have received more important information from Schlözer, who, at my request, has proposed several questions to Poletika, a man of learning in Russia, whose answers are the more satisfactory, as he was formerly Greek translator to the Holy Synod, and is well acquainted with the Russian libraries. His letter may on this subject be regarded as an original document; and I will therefore, for the satisfaction of my readers, subjoin it in a note¹. I first discovered the value

¹ Answer to the Queries proposed by Schlözer, at the request of Michaelis, to the Academy of Sciences.

1. I know

value of the Slavonian version in reading lectures on the Proverbs of Solomon from the Septuagint. Several of my hearers were at that time Russians, who, after I had pointed out some examples where the Seventy had been misunderstood, or a reading adopted that has been hitherto found in no manuscript, replied that they had the same in their version, which is taken immediately from the Septuagint. These examples belong not to the

1. I know of no copy of the whole Slavonian Bible in the Russian libraries more ancient than that which was written in the year 1499, in the time of the Grand duke Iwan Wasiljewitsh, which is preserved in the library of the Holy Synod. But of the New Testament alone there are several copies much more ancient, namely of the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, some on vellum, others on paper, which are likewise preserved at Moscow in the library of the Holy Synod. I believe however that in all Russia no manuscript is so ancient, as that which the Czar Iwan Wasiljewitsh gave to Garabunda, secretary to the Dutchy of Lithuania, and which was used in the Ostrog edition of the Bible, from the preface to which edition it appears that the manuscript was written in the time of the Grand duke Wladimir.

2. The following are the dates of the editions of the Slavonian Bible. At Ostrog in 1581, at Moscow in 1663, 1751, 1756, 1757, and in the present year 1766, all in folio: in 1759 an edition was published in large octavo. It was also printed at Kiow in 1758, in folio, and at Suprasl, in Poland, in small folio, as appears from Janozki's Dictionary of the Polish Literati, p. 15. But there is still an edition more ancient than any of the preceding, which was printed at Prague in 1519, under the direction of a Doctor of Physic, Franciscus Scorina of Polozk. But I cannot positively determine, whether this edition includes the whole Bible; for I never had an opportunity of seeing more than the first volume, which contains the five books of Moses. This volume is in the library belonging to the Academy of Sciences.

3. I cannot possibly determine at what period the passage, 1 John v. 7. was inserted in the text; but there is reason to suppose that the interpolation was made in the time of the Patriarch Nikon, in the year 1653, when an edition was published of the Acts and the Epistles, which edition I have in my library. My reason for this supposition is, that in the preceding editions of Moscow, and Kiow, which I have in my library, and which are printed in a particular manner for the service of the Church, the passage in question is not contained. I am likewise in possession of several copies of the Acts and the Epistles, written before the introduction of printing, in which, as well as in every other copy, this passage is omitted.

POLETIKA.

the present place, but will be given in the Introduction in the Old Testament. If the Russian translation of the Old Testament has more accurate readings than our printed editions, and discovers the author's knowledge of the Greek, in cases where the editors of the Polyglots were mistaken, we may naturally expect very great assistance in the criticism of the New.

The Russian, or Slavonian version, is not an offspring of the Latin, but taken, as every man acquainted either with the political or ecclesiastical history of that country must naturally suppose, from the Greek. So early as the ninth century the Bulgarians, who had the same language with the Russians, translated the theological writings of the Greeks; and from the end of the tenth century, the Russians, who were even in that age a cultivated nation, followed their example. Now it is very improbable that they neglected to translate the most important of all writings, the Bible: but all doubts on this head have been removed by Kohl, who has clearly shewn that the two brothers, Methodius and Cyril, who lived in the ninth century, natives of Thessalonica, and apostles of the Slavonians, were the authors of this version¹. Schlözer has found many and long passages quoted from it in old Russian chronicles in manuscript. According to the account given by Poletika, it appears that the Holy Synod ordered a complete copy of the Bible to be taken in 1499, but that manuscripts were extant of the New Testament from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, some on vellum, others on paper. Those of the eleventh century are not far removed from the fountain-head, being written only two centuries later than the version itself.

The oldest edition, of which we have any knowledge, is that of Prague, published by Franc. Scerina, in 1519; but Poletika is not certain whether it contains the Bible complete. It was revised in 1570, altered in several passages from an ancient manuscript given by Czar Iwan Wasiljewitz, and printed at Ostrog, in 1581, of which remarkably scarce edition an account may be seen in *Clement Bibliothéque curieuse*, Tom. III. p. 441—

445. A copy of this valuable edition, as well as of the edition of Moscow, in 1663, described by Clement as very scarce, is in our university library. A particular edition of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, was printed in 1653, which might be of great use in the criticism of the New Testament. Later editions have been published in 1751, 1756, 1757, 1759, 1766, at Moscow, in 1758, at Kiow, in 1743, at Suprasl, in Poland, beside editions of separate parts, such as the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, with which I am not acquainted¹.

The passage 1 John v. 7. is found neither in the Ostrog edition, the ancient manuscripts, nor in those editions of the Acts and the Epistles which are prior to 1653. That of 1653 contains this passage, but I know not whether in the text, or in the margin; that of 1663 has it in the margin, that of 1751, which I have myself examined, and other modern editions, in the text.

The following readings of the Slavonian version were extracted, at my request, by Schlözer, and as it may be naturally supposed, that they have an affinity with the text of Theophylact, I will subjoin the readings that are found in his commentary.

Matth. viii. 28. Γεργεσηνων, as Theophylact.—Mark v. 1. and Luke viii. 26. Γαδαρηνων, which is likewise the reading of Theophylact, but in his explanation of the passage he has written Γεργεσηνων.

Matth. xxvii. 16, 17. it has Barabbas, not Jesus Barabbas, as also Theophylact.

Mark xvi. 9—20. is in the Slavonian version, and in Theophylact².

John i. 18. Βηθαβαρ, according to the correction of Origen. The reading of Theophylact is unknown, this passage being unnoticed in his commentary.

John v. 2. *εσι δε εν τοις Ιεροσολυμοις επι τη προβατικη κολυμβηθρα, η επιλεγομενη Εβραισι Βηθισδα.* Here it varies from Theophylact, whose text is *εσι δε εν τοις Ιεροσολυμοις προβατικη κολυμβηθρα.*

John v. 4. which is omitted in many copies of the
New

New Testament, is found both in the Slavonian version and in Theophylact, with this only difference, that the former has κυρις (a reading found in several Greek manuscripts and ancient versions) after αγγελος, the latter not.

John vii. 53. viii. 11. it has the story of the adulteress, omitted by Theophylact.

Acts viii. 37. is in the Slavonian version. It is found in one of the commentaries of Theophylact, omitted in the other⁴.

Acts ix. 5, 6. it has the interpolation εκληρον σοι προς κεντρα λακτιζειν. Τρεμων τε και θαμβων ειπε, Κυριε τι με δελεις ποιησαι; και ο Κυριος προς αυτον. I am curious to know how long this has been inserted, for it is found in none of the Greek manuscripts at Moscow which Matthäi has collated, nor in the edition of Theophylact by Sifanius.

Acts xix. 1. ανωτερικα like the common editions, but Theophylact has ανατολικά.

Acts xx. 28. Κυρις και Θεω, and also Theophylact.

Rom. xiv. 24. After this verse it has the doxology, which in our editions is placed at the end of the xvith chapter. Theophylact agrees with the Slavonian.

1 Tim. iii. 16. Θεος εμφανεωθη, and likewise Theophylact.

The learned would be greatly indebted to any man of abilities for the undertaking, who would furnish a history of the Slavonian version, not in the manner of Kohl, but a really critical description, and extracts of its various readings. These must not be taken from the modern editions, but from those of Ostrog and Prague; nor should a collation of the ancient manuscripts be neglected, which might be found not only in Russia, but in all the countries where dialects of the Slavonian are spoken. Moscow is the place where the task should be executed, because there are manuscripts in the library of the Holy Synod so ancient as the eleventh century. It were to be wished that the learned in that city, or rather the Synod itself, would take such measures as might render the ancient version of their Church beneficial

ficial to Europe in general. If it were thought too laborious to undertake the whole at once, and only a part could be given as a specimen, I would recommend the Revelation of St. John, because we have very few manuscripts of this book, and the Slavonian version might furnish various readings of great importance⁵.

This request, which I made in the edition of 1777, has been in some measure, though imperfectly, fulfilled in 1785, in the *Apocalypsis Johannis Græce et Latine*, published by Matthäi, who has added, p. 342—388. his Appendix II. de versione Slavonica Apocalypseos, containing various readings from that version. But as the extracts were taken neither from Moscow manuscripts, nor the oldest edition, but made at Leipzig, from that of 1762, their critical application is attended with uncertainty⁶.

S E C T. XXXVIII.

Of the Anglo-saxon versions.

THERE are several Anglo-saxon versions of the

New Testament extant in manuscript, of which the fullest account is given in Le Long's *Bibl. Sacra*¹, p. 420. Some books of the Bible were translated by bishop Eadfried, and the Gospel of St. John by Bede: but the tradition that king Alfred translated the greatest part of the New Testament is very uncertain. The whole version has never been printed, but the four Gospels have been published by Matthew Parker, William Lisle, and Thomas Marshall, in the years 1571, 1638, and 1665², and being evidently translated from the old Latin³, may be of use in determining the readings of that version. Huth, in his dissertation *De mansuetis terræ hæredibus*, has indeed called this matter in question, saying that the order of the two verses, Matth. v. 4, 5. is inverted in the old Latin versions, but not in the Anglo-saxon. To which we may answer, that this is not true in all the old Latin manuscripts, for those of

Brescia and Verona, published by Blanchini, retain the order of the Greek, and such manuscripts were probably used by the authors of the Anglo-saxon ⁴.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

S E C T. I.

Of the Codices manuscripti, considered as a mean of determining the genuine reading of the text of the Greek Testament.

THE Manuscripts of the New Testament are the natural source, from which the genuine readings of the Greek Testament are to be drawn. The printed editions are either copies of more ancient editions, or of manuscripts, and they have no further authority than as they correspond to the manuscripts, from which they were taken. Though printed editions may be more correct than many manuscripts, yet, considered as evidence, they are of less weight than the manuscripts themselves, partly because these are more ancient, partly because an editor of the N. T. generally makes use of his own judgment, and of several readings gives to one in particular the preference, whereas a transcriber copies only what he finds in the more ancient Codex, of which he delivers a transcript: and they alone can be admitted as evidence, who simply report what they have heard and seen. But I confess that an exception must be made to those manuscripts, which in imitation of Knittel I will call *Codices critici* ¹.

It is evident that by manuscripts of the New Testament, I understand those only which were written before the invention of printing, and that those manuscripts, which are mere copies of printed editions, are foreign to our present purpose. Such for instance is the
Codex.

Codex Berolinensis, or Ravianus, in which we find, 1 John v. 7. a manuscript written since the invention of printing, and copied from the edition of Alcalá.

No manuscript now extant is prior to the sixth century; and, what is to be lamented, various readings, which, as appears from the quotations of the fathers, were in the text of the Greek Testament, are to be found in none of the manuscripts which are at present remaining; for instance, the addition after Mark xvi. 14. which I mentioned above chap. vi. sect. 12. It is true that this reading is evidently spurious, but whether spurious or genuine, it appears from this example that readings, which existed in the fifth century, have been omitted in later manuscripts, and this might be the fate of many, that were really genuine. When a reading therefore is found in only a single manuscript, as that for instance which I shall mention in describing the Codex Vindob. 3. or only in the quotations of the fathers, it is not for that reason to be immediately rejected.

Du Pin, in his *Dissert. prælimin. ad biblia sacra*, Tom. II. c. 3. Simon, in his *Dissertation sur les principaux Manuscrits du N. T.* printed at the end of the third volume of his *Histoire critique du N. T.* Mill and Küster, in their *Prolegomena to the New Testament*, Pfaff in his *Dissertatio de variis lectionibus N. T.* Bengel in his *Introductio in crisin T. T.* more particularly Wetstein in his *Prolegomena*, Treschow in his *Tentamen descriptionis codicum Vindobonensium N. T.* Griesbach in his *Symbolæ criticæ ad variarum N. T. lectionum collectionem*, and Matthäi in the prefaces to his edition of the N. T. give the best accounts of those manuscripts, which have been hitherto used, and collated with the text of the printed editions².

S E C T. II.

Lectionaria, Euchologia.

THERE are several manuscripts, which contain not whole books of the N. T. arranged in their usual order, but detached parts, appointed to be read on certain days in the public service of the church (*αναγνους*), from which again whole books have been put together. They are called lectionaria, and are compounded, some of them of the four Gospels, others of the Acts and the Epistles: to the former was given the title *ευαγγελιον*, to the latter that of *αποστολος*¹. See Du Fresne glossarium mediæ Græcitat, p. 100. 440, 441. If a Lectionarium contains both parts, it is termed *αποστολοιευαγγελιον*. Whoever wishes to see a list of the lessons contained in the Lectionarium of the Acts and the Epistles, preserved in the University library at Gottingen, may have recourse to my Orient. Bibl. Vol. XI. p. 185—188².

Cæteris paribus, a Lectionarium is not of equal value with a manuscript of the same antiquity, that contains the books of the New Testament complete, because in the former the text was frequently altered, according to the readings, which were most approved at the time when it was written. It is not however to be denied, that they sometimes have readings of great importance, of which the reader will find examples in the above-mentioned description of the Gottingen Lectionarium, p. 188—192. But in respect to the omission of a principal passage, such as 1 John v. 7. their evidence is of more weight than that of an ordinary manuscript³.

In the Lectionaria we frequently find the words, 'Jesus spake,' prefixed to the speeches of Christ in the Gospels, the expression *αδελφοι* in those epistles which were written to whole communities, and *τεκνον Τιμοθεε* in those to Timothy. This is no various reading, being merely designed for the officiating minister; but it has frequently happened, that these expressions have been

intruded from the Lectionaria into the copies of complete books, in which case they form a various reading, though a spurious one. No one has examined this kind of error with more accuracy than Matthäi: see for instance his notes on Luke vii. 31. *επει δε ο Κυριος.* Acts iii. 11. *κραταυτος δε τε ιαθειςτος χωλε* (for *κραταυτος δε αυτε*)⁴. x. 21. *τες απεσταλμενες απο Κορηλια προς αυτον*⁵ inserted after *τες ανδρας*, because here a new lesson began, without which addition no one would have known to what persons the subject related. xxi. 8. *οι περι του Παυλου.* These are words, which are omitted in a very great number of manuscripts.

Another mistake, which we have reason to attribute to the Lectionaria, is remarked by Matthäi in his note to Luke xxii. 43, 44. The same lesson is sometimes a composition from two different Gospels, the consequence of which is, that in other manuscripts likewise there is copied in one Gospel what belongs to another, for instance the above-mentioned passage in the Codex Leicestr⁶ after Matth. xxvi. 39.

With respect to collecting readings from the Lectionaria, Matthäi, with a degree of bitterness against Wetstein, who has been less accurate on this head, gives the following rule: 'many Lectionaria have the same text of the Evangelists in two different lessons, but with different readings, words being found in the one, that are wanting in the other'. This circumstance ought to be noted, for in consequence of its being neglected, the extracts from the Lectionaria, especially those made by Wetstein, are very uncertain: see for instance his note to Luke xxiii. 45⁷. It is true that, according to the above-mentioned rule, the collecting of readings from the Lectionaria is extremely irksome, nor can they be noted with the same brevity as those from other manuscripts, since it would be necessary to add, 'thus in the former,' 'thus in the latter lesson?'

We find likewise in the Greek Euchologia several texts of the N. T. See for instance that published at Venice, *παρα Νικολαι Γλυκη*, 1684. p. 437—481—

αποστολες

αποστολε ευαγγελια τε ολε ενιαυτη. and 481—492. ευαγγελια ενδινα ευαγγελισμα. Matthäi has given extracts from one of these Euchologia, though a very modern one, at the end of St. John's Gospel: but this appears to be a superfluous burthen in sacred criticism, under which the inquirer must at last sink.

S E C T. III.

Of the division of the manuscripts into different classes, and of what is called the Fœdus cum Græcis.

WE must not suppose that all the manuscripts of the Greek Testament are of equal value, and in summing up their evidence, we must not immediately determine in favour of that reading, which is confirmed by the greatest number of voices.

I have spoken above of the manuscripts which Knittel calls *Codices critici*, which are not taken from one only, but from several manuscripts, the transcribers having adopted those readings, which appeared to them to be the best. Such manuscripts have less authority, considered as evidence, for though it appears from them, that some more ancient manuscript had this or that particular reading, yet we are unable to judge of that more ancient manuscript, because they have not in all cases abided by its readings.

Some manuscripts are written with care, others with negligence: those which belong to the latter class, betray themselves in general by frequent omissions, or by the substitution of words of a similar sound and meaning, for words which other manuscripts shew to be genuine. These are of no authority, when the question relates to the omission of words or lines, or the determination between readings of a similar meaning. Those on the contrary have here the greatest weight, from whose orthographical mistakes it appears that the copyists

were unacquainted with Greek, and therefore incapable of introducing the above-mentioned errors.

Some manuscripts have constantly that reading, which is subject to the fewest difficulties, or certain words and lines, which in other approved manuscripts are omitted. It is evident that they proceeded from a transcriber, who ventured in various instances to alter the text. Such manuscripts have no right to a voice, when the question relates to readings of this nature.

Some manuscripts have not only the Greek text, but are accompanied with a version, which is either interlined, or in a parallel column: these are called *Codices bilingues*. The greatest number is in Greek and Latin, and the Latin version is in general one of those, which existed before the time of Jerom. As we have Syriac-Arabic, and Gothic-Latin manuscripts, it is probable that there existed formerly Greek-Syriac, Greek-Gothic, and other manuscripts of that kind, in which the original and some version were written together. They are for this reason remarkable, because not only one version might be easily altered from another, but even the Greek text itself from the translation, with which it was accompanied.

Many versions, notwithstanding their frequent and often greater coincidence with the readings of ancient manuscripts, have remained in general free from censure, but to the *Codices Græco-Latini* the charge has been laid, that the Greek text has been altered throughout from the Latin; and the accusation has not been confined to these alone, but has been extended to many other manuscripts, the readings of which coincide with the Latin, not excepting the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which was written in Egypt, a country belonging to the Greek diocese, and where Latin was in general unknown. This matter is of the more importance, because in the number of manuscripts, which have been thus accused, as well simply Greek, as Greek and Latin, are precisely the most ancient, which we should naturally prefer, on account of their venerable antiquity, to all others: but

if the charge be grounded, the most important and most ancient witnesses are deprived of the right of giving evidence, and we have no other resource than those, which are modern. Whoever wishes to examine the principal authors on this subject, may consult the *Histoire du texte du N. T.* ch. 30—32. and the *Dissertation critique sur les manuscrits du N. T.* by Simon, who has given the most learned, and the very best account for the age in which he lived : my late father's *Tractatio de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, § 80—98. and Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, in a great variety of places, which are too numerous to be here mentioned. The two latter have been the principal accusers of what are called Latinizing Manuscripts, especially Wetstein, from whose authority the accusation received very general credit. The two principal advocates in their favour are Griesbach and Woide, the former, in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, Vol. I. especially p. cx—cxvii. the latter, in his preface to the *Codex Alexandrinus*.

I formerly took part with the accusers, as appears from the former editions of this Introduction, but I have gradually altered my opinion, and am at present fully persuaded that the charge is ungrounded. I candidly confess, that Griesbach and Woide have greatly contributed to confirm me in this new opinion, though the alteration itself is rather the result of my own private reflexion, of a more careful examination of the readings of these manuscripts, and above all, of a diligent use of Hearn's edition of the Acts of the Apostles, from the Greek-Latin manuscript called *Codex Laudianus*, in which the two texts are written in parallel columns¹.

But I would not be understood to assert, that the Greek text has in no case been altered from the Latin, since any version whatsoever, that stood in high authority, might sometimes have had this influence; for even Erasmus, in his edition of the Greek Testament, altered many passages from the Latin. In cases therefore where we have particular reason to suspect an alteration, I would by no means deny it, as for instance Rom. i. 32. where,

after the word expressive of *ἐπιγινώσκεις*, the Latin version has in almost all copies *intellexerunt*, for which different Greek manuscripts², even such as are of high antiquity, have the following different readings: *οὐκ ἐνόησαν*, *οὐκ ἐγινώσαν*, & *οὐκ ἔγιναν*. This variety betrays a translation from the Latin.

But if we except the few passages, where there is some particular reason for suspecting a corruption, I am of opinion that the charge, which has been laid to these ancient and venerable manuscripts, which I shall severally describe in a following section, is ungrounded. For their coincidence with some one of the ancient Latin versions, affords no ground to conclude that the former have been corrupted from the latter, as this similarity may arise from a totally different cause, namely, that the Latin versions themselves were made from ancient Western manuscripts, which must of course resemble those, that were written in the West in the sixth and following centuries. The Latin versions are very ancient, and therefore made from very ancient manuscripts: it is no disgrace then to a Greek manuscript of the sixth or seventh century (for these are the most ancient now extant) or a proof of its corruption, if it coincides with one of the Latin versions. These are not only very numerous, but have many various readings, in which even the sense is totally different; it may therefore be reasonably expected, that an ancient Greek manuscript should coincide sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other; and if we had more remains of the old Latin versions, we should find these examples of coincidence still greater in number. But is this to be considered as a crime? and may we not ask with what particular version it is a fault to be allied? or is the contagion so general, that every Greek manuscript, which resembles them, must be considered as infected? The charge is really of too various a nature to be capable of support.

Many simply Greek manuscripts have readings, which have been called *Lectiones latinizantes*: shall we conclude then that even these have been interpolated from the

the

the Latin, and is no limit to be fixed to the operation of this supposed contagion? Besides, we have other ancient versions, which have been made immediately from the Greek, such as the Syriac and the Coptic, which have frequently those very readings, that have formed the ground of accusation against the *Codices Græco-Latini*.

It is true that transcribers, in every age, might alter the Greek text in certain cases, according to the reading of the established version in the countries, where they lived; but we must not forget, that the old Latin church entertained different sentiments, with respect to the Latin version, from the more zealous advocates of the church of modern Rome, and that they had no motive for making such an alteration in all their manuscripts. It was at the instigation of Pope Damasus that Jerom corrected the Latin from the Greek, a circumstance universally known to the Western church; and as the prefaces of Jerom were at that time constantly prefixed to the Vulgate, it is very improbable that either transcribers, or the clergy, or the learned in general of those ages, should undertake with one voice to correct the Greek from the Latin, when they knew that the learned father had made the former the basis of his alterations in the latter.

Some of the manuscripts, exposed to this censure, were written in countries, which give the charge a very high degree of improbability, the Alexandrine manuscript for instance, which was written in a country that belonged to the Greek diocese, and where that language alone was spoken. It is surely improbable that any man, who lived in Egypt, would alter the Greek original from a Latin translation.

Many, or, to speak more properly, the greatest number of these censured manuscripts, coincide in an equal, if not higher degree, with the Syriac and Coptic, than with the Latin: no reason therefore can be assigned, why the suspicion should be referred to the latter, rather than to the former. The readings of the Cambridge manuscript are very frequently so like those of the Syriac version,

that we might rather suppose it to have been altered from the Syriac, than from the Latin; yet this assertion has been made by no one, since every one sees its improbability. The remarkable coincidence with the Syriac and Coptic versions is a proof that such manuscripts, instead of being corrupted from the Latin, were faithfully taken from very ancient copies, which had readings, that are not extant in modern manuscripts; especially when we add, what Griesbach has remarked in several, that they have a striking affinity with the readings of Origen, whose copy of the Greek Testament was hardly corrupted from the Latin.

It appears from most of the *Codices Græco-Latini*, that the Latin version has been altered from the Greek text of that copy, to which it was annexed, for instance the *Cod. Cant. and Laud. 3.* The Latin version in these manuscripts, varies so materially from the other Latin versions, that there is much more reason to suspect an alteration in the Latin, than in the Greek, especially as the latter is placed in the first column. In reading the Acts of the Apostles, published by Hearne, from the *Cod. Laud. 3.* every one must observe, that the Latin has been frequently altered from the Greek, even at the expence of grammatical accuracy. But it would be foreign to the present purpose, to support these assertions by proofs and authorities, as the task has been already performed by Griesbach and Woide: but I shall take notice of some examples in the enumeration of the respective manuscripts.

Beside the more ancient alterations, which have been supposed to be made in the Greek text, it is asserted by many of the learned, that at the council of Florence held in 1439, with a view of establishing an union between the Greek and Latin churches, a resolution was formed, that the Greeks should alter their manuscripts from the Latin. In the second edition I defended this assertion, but the inquiries instituted by Goeze, in his *Continuation of the Defence of the Complutensian edition of the New Testament*, p. 40—75. have made me waver in my

my opinion with respect to this article, which is termed by the learned, *Fœdus cum Græcis*. Those who would have more information on this subject, may consult the above-mentioned treatise; it will not however be improper to quote the words of some of the principal authors, who have engaged in this controversy.

Erasmus says*, *Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum, esse Græcorum quosdam novi testamenti codices ad Latinorum exemplaria emendatos. Id factum est in fœdere Græcorum cum Romana ecclesia quod fœdus^b testatur bulla, quæ dicitur aurea. Visum enim est hoc ad firmandam concordiam pertinere. Et nos olim in hujusmodi codicem incidimus, et talis adhuc dicitur asservari in bibliothecâ Pontificiâ. Verum ex his corrigere nostros, est Lesbiam, ut aiunt, admovere regulam. Illud potius spectandum quid legerint veteres Græci, Origenes, Athanasius, Basilus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Chrysostomus, Cyrillus, ac Theophylactus. Hoc eo visum est admonere quod jam nunc quidam jactitant, se trecenta loca notasse e codice pontificiæ bibliothecæ, in quibus ille consonat cum nostrâ vulgata editione, cum mea dissonat.* Erasmus has this remark, in the edition of 1535, and even in the fourth edition of 1527, in his note to Luke x. i. though in different words. But it does not appear whence he has taken his account, no traces of it are to be discovered in the history of the council of Florence, the most learned catholics, who have been able to obtain the best information^c, Simon and Blanchini, absolutely deny it; and the latter, in a book published under the authority of the Pope, calls a correction of this nature '*emendationem vel potius depravationem,*' which, he says, Greek parasites perhaps may

* In the fifth edition of the New Testament, printed in 1535, in the *Capita argumentorum contra morosos quosdam et indoctos*. I had followed Blanchini, and quoted it as in the fourth edition, but Goeze has corrected the mistake.

^b He quotes therefore the golden Bull, as a proof of the *Fœdus cum Græcis*, not of the agreement to alter the Greek text from the Latin.

^c See Goeze's Defence, p. 44—50.

may have privately attempted in Italy. Now it is very possible that Erasmus had seen some such manuscript, that had been altered from the Latin, but it is mere conjecture that the alteration was made in consequence of the *Fœdus cum Græcis*. He was at that time occupied with a defence of his own editions, and Goeze has shewn it to be probable, that this was intended as an answer to an objection made by Sepulveda, in a letter dated Nov. 1, 1533, (which Goeze has reprinted, p. 56—58) where he speaks of 365 false readings. It is not improbable therefore that Erasmus in his answer asserted too much, as we seldom think so coolly in disputation as at other times, and Erasmus was not endued with the gentle manners of Sepulveda. His remark on Luke x. i. is certainly erroneous, or he must have understood by the title *Fœdus cum Græcis*, something different from the proposed union between the two churches at the council of Florence, for he writes, *quasi nesciamus post Græcos in concordiam Romanæ sedis receptos, et codices illorum ad latinorum exemplaria fuisse emendatos. Quorum de numero multis argumentis fuisse colligo codicem illum literis majusculis descriptum*. Now it appears, on comparing this passage with that in his *Capita*, that he means the famous *Codex Vaticanus*, but this was written undoubtedly many ages prior to the council of Florence, being one of the most ancient manuscripts now extant¹.

There is an answer of Sepulveda to Erasmus, dated May 23, 1534, which some consider as the most important evidence in favour of the above-mentioned agreement, others as a proof of the contrary: this arises partly from the obscurity of Sepulveda's expressions, partly through the want of being in possession of the letter of Erasmus. That the reader may judge for himself, I will transcribe the whole of what relates to this subject. *Quod pertinet ad librum pontificium⁴, Græcos codices N. T. Græcorum quorundam vel malitia vel levitate fuisse depravatos id ipsum quod scribis fides est indubitata, quod in Græcorum ad sanitatem redeuntium*
fœdere

⁴ *Codicem Vaticanum.*

foedere cautum fuerit*, ut Græci codices ad Romanam^c lectionem emendarentur, quomodo enim poterant clarius utrique contestari, exemplaria Romana lectionem veram et germanam retinere, Græcorum esse vitiata? Nam quod ais, græcam lectionem ex græcis auctoribus esse petendam, diceres aliquid si rationem Græci sermonis affirmares a Græcis commodius quam a Latinis explicari: at libros archetypos, fundamenta nostræ religionis continentes, cur non credamus sanctius, gravius et incorruptius asservatos esse in scriniis ac bibliothecis ecclesiæ Romanæ, quæ caput est Christianorum, et semper fuit norma catholicæ pietatis, quam in Græcia, quæ sæpe fuit hæreticorum et levissimorum hominum fraudibus et motu rerum novarum agitata. Quod accidisse certum est in LXX decretis concilii Nicæni, quæ cum integra in scriniis ecclesiæ Romanæ asservarentur, tamen ad Orientem in quibusdam ecclesiis incensa sunt, in aliis ad minorem numerum redacta, sublatis videlicet quæ ipsorum conciliis et conatibus obstare videbantur, ut Athanasius, et cæteri episcopi ex Alexandrinâ synodo ad Marcum Papam conqueruntur, a quo exemplum decretorum ipsorum, quod petebant, receperunt. Adde quod libri tutiores ab injuriis esse solent, et minus a parum doctis scholia sæpe cum scripturis confundentibus vitiari, ubi a paucioribus vel leguntur vel intelliguntur, nisi forte hoc dicis placuisse in foedere, ut dictio Græca emendaretur ad Latinam, quod nec est probabile, præterquam in certo aliquo loco^b, et nunquam factum fuisse

* Some understand by this clause, 'provision was made that the Greek manuscripts should be corrected,' but Goeze, p. 71. explains it, 'provision was made that the Greek manuscripts should not be corrected,' an explanation to which I cannot subscribe. Blanchini, probably through mistake, has printed ne instead of ut: it seems as if he took the words in the same sense as Goeze, that he retained in his memory their meaning, which he expressed more clearly in other words.

^c It is uncertain whether the Roman Vulgate, or the Vatican copy of the Greek text, is here meant. It appears to me, that Sepulveda himself doubted what sense he should ascribe to the expression of Erasmus^d.

^b I am unable to comprehend the meaning of these words. Perhaps the

fuisse certum habeo : nam articulum, quem citas ex aureâ bullâ, licet duas aureas bullas in libro conciliorum perlegerim, invenire nusquam potui¹. Quam igitur dicas, et unde nobis petenda sit, obsecro te ne graveris ad nos perscribere. The beginning of this quotation I understand as follows : ‘ With respect to the manuscript in the Pope’s library, it follows, from the account which you have given me, that Greek manuscripts have been corrupted by the malice or levity of certain Greeks, since you say, that in the articles of agreement made with the Greeks, who were on the point of returning to the true faith, it was resolved that the Greek manuscripts should be corrected according to the Roman readings⁶. For how could both parties give a stronger proof that the Roman readings were genuine, and the Greek corrupted ? ’ Sepulveda then, before he had received this letter from Erasmus, had never heard of this article in the *Fœdus cum Græcis*, and it appears that he takes it upon trust, and draws conclusions from it against Erasmus. He appears, at the same time, to be in doubt what should serve as a basis for the correction of the Greek text, whether ancient, and correct manuscripts in the Pope’s library, or the Vulgate : he not only mentions the latter as highly improbable, but challenges Erasmus to quote the passage, where he has found it.

The only inference to be deduced from these premises is, that the pretended agreement in the *Fœdus cum Græcis* is a mere conjecture of Erasmus, to which he had recourse, as a refuge in a matter of controversy. At the

the true reading is ‘ incerto ’ in one word, in which case the sense would be ‘ it is not probable that an order should have been given to correct Greek manuscripts from the Latin, unless it were in dubious passages, where a very ancient version alone could determine which of the various readings of the Greek text was the true one¹. ’

¹ It seems that Sepulveda understood the expression in the letter of Erasmus, in the same sense as many understand it in the passage which I have above quoted, namely, that Erasmus cited the golden Bull, as a proof of the agreement made to alter the Greek text from the Latin. See above Note (^b).

the same time I admit, what is asserted by Blanchini^k, and not denied by Goeze, that Greek parasites, who after the taking of Constantinople were obliged to seek their bread in Romish countries, undertook alterations in the Greek text, through a mistaken zeal for the church of Rome. But this circumstance can affect only those manuscripts, which were written after the year 1453, and which in other respects are entitled to no authority, for instance the Cod. Montfortianus, and Ravianus. Fortunately, however, the manuscripts of this description are very few in number, and were we not in possession of these two, we should hardly have known that any alterations had been made. In regard to the accusation of Erasmus, it is extraordinary that it should have been made, not only without evidence, but by the very man, who himself is the most exposed to the charge, since in his edition of the Greek Testament, a very great number of passages were altered, merely on the authority of the Latin, which alterations have been transmitted to later editions, though ratified by no Greek manuscript.

Every man, who is acquainted with the various readings of the N. T., must observe, that certain manuscripts have an affinity to each other, and that their text is distinguished by characteristic marks, from that of others. It is evident that two manuscripts, of which the one is a copy of the other, are entitled only to one voice: if this affinity be found in manuscripts, of which the one is not copied from the other, it must be explained on the principle, that they are derived from a common source. Bengel, in his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* § 27—30. expresses this relationship by the word *familia*, but Griesbach uses the term *recensio*^l, that is, edition, a word which I shall adopt in this Introduction. These editions depend on the diversity of time and place. If the text of the Greek Testament has in the course of ages been altered, either through neglect, or by pretended

^k His expression is *Græculum parasitum in Italia versatum id ultro clanculum fecisse*.—*Evangeliarium quadruplex*, Tom. I. p. 495.

tended corrections, we must expect to find in modern manuscripts, readings which exist not in the more ancient, and these, by reason of their antiquity, will resemble each other, because they had not the readings, which were afterwards introduced; and they are entitled to the preference, even though the later alterations should discover the greatest judgment and penetration. It must be remarked at the same time, that a manuscript, written in a later century, may properly belong to an ancient edition; for instance, a manuscript of the twelfth century, if it be a faithful copy of one written in the sixth or eighth century. This is really the case with some of our manuscripts, which, though themselves of no high antiquity, have the readings of those, which are most ancient.

A diversity of country will likewise produce a diversity in the editions. It appears from the subscriptions of very many manuscripts, of which we are in possession, that they were written on Mount Athos, where the monks employed themselves in writing copies of the Greek Testament: here then it is reasonable to suppose, that all the manuscripts, which come from that quarter, must resemble each other, since the transcribers hardly took the pains to procure copies, the readings of which differed from those which were in common use: but at the same time it is possible, that a manuscript might have been brought thither from some distant country, and there copied anew. As different countries had different versions, according to their respective languages, the West of Europe, where Latin, the North where Slavonian was spoken, likewise Egypt, Syria, or to speak more properly, Osrhoene, the manuscripts of those countries must necessarily resemble the respective versions, not because the former have been altered from the latter, but because the versions were made from such manuscripts, as were in common use in those respective districts. In forming a judgment therefore of the editions of different countries, we must compare with the manuscripts both the versions of those countries, and

the quotations of those fathers, who lived and wrote there. It is hardly necessary to remark that age, and country, will be sometimes at variance with each other, and that an edition, especially the Byzantine, will sometimes vary in both: likewise that the principal editions, into which the manuscripts of the Greek Testament are divided, are again capable of subdivisions: for these are remarks which must occur of themselves to every reader.

No man has deserved so highly of the public, in regard to the arrangement of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament under their respective editions, as Griesbach. See particularly his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. cxvii—cxxii. where he has promised a more complete account in his second volume. He assumes the three following principal editions. 1. The Western edition. 2. The Alexandrine edition. 3. The Byzantine edition, or, as he likewise not improperly terms it, the Eastern edition; but in the following statement I will avoid this expression, because there was a still more Eastern edition, which has been copied most frequently in the extremity of the West.

It appears to me, that there have existed four principal editions:

1. The Western edition, or that formerly used in countries where the Latin language was spoken, for our modern manuscripts have been chiefly brought from Greece. With this edition coincide the Latin version, which was made from it, more especially as it stood before the time of Jerom, and the quotations of the Latin fathers, not excepting those who lived in Africa, though Jerom, in his correction of the Vulgate, made frequent use of manuscripts, that were written in Greece. We may in some measure assume a two-fold Western edition, one of which has a striking affinity with the Syriac version.

2. The Alexandrine, or Egyptian edition. With this, as might be naturally expected, coincide the quotations of Origen, which Griesbach has collated with very particular care, as also the Coptic version.

3. The

3. The Edessene edition, which comprehends those manuscripts, from which the old Syriac version was made. Of this edition we have at present no manuscripts, a circumstance by no means extraordinary, when we recollect that the Syriac literati had an early prejudice for whatever was Grecian, and that the East, during many ages, that elapsed after the fifth century, was the seat of war and devastation. But by some accident, which is difficult to be explained, we find manuscripts in the West of Europe, accompanied even with a Latin translation, such as the Codex Bezae, which so eminently coincide with the Syriac version, that their relationship is not to be denied. The new Syriac version belongs not properly to this edition, because manuscripts were used from the library of Alexandria.

All these three editions, though they sometimes differ in their readings, harmonize very frequently with each other. This is to be ascribed in a great measure to their high antiquity, for our oldest manuscripts belong to one of these editions, and the translations themselves are very ancient. A reading, confirmed by the evidence of all these three editions, is supported by the very highest authority, but it must not be considered as infallible, since the true reading may be sometimes found only in the fourth. As these three editions themselves vary at times materially from each other, we may conclude that alterations, or pretended improvements, were made in a very early age in the Greek text, which were different in different countries. To the foregoing may be added,

4. The Byzantine edition, or that in general use at Constantinople, after this city was become the capital and metropolitan See of the Eastern empire. With this edition, those of the neighbouring provinces were closely allied. Though we have no proofs with respect to Asia Minor, no doubt can be made that they belonged to this principal edition; the greatest number of manuscripts, written on Mount Athos, are evidently of the Byzantine edition, and the same may probably be said of almost all Greece, and of the islands, not excepting perhaps

perhaps the Rhodian manuscript, which, though highly celebrated, is to us totally unknown. It is certain, or at least highly probable, that almost all the Moscow manuscripts, of which Matthäi has given extracts, came originally from these countries, and belong therefore to this edition, or, to speak more properly, to the later Byzantine edition, since none of them is more ancient than the eleventh century. To this edition are likewise to be referred the quotations of Chrysostom, and Theophylact bishop of Bulgaria, with the Slavonian, or Russian version: among these is observed a very frequent coincidence.

Since many alterations were unavoidably made, in the series of years that elapsed between the fourth and fifteenth centuries, we may divide the Byzantine edition into the ancient, and the modern. The readings of the Byzantine edition are those which are commonly found in our printed text of the Greek Testament, which varies very frequently from those of the three first editions*.

It must be further remarked, that a manuscript has not necessarily the readings that were most usual in the province in which it was written, for it may be a copy of one brought by accident from a distant country. Manuscripts likewise, which contain the whole of the N. T., may in different parts follow different editions. Griesbach has observed, that the Codex Alexandrinus follows in the Gospels the Byzantine edition, in the Epistles of St. Paul the Alexandrine, in the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles, the Western edition*. Lastly, the more modern the manuscripts, the less pure is the edition, as they contain a mixture of readings from several editions.

S E C T. IV.

Further division of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

FEW Manuscripts contain the whole New Testament, which transcribers have generally divided into three parts, the first containing the four Gospels, the second the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, the third the Revelation of St. John. The greatest number are those which contain the first part; those which have the second, or the first and second together, are likewise numerous, but those of the third are extremely few. To this must be added, that in many manuscripts are omitted those epistles, whose divine authority was formerly doubted. We must not therefore conclude, that this or that known manuscript has the reading of the printed text, because it is not quoted among the number of those, which have a different reading; for it is possible that the book itself, of which the passage in question is a part, may be wanting in that manuscript. To prevent mistakes of this kind, every critic should have a table of the contents of each manuscript. Besides, the ancient manuscripts have many chasms, whole leaves and sheets being frequently wanting: it is necessary therefore that a critic be acquainted with these chasms, since he might otherwise conclude that a manuscript, not quoted for a various reading, coincided with the printed text, though the passage itself having been erased, it could afford no evidence, either for or against the reading. This observation may be especially applied to such manuscripts, as contain not whole books, but only fragments.

The collectors of various readings would have prevented a variety of mistakes, which without the very best memory are unavoidable, in respect to these chasms, if they had quoted not only the manuscripts which deviated from, but likewise those which confirmed the common text. This accuracy has been observed in no critical edition of the Greek Testament, though it would enable us to examine the whole evidence at a single view.

view. An edition, founded on these principles, would be of great value in sacred criticism; but as it would be necessary to collate anew the manuscripts, which have been already examined, the undertaking would be too great for any single person, unless he were enabled, as Kennicott by the liberality of the English, to call in the aid of many of the learned.

The more or less frequent use which has been made of the manuscripts, is another ground of division, which it is necessary to observe, because, without this distinction, we shall be exposed to the danger of quoting manuscripts in favour of a reading, at the very time when their evidence is in favour of the contrary.

1. There are many manuscripts which have been examined only for a single text, such as 1. John v. 7. or at the utmost for a very few. Even in Wetstein's catalogue of the manuscripts, used in his edition of the Greek Testament, are several of this kind; we must not therefore conclude, because Wetstein has described, in his Prolegomena, seventy-one manuscripts of the epistles of St. Paul, that thirty-six are in favour of some particular reading, when thirty-five are quoted against it.

2. There are other manuscripts which have been examined from the beginning to the end, but not completely, and in respect to all the readings. The critics, who have used them, have extracted only such as appeared to them to be genuine, or, if not genuine, at least worthy of notice: at other times, those only have been selected, which answered some particular purpose; as for instance, in the edition of the Greek Testament by Goldhagen, the editor extracted from the manuscript preserved at Molsheim, those readings only which harmonize with the Vulgate, in opposition to the printed Greek text. In this case a critic renders his own evidence in some respects inadmissible, for since he quotes only one species of readings, it is impossible to form an adequate judgment of the whole, and to determine whether these readings are to be referred to those which

have been corrupted from the Vulgate, or being themselves genuine, confirm those of the Vulgate.

3. The third class consists of such as either have been, or at least are said to have been, completely and accurately collated. This is so difficult an undertaking, and requires not only such good eyes, but so much phlegmatic patience, that we can hardly expect to find in critical catalogues, all the various readings of a manuscript which has been only once collated. On a new revision, not only omissions, but errors are generally found in the preceding catalogues; and Wetstein, in collating many manuscripts anew, made discoveries which had wholly escaped the notice of his predecessors.

4. The fourth class consists of such as have been completely and accurately collated more than once, of whose various readings, therefore, we have more reason to expect a perfect catalogue. But here again we are in danger of falling into an evil, for which the fifth class alone, which I shall presently mention, can afford a cure. When various readings are transferred from one critical edition to another, as from that of Gregory to Mill's edition, and from the latter to those of Bengel and Wetstein, it is unavoidable that the manuscripts should be sometimes falsely named, at other times various readings omitted: and as Wetstein has marked by cyphers, manuscripts that in former editions had been denoted by the initial letters, he could hardly avoid substituting, in some cases, one figure instead of another. These are inaccuracies, which not only may, but actually have happened. To this must be added, that in one critical edition, perhaps those manuscripts only are quoted, whose readings differ from the text of that edition; that in a subsequent edition, a different text is chosen as the basis, the editor of which neglects to mention those manuscripts which differ from his text, because they coincide with that of his predecessors; whence it follows, that those extracts, which in the first edition were accurate and complete, are in the following edition not only imperfect, but sometimes false.

5. The

5. The fifth class, which is by far the most valuable, consists of such as have been printed word for word, and form therefore an original, unmixed edition of the Greek Testament. We can boast only of very few manuscripts of this kind. Hearne printed at Oxford, in 1715, the Acts of the Apostles in Greek and Latin, from the Codex Laudianus 3. ; Knittel has annexed to his edition of Ulphilas, p. 53—118. a copy of two very ancient fragments, preserved in the library of Wolfenbüttel, the one of the four Gospels in general³, the other of St. Luke and St. John⁴; Woide printed in 1786, the Codex Alexandrinus, line for line, with types cast for that purpose, and perfectly similar to the original manuscript; and the University of Cambridge has resolved to publish, in a similar manner, the Cod. Cant. I., or, as it is sometimes called, the Codex Bezae, the care of which is intrusted to Dr. Kipling, a publication which will be thankfully received by every friend to sacred criticism⁵. It was the intention of the Abbé Spoletti, a few years ago, to publish the whole of the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, which would likewise have been a most valuable accession, since a more important manuscript is hardly to be found in all Europe. He delivered for this purpose a memorial to the Pope; but the design was not put into execution, either because the Pope refused his assent, or the Abbé abandoned it himself. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXII. No. 333. and Vol. XXIII. No. 348⁶.

Accurate and complete impressions, of such ancient and important manuscripts, would be of great value, not only in points of criticism, but to our religion itself. By these means, very numerous errors might have been avoided, and our collection of readings, which at present is very imperfect, might have been rendered complete: copies of manuscripts, printed like the Codex Alexandrinus, which perfectly resembles the original, would contribute in a very eminent degree to the advancement of biblical criticism; and without this assistance, we have reason to fear, that in a couple of centuries

our collection of readings will fall into such confusion, as to render it necessary to collate again the manuscripts which have been already examined. If several editions, like that of Wetstein, should hereafter be published, it is probable that so much inaccuracy will arise, from the errors of transcribers, and printers, that it will be always necessary to have recourse to the more ancient editions; and even this will be attended with no absolute certainty, as it may be difficult to determine, whether the new editor neglected by mistake to quote a manuscript, or whether he omitted it by design, as having been improperly quoted by the former editor. Examples of this nature I have found in Wetstein, where he has omitted readings, that are contained in Mill's edition, without mentioning that Mill was mistaken.

A very valuable library might be composed of the impressions of ancient manuscripts, which, though too expensive for a private person, should be admitted into every University collection, especially the Alexandrine and Cambridge manuscripts, to which I would add, if it were now possible to procure it, Hearne's edition of the Codex Laudianus 3. A plan of this sort could be executed only in England, by a private subscription, where a zeal is frequently displayed in literary undertakings, that is unknown in other countries; and it were to be wished that the project were begun, before length of time had rendered the manuscripts illegible, and the attempt therefore fruitless. Ten thousand pounds would go a great way toward the fulfilling of this request, if the learned themselves did not augment the difficulty of the undertaking, by adding their own critical remarks, and endeavouring thereby to recommend their publications, rather than by presenting to the public a faithful copy of the original. Should posterity be put in possession of faithful impressions of important manuscripts, an acquisition which would render the highest service to sacred criticism, all these editions of the New Testament should be regulated on the same plan as Hearne's edition of the Acts of the Apostles.

On

On the other hand, impressions of modern manuscripts would be not only useless, but even burthensome, such for instance as that which Eschenbach proposed to publish, with the addition of various readings from six other manuscripts. We know nothing more of it, than that it was brought from Constantinople, and written before the year 1391: he abandoned however his design, which is no loss to biblical criticism¹.

Lastly, may be mentioned those manuscripts, from which the learned have given extracts, without describing the manuscripts themselves, so as to distinguish them from others. It was the ancient mode of quoting, to say simply, Codex, or Codices; and though critics mentioned the number of manuscripts which they used, yet in the quotation of readings, that differed from the common text, they neglected to determine what particular reading was taken from each particular manuscript. To this class belong the twenty-two manuscripts collated by J. Matthæus Caryophilus, by order of Pope Urban VIII. namely, ten for the four Gospels, eight for the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, and four for the Revelation of St. John: these I shall describe in the sequel, under the title of Codices Barberini, to which may be added the Codices Veleisiani. It is impossible to form an adequate judgment of readings extracted in this manner, because we have not sufficient knowledge of the evidence itself, and are unable to decide, whether a particular reading is the result of negligence in the writer of the manuscript, whether it is an intended correction, or whether he actually found it in the ancient copy, from which he transcribed. Manuscripts, collated in this manner, may be considered almost in the same light as those which have never been collated; since we have no criterion to distinguish them from others; and should they be again applied to the purposes of criticism, a new collation would be absolutely necessary:

¹ It contains the whole New Testament, except the Book of Revelation. See Schoenleben's *Notitia codicis, quem Norimbergæ servat Maron, Guil. Ebner ab Eschenbach. Norimbergæ 1738.*

necessary : at least, in summing up the number of witnesses, for or against a reading, anonymous manuscripts cannot be reckoned, without our being exposed to the danger of counting one and the same evidence as two. Every manuscript, that is, entitled to a voice, must have a name, or a mark of distinction, were it only the title *Codex meus*, which the proprietor ascribes to it ; it is likewise necessary to know the number of books which it contains, and the place where it was kept at the time of collation. It is not my intention to prescribe the rules, which ought to be observed by a critic in his description of a manuscript ; but only to mention those marks of distinction, which are absolutely necessary, because if they are neglected, a manuscript, though collated with the utmost accuracy, is of no more value to posterity, than one that has been never used ⁶.

SECTION V.

Of manuscripts hitherto uncollated.

A DESCRIPTION of all the manuscripts of the New Testament, which have never been used for the purposes of criticism, and which lie buried in the different libraries of Europe, would be a task, to which my abilities are unequal, since, without printed catalogues, it is impossible to know the treasures which each library contains. An inquiry of this kind would be likewise foreign to an Introduction to the New Testament : but if a literator, who had made a study of this branch of knowledge, would in a particular treatise favour the world with his discoveries, we should derive from it very great advantage, especially in a publication of a new edition of the Greek Testament, because many valuable manuscripts are often neglected, for no other reason, than that we are unacquainted with the place in which they are preserved ¹.

But

But those which are of little value, and even such as occupy a middle rank, if their readings coincide with the common printed text, are hardly entitled to a collation; an augmentation of the number of modern manuscripts, whose evidence is generally the same, is attended with no advantage, and is besides a cumbrous weight for every critic. It is not my intention to assert, that every modern manuscript is to be rejected without examination, which is necessary, in order to save others the same trouble; but I mean to assert, that our collections of various readings ought not to be unnecessarily swelled, and that future editors might, without being exposed to censure, omit the readings of inferior manuscripts, and of such as have a general coincidence.

On the contrary, ancient and important manuscripts, which lie concealed in libraries, especially in those of Italy, deserve our particular attention, and none in so eminent a manner, as those which are distinguished by readings, that coincide with the ancient versions, or the quotations of the ancient fathers. Here we have a field before our eyes, where much remains to be performed.

S E C T. VI.

Of the manuscripts that have been used in editions of the Greek Testament¹.

MILL and BENGEL have noted their manuscripts by initial letters, writing for instance Al. for Alexandrinus; but several mistakes have arisen in these abbreviations, which Wetstein, in his Prolegomena, has sometimes noticed, and corrected. He has himself marked the ancient manuscripts with the letters A. B. C. &c. and those, which he held to be more modern, with cyphers, from 1 to 112; a mode of notation which frequently exposes us to error, since it is more difficult for the memory to retain the figures, which denote each manuscript, than an abbreviation of their names; and
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he has rendered this difficulty still greater, by not retaining the same marks throughout the whole work, for his letters and figures have a different meaning in the epistles of St. Paul, from that which they have in the four Gospels; a still different meaning in the catholic epistles, and Acts of the Apostles; and, lastly, they are taken in a fourth sense, in the book of Revelation. Wetstein, who devoted his whole life to the study of these manuscripts, might retain these marks of distinction, but it is almost impossible for his readers. Besides, in letters and figures, errors of the press are more easily committed, and more difficult to be discovered and corrected. But as Wetstein is the principal collector of various readings, I shall mention, in the following catalogue, the figures by which he has noted each manuscript. Dr. Semler, in the third volume of his Introduction to the interpretation of the Bible, has delivered many observations on these manuscripts; but as I have not sufficient time to examine whether his quotations are accurate, I can make no use of his literary labours^a.

Most of the manuscripts, which I shall describe in this section, have been quoted and described by Wetstein; a great part therefore is nothing more than an extract from his Prolegomena. But in order to take up as little room as possible, I shall avoid making references, either to his Prolegomena or those of Mill, because each manuscript may be easily found, by referring to their indexes.

1. Alexandrinus, which is noted by the letter A. in all the four parts of Wetstein's edition of the Greek Testament. As it would be inconvenient to interweave the additional matter, which I have at present to communicate, into the description, which I have already given of this manuscript in the third edition, the following account is written independently of the former, which I will subjoin at the end of this description, as it contains a variety of materials which may be useful to the reader.

Cyillus

Cyrillus Lucaris, a native of Crete, and Patriarch of Constantinople, whose life has been written by Smith, in a book entitled *De vita, studio, gestis, et martyrio Cyrilli Lucaris*, and briefly described by Woide, in the ninth paragraph of his *Prolegomena* to the edition of this manuscript, presented this MS. to Charles I. in 1628, by his ambassador in Constantinople. It was deposited in 1753, in the British Museum, with the rest of the royal library, an account of which may be seen in Woide's *Prolegomena*, § 26. Various disputes have arisen, with respect to its antiquity, whence it was brought, where it was written, and its real value. Some critics have bestowed on it all possible commendation, while it has been depreciated in an equal degree by others; nor has the honest donor, Cyrillus Lucaris himself been left unattacked, especially by Wetstein, who was one of its most strenuous adversaries.

Cyrillus procured the manuscript in Egypt, though this was doubted by Wetstein, because Matthæus Mutis, who was ordained deacon by Cyrillus, had said that it came from Mount Athos. But Wetstein's objections have been fully answered by Woide, in the 11th, 12th, and 13th paragraphs of his *Prolegomena*³. According to all the accounts which Cyrillus had received, it was likewise written in Egypt, which is confirmed by the characteristic marks of the manuscript itself, not excepting those which relate to its orthography, as will appear from my former description, and from the 33^d paragraph of Woide's Preface, who has found in it certain points which the Copts usually placed over particular letters. But some of his arguments are not convincing⁴; for instance, that which he derives from the exchange between ϵ and α , an error which is found in many manuscripts, and to be explained on the principle of an Itacism. But I can see no reason whatsoever to doubt that this manuscript, which takes its name from Alexandria, was really written in Egypt⁵. According to a Greek subscription, that was formerly visible in this manuscript, though at present effaced, it was written by Thecla,

Thecla, an Egyptian lady of high rank, who lived soon after the council of Nicæa⁶; in the Arabic subscription she is called the Martyress Thecla, which is a manifest error, because the Martyress Thecla is placed in the time of St. Paul⁷. It is very possible, that a person of the name of Thecla may have written, if not the whole, at least a part of it, though we can place little dependence on such traditions of former subscriptions; but that the copyist lived as long ago as the council of Nicæa, is wholly incredible, for the manuscript cannot possibly be so ancient. Woide, who has himself transcribed and published it, and must therefore be better acquainted with it than any other person, asserts, in the 28th paragraph of his Preface, that it was written by two different copyists: he has observed even a difference in the ink, and, what is of more importance, even in the strokes of the letters. If the three principal parts of the New Testament were distinguished in this manuscript, by a difference in the hand-writing, the observation of Griesbach, which I shall presently mention, would be of great importance; but the place, where the one ceases, and the other commences, is in the middle⁸.

It is written with uncial letters, without marks of aspiration, accents, or intervals between the words. This shews its high antiquity, and that it was not written so late as the tenth century, which some of its adversaries have asserted. Of the points annexed to certain letters, which before appeared unintelligible; of the large initial letters, which are sometimes placed in a very extraordinary manner; of the abbreviations, of which however there are very few⁹, &c. a full account may be seen in Woide's Preface, who has given a very accurate description of the manuscript in general¹⁰. It consists of four folios, three of which contain the Old Testament, and the fourth the New Testament. See the account taken from the third edition, and the fac simile of Luke xvii. 4. placed, in Woide's edition, between the list of subscribers and the preface. Woide has likewise described the chasms more accurately than

I was able to do in the preceding edition of this Introduction.

That the antiquity of our manuscript cannot be precisely determined ; that those who refer it to the fourth century, ascribe to it too great an age, and that they who place it in the tenth make it on the other hand by far too modern, as appears from the form of the letters and the general character of the manuscript itself, will be observed in the description taken from the third edition, where I have examined the arguments for and against its antiquity. Whoever would examine this subject with still greater accuracy, may consult Woide's Preface", § 41—59. who has likewise examined the arguments of the patrons and adversaries of its antiquity, without having seen what I had written on this matter in the third edition of this Introduction". The result of my inquiries was the following ; that the limits of the period in which it was written, cannot be confined to a space that is less than two hundred years : it cannot possibly be more ancient than the sixth century, and I would hardly venture to place it in that early age ; but, on the other hand, it is equally impossible that it should be more modern than the eighth century. I would not allow it therefore the foremost rank among the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, not even in respect to its antiquity ; nor would I denote it by the first letter of the alphabet, as Wetstein has done, (though in other respects he is no admirer of this manuscript) an honour to which it is as little entitled in respect to its internal excellence, and the value of its readings".

These, which are the principal object of our inquiry, remain to be examined. It appears, from what has been said above, that our manuscript has been greatly and unjustly censured by some, while others have been equally lavish in their praises. The principal charge which has been laid to it, a charge chiefly propagated by Wetstein, is, that it Latinizes, or, that it has been altered from the Latin version ; and because the coincidence is very frequent, the accusation found general credit. It might
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be sufficient to refer my readers to what I have said on this subject in general, in the third section of this chapter; but as this manuscript is of some importance, it is necessary to examine the charge which has been laid to it in particular¹⁴.

As it appears, from all the accounts which we have been able to gather, that it was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria itself, it is incredible that a transcriber, who lived in that country, should have altered the Greek text from a Latin version. Egypt belonged not to the Latin, but to the Greek diocese; and Latin was not understood there, except by those who had learnt it as a learned language. If we have recourse to the examples that are alleged as proofs, we shall find still less reason to believe that the charge is grounded, for the pretended Latinizing readings are found not only in other Greek manuscripts, but in ancient versions. One of the strongest proofs, and which formerly appeared to me of some importance, is the insertion of *δια πνευματος αγιου*, Acts iv. 25. a reading found in the Vulgate; so that the text of the Cod. Al. is *ο τε πατρος ημων δια πνευματος αγιου ρηματος Δαβιδ παιδος σου ιουδα*. Now it is evident that the words in question are inserted in an improper place; but what reason is there to suppose that they were interpolated from the Latin in particular? Many other manuscripts quoted by Wetstein have the same words, and likewise improperly inserted, to which may be added the Moscow manuscript¹⁵ noted l, which was certainly not altered from the Latin: its reading is *ο δια τε πατρος ημων εν πνευματι αγιω στοματος Δαβιδ παιδος σου*. The same words are found in the old Syriac and Coptic versions, though in a more proper place; but in the new Syriac they are inserted with the same impropriety as in the Alexandrine manuscript¹⁶. If therefore our manuscript has been corrupted from a version, it is more reasonable to suspect the Coptic, the version of the country in which it was written. We find likewise in the Coptic the very same inversion of the particle *μη*, 1 Cor. viii. 8. which gives a different, and even a better sense than the common

text; namely, the Coptic and Cod. Al. have *ετι γαρ εαν φάγομεν, περιστυομεν, ετι, εαν φάγομεν, υπερημεθα* ¹⁷. Now as this inversion is likewise found in some Latin manuscripts, it seems as if they had been altered from the Egyptian edition. I have observed in general a remarkable coincidence between this manuscript and the two following versions.

1. The Coptic. For instance, it is the only manuscript now extant that has the reading of the Coptic version ¹⁸, *να πανχρησται*, 1 Cor. xiii. 3. a reading which in the time of Jerom was found in several manuscripts. This coincidence is such, as might be expected from a manuscript written in Egypt.

2. The Syriac, the evidence of which agrees in numberless instances with that of our manuscript. But I will select only a few readings of the Syriac, which are found either in the Cod. Al. alone, or at the utmost in one or two other manuscripts. For instance, the Syriac version and the Cod. Al. alone omit *αλλα*, Mark viii. 8. add *ετι* after *μαρτυρουντι*, Acts xiv. 3. and have *δεξιολαες* ¹⁹ for *δεξιολαες*, Acts xxiii. 23. The Syriac and the Cod. Al. with one or two other manuscripts, have *αυτοις* for *αυτας*, Acts x. 48. omit the second *και*, xii. 25. have *αυτοις* for *αυτε*, xxi. 4. and *ετι Ιερουσαλμοις* for *ε Ιερουσαλμοις*, xxvi. 4. which makes some alteration in the sense ²⁰. See the Curæ in Act. Apost. Syriacos, p. 152.

Griesbach has observed that this manuscript follows three different editions, the Byzantine in the Gospels, where its readings are of the least value, the Western edition in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic epistles which form the middle division of this manuscript, and the Alexandrine in the epistles of St. Paul ²¹. The transcriber therefore copied the three parts of the Greek Testament from three different manuscripts, of three different editions. If this assertion be true, which I readily believe, though I have not examined it myself, it is impossible to pronounce a general judgment on this manuscript.

If I had any charge to lay to the Cod. Alexandrinus, it

it should be the following, that some of its readings have the appearance of scholia, or even corrections of the literati of Alexandria. For instance Rom. ii. 5. ἀπαποδύσις²² for ἀποκαλύψις, a reading found in no other manuscript; but I am unable to produce other examples, though I have met with several, because I have neglected to note them.

No manuscript has been more frequently and more accurately collated, and there was reason to suppose that the last extracts, which were made by Wetstein would have rendered future labours of this kind superfluous; but we are informed by Woide, in the 25th paragraph of his preface, that Wetstein has been guilty of several omissions and several errors, and has sometimes admitted into his collection of readings the mistakes which had been made by Mill; a circumstance which Woide explains, on the supposition that Wetstein, after he had collated the manuscript himself, compared his own extracts with those of Mill, and supplied his own deficiencies from the latter, because he believed them to be accurate.

We are now in possession of a perfect impression of this manuscript, which is accompanied with so complete and so critical a collection of various readings, as is hardly to be expected from the edition of any other manuscript. Dr. Woide published it in 1786, with types cast for that purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, as in the manuscript itself: the copy is so perfect a resemblance of the original, that it may supply its place: its title is *Novum Testamentum Græcum e codice MS. Alexandrino qui Londini in bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur descriptum*; it is a very splendid folio, and the preface of the learned editor contains an accurate description of the manuscript, with an exact list of all its various readings, that takes up no less than eighty-nine pages, and each reading is accompanied with a remark, in which is given an account of what his predecessors Junius, Walton, Fell, Mill, Grabe and Wetstein had performed, or neglected.

Descrip-

Description of the Codex Alexandrinus, as it stood in the third edition of this Introduction.

My readers will excuse me, if I treat of this manuscript in a very prolix manner, because the opinions which have been formed of it, have material influence in our criticisms on the New Testament. For, as it varies from the common printed text more than most other manuscripts, and in such cases often agrees with the Latin version, the authority of the latter must increase, and that of the common Greek text diminish, if the Alexandrine manuscript be entitled to the commendations which have been bestowed on it by Mill, Bentley, Bengel, and the greatest number of Protestant writers. Mill says of it, § 1338, that the church has been in possession of nothing more valuable during the last 1200 years, and § 1341, that as this is the oldest manuscript now extant, it appears that no one 'ab ipsis fere canonis incunabulis' has contained a more true text of the writings of the Apostles. Bengel, in the 32^d section^m of his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* has maintained the following position, *Alexandrini codices et Latinæ versionis collatio, unam, brevissimam, certissimam, et facillimam decidendi rationem, partim subministrat, partim ad eam deducit.* These words, which seem to convey more than is consistent with the truth, and are generally understood in a sense that the writer did not intend to express, he has explained in his *Tractatio de sinceritate N. T.* His meaning is, not that those readings are necessarily genuine, in which the Alexandrine manuscript coincides with the Latin version, but that the foregoing rule may be considered as a mean of quieting the consciences of those who wish to clear up doubts in their own minds, without entering into the difficulties of sacred criticism. For he says, that both these resources extend to the whole of the New Testament, that the Latin version is understood by every man of education, and that the Alexandrine manuscript has been very accurately collated. He has

^m P. 390. of the old edition, p. 24. of the new.

has likewise no objection to the substitution of another manuscript and another version to the two above-mentioned, as the means of discovering the true reading. Bengel himself became a critic through scruples of conscience^a, and he wished to supply others, who were in the same situation, with rules that might contribute to their relief. But if it be true, as some have asserted, that the Alexandrine manuscript has been altered from the Latin, this rule of Bengel would lead rather to error than to truth.

A manuscript that has so much influence on sacred criticism, deserves to be treated more at large; but all that I can advance is only a small part of that which has been written by other men of learning on this subject. The accounts which have been given in detached passages by Hody, in his treatise de Bibliorum textibus originalibus, by Grabe, in his Prolegomena, to the Septuagint, and by Lee, in his Notitia codicis Alexandrini^b, relate chiefly to the Greek text of the Old Testament, but they may be of use in forming a judgment of the manuscript in general, and of its antiquity in particular. In opposition to Grabe's Notitia, Casimir Oudin published at Leyden, in 1717, Trias Dissertationum Criticarum, in which he argues against the antiquity of the Codex Alex. and contends that it was written so late as the tenth century, for the use of a monastery belonging to the order of Accœmets. But this treatise appears to have been written partly to serve the turn of a bookseller, and to promote the sale of Bos's edition of the Septuagint, which followed, or pretended to follow, the text of the Codex Vaticanus, partly, as Schulze supposes, through personal enmity to Grabe. Hichtel in his Exercitatio critica de antiquitate et præstantia codicis Romani præ Alexandrino, published at Jena in 1734, sides with Oudin; Schulze, on the contrary, or his respon-

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^a See his Apparatus Criticus, p. 703. of the 2^d edition, and Rathleff's History of the Literati now living, VI. p. 429²².

^b The treatises both of Grabe and Lee are printed in Breitinger's edition of the Septuagint.

dent Dietelmaier, in a thesis published at Halle in 1739, under the title *Dissertatio qua antiquitas codicis Alexandrini vindicatur novoque argumentor confirmatur*, carries its antiquity so high as the fourth century. Bengel has greatly extolled it in the 32^d section of his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* but my late father, in the 100th section of his *Tractatio de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, has made several objections to that position of Bengel which I quoted above; and at the same time contended that the Alexandrine manuscript was not free from alterations from the Latin. To the objections of my father, Bengel replied in the 10th and 11th sections of his *Tractatio de sinceritate N. T. Græci tuendâ*. But no one has taken so much pains to depreciate this manuscript as Wetstein, in his *Prolegomena*²⁴. Lastly, Dr. Semler has treated of this manuscript in a thesis, which was the subject of a disputation at which he presided, published at Halle in 1759, and entitled *Conjecturæ de ætate codicis Alexandrini*; for though the thesis was drawn up by the respondent, it is certain that the assertions and discoveries which it contains are to be ascribed to Semler himself²⁵. As so many of the learned have employed their pens on this manuscript, various conjectures have been unavoidably made, that rest on unstable ground; and those critics especially who draw their arguments for its antiquity, and country, from the internal evidence of the text itself, seem to forget that it must have been copied from one that was still more ancient. The tokens of antiquity therefore, which they find in the text, and which are likewise alleged as proofs of its having been written in Egypt, may be used as arguments, that the ancient manuscript, of which the Alexandrine is a copy, was written in that age and in that country, but they lead to no positive conclusion in regard to the *Codex Alexandrinus* itself. This very just remark was made by Dr. Semler; but a partiality for this celebrated manuscript has been the reason that many of its friends have contented themselves with very unsatisfactory replies.

Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, well known in the ecclesiastical annals of the last century, whose partiality for the church of England drew on him the hatred of the catholics, which ended with his death, sent it as a present to Charles I. by the hands of his ambassador at the Porte, Sir Thomas Roe. In this manner it came to England, and it acquired the title *Alexandrinus*, because Cyrillus was said to have brought it from Alexandria, where he had been Patriarch. Wetstein doubted the truth of this relation, and believed it to have been taken from one of the two-and-twenty monasteries on mount Athos, on the credit of Matthæus Muttis, deacon of Cyrillus, who gave this account to J. Rudolph Wetstein the elder. But Cyrillus himself, in the words, which I shall presently quote, describes it as having been found in Egypt, and relates that, when the Christian religion was extirpated in Egypt, the name of Thecla was erased from the end of the manuscript. Now it is reasonable to suppose that Cyrillus must have been better acquainted with the place, from which the manuscript was brought, than his deacon Muttis⁴⁶. But the question, where Cyrillus found it, is of less importance than that, where it was written: and of still less consequence the inquiry, which has been made by many of the learned, whether Cyrillus obtained it by purchase, or by present.

Though Wetstein has made it doubtful, whether the title *Alexandrine* is due to this manuscript in one sense of the word, he is of opinion that it is justly entitled to it in another, for he is persuaded from certain internal marks that it was written at Alexandria. This controversy is rendered important by the circumstance, that the country of this manuscript has material influence on the question, whether it latinizes or not; for many contend that this is hardly to be expected in a manuscript written in Egypt, while others, especially Dr. Semler, have endeavoured to shew at least its possibility⁴⁷. I confess that I am of the same opinion, because the inquiry turns not so much on the *Codex Alexandrinus*, as on the
more

more ancient manuscript, of which this is a copy. For if this ancient manuscript latinized, the Cod. Alex. must do the same, in whatever country it was written : and since it is by no means necessary, that books constantly remain in the same country, and they may be transferred from one library to another, it is possible that latinizing copies were brought from Italy or the West of Africa into Egypt or Greece ; a faithful transcript therefore from any one of these would likewise latinize, though written in Constantinople, Greece, or Egypt. Besides, the Coptic and Sahidic versions have a striking coincidence with the Codex Cantabrigiensis, which is likewise said to latinize ; if therefore a manuscript had been altered from the Coptic version, it would appear to do the same.

That the Codex Alexandrinus was written in Egypt, the following appears to me to afford a very probable argument. Ezekiel xxvii. 18. both in the Hebrew and Greek text, the Tyrians are said to have fetched their wine from Chelbon, α χελβων ; that is, as Bochart explains it in his Hierozoicon Tom. I. p. 485, 486. from Chalybon. But as Chalybon, though celebrated for its wine, was unknown to the writer of this manuscript, he has altered it, by a fanciful conjecture, of which we find many instances, to οιβον εκ χελβων, wine from Hebron. The impropriety of the alteration is manifest, because the subject relates to the produce of Damascus ; but it was probably made by an Egyptian copyist, because Egypt, which has itself very few vineyards, was formerly supplied with wine from Hebron, whence at this very day are yearly imported into Egypt at least a hundred tuns of Dibs, or grape-honey.

To the foregoing remarks may be added what Woide has mentioned in a letter dated April 21, 1772. Having collated a Sahidic version of the Acts of the Apostles for his Coptic Lexicon, he found that the characters of the Sahidic manuscript greatly resembled those of the Codex Alexandrinus, especially in that leaf of the Alexandrine manuscript which contains the catalogue of the

books of the whole Bible, where the letters are somewhat larger, and not so round as in the text itself; or when those pages of the Sahidic manuscript be examined that are written with care, in which the similarity is greater than where they appear to have been written in haste. (See likewise Woide's preface, § 33.)

The manuscript consists of four volumes, the three first of which contain the Old Testament, the fourth the New Testament together with the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and a fragment of the second. In the New Testament, which alone is the object of our present inquiry, is wanting the beginning as far as Matth. xxv. 6. ο νυμφίος ἔρχεται, likewise from John vi. 50, to viii. 52. and from 2 Cor. iv. 13. to xii. 7²³. It must likewise be observed, that the Psalms are preceded by the epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, and followed by a catalogue^p, containing those, which are to be used in prayer for each hour, both of the day and of the night; also by fourteen hymns, partly apocryphal, partly biblical, the eleventh of which is an hymn in praise of the Virgin Mary, entitled προσευχη μαρίας της δειστρον: further the Hypotheses Eusebii are annexed to the Psalms, and his Canones to the Gospels. It is true that this has no immediate reference to the New Testament, but may have influence in determining the antiquity of the manuscript itself.

It has neither accents nor marks of aspiration^q, it is written with capital, or as they are called, uncial letters, and

^p Κατα τις ημεραι, και ουκτιςτοι ψαλμων.

^q Grabe says, eos in primis quidem, Geneseos, capitibus recentior manus adpinxit; prima vero librarii manus per totum codicem rarius addidit. It were to be wished that he had noted those instances, where the first copyist has added these marks, for if they are really notes of aspiration, they must have influence in determining the antiquity of the manuscript, as well as on other questions. But Mill is of a contrary opinion, for he says, § 1340, notulas iis haud absimiles, quibus spiritum lenem representant grammatici, quæ hic subinde occurrunt, idque ad finem vocum, aut supra literas consonantes, inter lusus calami habendas censeo. Now it would not have been improper, if in the copper-plates that have been given of the letters of this manuscript some notice had been taken of these marks. (See at present Woide's preface, sect. 33.)

and has very few abbreviations. There are no intervals between the words, but the sense of a passage is sometimes terminated by a point, and sometimes by a vacant space. Here arises a suspicion that the copyist did not understand Greek, because these marks are sometimes found even in the middle of a word, for instance *Levit. v. 4. αωμερ. η* for *an omeon*, and *Numb. xiii. 29. μω τωκ*. Some lines of this manuscript are exhibited in copper-plate in Grabe's *Prolegomena to the Septuagint* cap. i. § 6. in Rogall's dissertation *de auctoritate interpunctionis in codice sacro N. T.* and Blanchini *Evangeliarium quadruplex P. I.* on the reverse of the first of the plates, which are placed p. 492. from which the reader may judge of the form of the characters, and the antiquity of the manuscript.

Cyrrillus himself has given the following account¹⁹; 'We know so much of this manuscript of the holy writings of the Old and New Testament, that Thecla an Egyptian lady of distinction (*nobilis femina Egyptia*) wrote it with her own hand 1300 years ago'. She lived soon after the council of Nicæa. Her name was formerly at the end of the book, but when Christianity was subverted in Egypt by the errors of Muhammed, the books of the Christians suffered the same fate, and the name of Thecla was expunged. But oral tradition of no very ancient date (*memoria et traditio recens*) has preserved the remembrance of it'. It is difficult to decide whether this

¹⁹ See Grabe's *Prolegomena*, cap. i. § 6.

²⁰ He wrote this in the year 1628. According to this account then, the manuscript must have been written in, 328, a date to which so many weighty objections may be made, that its most strenuous advocates will hardly undertake to defend it. But this error has furnished Oudin with an opportunity of producing many arguments against the antiquity of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which seem to imply that Grabe and others, who have referred it to the fourth century, suppose it to have been written in the above-mentioned year. Now it is probable, that the inference which has been deduced from the account of Cyrrillus, is more than he himself intended to express, as he relates that Thecla lived after the council of Nicæa.

¹ Grabe's *Prolegomena*, cap. i. § 1.

this account be confirmed, or contradicted, by the subscription, which is written in Arabic on the reverse of the leaf which contains the list of the books of the Old and New Testament, 'It is said that this book was written by the martyress Thecla'. Now the martyress Thecla, who was a contemporary of St. Paul, cannot possibly have written the Codex Alexandrinus; and besides, she lived not 1300 but 1500 years before Cyrillus wrote this account. So far then the two accounts appear contradictory³⁰; and Wetstein, who was not quite impartial in this affair, contended that the Patriarch falsely represented the tradition, in order to give it a greater degree of probability³¹. But the charge is really unjust, for Cyrillus appeals to a tradition respecting the subscription, which formerly stood at the end of the book, and which was either expunged or torn out, not to the Arabic subscription which is still extant. The person, who wrote the latter, had likewise heard that one Thecla was the transcriber, and being probably less acquainted with ecclesiastical history than Cyrillus, made an addition to the account which confutes itself, as the manuscript contains the epistles of Athanasius³².

On the other hand, I would by no means place absolute confidence in this tradition. Dr. Semler very properly observes, that there is no more reason to rely on a tradition respecting the transcriber of an ancient manuscript, than on a tradition that relates to an ancient relick. Nor will I take up the reader's attention by inquiring who this Thecla was, to whom we are indebted for the Codex Alexandrinus. Grabe supposed that she was the prioress of a convent in Seleucia, to whom Gregory of Nazianzus wrote three epistles, namely the 200th, 201st, and 202^d; but, admitting that a person of the name

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See Grabe's Prolegomena Cap. I. § 4.

³⁰ Hunc anachronismum ut vitaret Cyrillus Lucaris, rem ita narravit at hoc non erat traditiones retinere, sed novas ac veteribus contrarias fingere.

name of Thecla in the fourth century was really the copyist, it is no necessary consequence that she was the Thecla to whom Gregory wrote, since many might have lived in that age, who had the very same name. The transcriber might have been a person of whom we have no further knowledge than that of her name, who lived in the eighth or even in the tenth century. Notwithstanding therefore the profusion of learning which has been displayed on both sides of the question, an impartial lover of truth must acknowledge, that certainty is not to be obtained.

The conjecture of Oudin, which was adopted by Wetstein, that the manuscript was written by an Accomet is worthy of attention, because it contains a catalogue of the psalms, that were to be sung at every hour, not only of the day, but of the night²². A description of the Accomets, or monks, whose office was to sing psalms night and day, may be seen in Helyot's History of religious orders²³, Vol. I. c. 29. at present therefore I will only observe, that this conjecture contradicts not the account that Thecla was the copyist, since there were not only monks, but nuns of this order.

The antiquity likewise of this manuscript can be determined with no certainty, though it appears from the formation of the letters, which resemble those of the fourth and fifth centuries, and the want of accents, that it was not written so late as the tenth century. In this century it was placed by Oudin, while Grabe and Schulze have referred it to the fourth, which is the very utmost period that can be allowed, because it contains the epistles of Athanasius. Wetstein, with more probability, has chosen a mean between these two extremes, and referred it to the fifth century: but we are not justified in drawing this inference from the formation of the letters alone, for it is well known that the same mode of forming the letters was retained longer in some countries and monasteries than in others; nor must we forget to take into the account the above-mentioned likeness between these and the Sahidic characters. Wetstein has gone a
step

step further, and to this opinion, which is not wholly improbable, has added the following, that the Codex Alexandrinus is one of those very manuscripts from which various readings were taken as marginal notes to the Syriac version in the year 615, which I have mentioned Ch. vii. sect. 11. but this conjecture has been amply refuted by Ridley, in his *Dissertatio de versionibus Syriacis*, sect. 15.

That the reader may be able to see with what little certainty we can judge of the antiquity of this celebrated manuscript, I will produce the principal arguments which have been used both for and against it. He will probably learn, from the following statement, to pay less adoration to the Codex Alexandrinus than many eminent critics, and from this example will see the preference that is due in many respects to ancient versions before any single manuscript, because the antiquity of the former, which is in general greater than that of the latter, can be determined with more precision.

The arguments advanced by those who refer the Codex Alexandrinus to the fourth or fifth centuries are the following:

a) The epistles of St. Paul are not divided into chapters like the Gospels, though this division took place so early as 396, when to each chapter was prefixed a superscription. If therefore, says Grabe, this manuscript had been written after the year 396, it is probable that the copyist would have adopted this useful division.

To this argument even the advocates for this manuscript, Wetstein and Semler, have made weighty objections³⁴, which I omit at present, because I shall answer it presently in conjunction with the following argument.

b) The Codex Alexandrinus has the epistles of Clement of Rome; but these were forbidden to be read in the churches by the council of Laodicea in 364, and that of Carthage in 419. Hence Schulze has concluded that this manuscript was written before the year 364.

c) This very learned critic has produced a new argument for its antiquity, taken from the last of the fourteen

hymns

hymns found in this manuscript immediately after the Psalms, which is superscribed *ὑμνος ᾠδῆς*, and is called the grand doxology. This morning hymn ends here with the words *παράτεινον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν τοῖς ἑθνεσίν· σὺ, καὶ ὁ ἀγιος πνεῦμα, ἀγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἀγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλεῆσον ἡμᾶς*, which was used as early as the time of Proclus, that is between the years 434 and 446, is not added: the manuscript therefore must have been written before that period.

d) Wetstein is of opinion, that it must have been written before the time of Jerom, because the Greek text of this manuscript was altered from the Old Italic.

e) The same critic produces the following argument as a proof of its having been written before the time of Muhammed, namely, that the transcriber was ignorant that the Arabs were called Hagarenes, because he has written, 1 Chron. v. 20. *αγοραῖοι* for *Αγαρῖται*. To this argument, though it has met with the approbation of the impartially thinking Dr. Semler⁷, may be objected in particular, that the name, by which the Arabs have been known since the time of Muhammed, is not Hagarenes, but Saracens. The former is the name of a nation in the neighbourhood of the Persian gulph⁷, and which might have been unknown in Egypt, even after the conquest of that country by the successors of Muhammed. Besides, the Codex Alexandrinus has in the verse immediately preceding, namely, 1 Chron. v. 19. very properly *Αγαρῶν*: it is certain therefore that *αγοραῖοι*, v. 20. is a mere erratum, and cannot be alleged as a proof that the copyist had never heard of such a people as the Hagarenes. We find likewise *Αγαρῖταις*, 1 Chron. xxvii. 31. and *Αγαρῖται*, Ps. lxxxii. 7.

Beside the objections which might be made to each of the preceding arguments in particular, it appears that their united force affords no certainty, from the consideration, that the Codex Alexandrinus must have been copied from a still more ancient manuscript, and that if this

⁷ *Historia belli Nesibeni*, p. 78. and 91. of my *Commentationes per annos 1763—1768, societati scientiarum prælectæ*.

this latter were faithfully copied, the arguments apply rather to this, than to the Alexandrine manuscript itself. For instance, if the more ancient manuscript had no division of the chapters in the epistles of St. Paul, nor at the end of the doxology, the clause *αγιος ο Θεος, α. τ. λ.* the writer of the Alexandrine manuscript might have lived in a much later period, and still have faithfully copied what he found in his original. If the latter had a text that had been altered from the Itala, or contained the epistles of Clement, which the transcriber would neither consider as a crime to copy, nor hold to be canonical because they had a place in the manuscript, any more than the epistle of Athanasius, or if he found *αγαπαις* instead of *αγαπαισιν*, all these the writer of the Codex Alexandrinus might have faithfully copied, and yet have lived in the seventh, or even, as Oudin contends, in the tenth century. If the copyist were really ignorant of Greek, he has given an accurate transcript even of the errors of his original : and all the internal marks of evidence will apply rather to this, than to the copy. It is the hand-writing alone, or the formation of the letters, with the want of accents, which can lead to any probable decision. And with respect to the alteration from the Itala, Wetstein himself acknowledges that many much more modern manuscripts have shared the same fate.

On the other hand, the arguments alleged to prove that it is not so ancient as the fourth century, are equally decisive.

a) Dr. Semler is of opinion that the epistle of Athanasius, on the value and excellency of the Psalms, would hardly have been prefixed to them during his life. But I can see no reason to doubt it, since Athanasius had many warm and strenuous advocates. A transcriber, who was attached to his party, might as easily have prefixed to the Psalms the epistle of Athanasius, as other transcribers formerly prefixed to each book of the Bible the prefaces of Jeron. It is true, that Athanasius was more than once dispossessed of his see, but this very circumstance exalted him, in the opinion of his own party,

and placed him in the very next rank to that of a martyr. If the Codex Alexandrinus were written in Egypt, as Dr. Semler supposes, it is still more probable that this honour was conferred on the Egyptian Patriarch even during his life.

b) From this very epistle of Athanasius, Oudin has attempted to draw an argument, though totally without foundation, that the manuscript was written in the tenth century. He says the genuine epistle of Athanasius, is that which was acknowledged by the second council of Nicaea, (as if ecclesiastical councils had never pronounced spurious writings to be genuine): that this council quotes the following words from the epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, *τον βιβλον των ψαλμων τις λαμβανων τας μεν περι τε ουτως προφητειας συνηδως εν ταις αλλαις γραφαις θαυμαζων και προσκυνων διερχεται.* These words, says Oudin, are not in the epistle contained in the Codex Alexandrinus, consequently that epistle is spurious. Here an impartial lover of truth would have said only that it was defective. He infers from these premises, first, that the Alexandrine manuscript could not have been written during the life of Athanasius, because no one would have forged an epistle in the name of an author that was then living, though even instances of this kind might be produced from ecclesiastical history; and secondly, what is a most extraordinary and unwarranted step, that it was written in the tenth century, an age extremely fertile in the invention of spurious productions.

Oudin has very artificially directed his arguments, by constantly presupposing that Grabe asserted, what in fact he had not, that the Codex Alexandrinus was written during the life of Athanasius. But his whole proof vanishes into nothing, since the very words, on which he rests as a foundation, are really found in the epistle of Athanasius, as it stands in this manuscript, and they may be seen in Grabe's or Breitinger's edition of the Septuagint, at the beginning of the 25th section of this epistle.

c) The Virgin Mary, in the superscription of what is called the Song of the blessed Virgin, is styled *Θεοτοκος*,
a name

a name which Wetstein says betrays the fifth century. But this I am unable to comprehend, for though this epithet was rendered famous, by the disputes relating to it in the fifth century, being rejected by Anastasius and Nestorius, and on that account more zealously used, both by the orthodox and the Eutychians, yet the expression itself had been introduced in a more early age, as may be seen in Mosheim's *Institutiones hist. eccles. Sæc. V. P. II. cap. v. § 5, 6, 7.* where it appears that Cyril of Alexandria was one of its most zealous advocates. [See also Woide's preface, § 52.]

d) From the probable conjecture that the Cod. Alex. was written by one of the order of the Acœmets, Oudin concludes against its antiquity; but Wetstein goes no farther than to assert, that it could not have been written before the fifth century, because Alexander, who founded this order, lived about the year 420. Now what Schulze has said in reply to this inference, that before the time of the Acœmets there existed other religious persons, who sung psalms night and day, is possible, and even probable, when we reflect on the Euchets, though it is not historically certain: for the passages, which he has alleged in the 26th section, relate to psalm-singing in the morning, at noon, afternoon, evening, commencement of the night, midnight, and dawn of day, but not to each hour of the day. I readily admit, that the Alexandrine manuscript was not written before the year 420, but not because it was written by an Acœmet. The founder of this order died in the year 430, and if we calculate from the history of his life*, we shall find that the order must have commenced in the fourth century, and probably between the years 380 and 390.

It

* The following events require a much longer interval than that of thirty years. 1. His foundation of a convent of Acœmets on the Euphrates, in which he himself presided 20 years. 2. His retirement from this convent, when he went into the desert with fifty disciples. 3. His residence in Antioch. 4. His residence in Constantinople, where he again founded a convent of Acœmets. 5. His imprisonment twice in Constantinople. 6. The foundation of a new convent, after he had quitted Constantinople, in which he died in the year 430.

It is extraordinary that no one has observed, that this very circumstance of the Alexandrine manuscript's having been written by an Acoemet, or, for the use of a convent of that order, is the very strongest argument that can be alleged in favour of its antiquity. For at the very beginning of the controversy, relating to the epithet *Saracenes*, the Acoemets declared against Eutyches, and were afterwards condemned as Nestorians. It is therefore inconceivable that an Acoemet, provided he understood what he wrote, should have given to the Virgin Mary a title, which was become as it were the signal of engagement between the two parties. If therefore this manuscript was written by an Acoemet, or for the use of a convent of Acoemets, it must have been written before the year 428, in which the controversy began.

Indecisive as the preceding arguments appear, I confess that there is a circumstance which excites a suspicion, that the Alexandrine manuscript was written after Arabic was become the native language of the Egyptians, that is, one, or rather two centuries after Alexandria was taken by the Saracens, which happened in the year 640. The transcriber confounds, and that, if I am not mistaken, in many instances, the two letters M and B, an exchange which frequently takes place in Arabic. See my remarks on 1 Macc. ii. 1. and iii. 16. According to my opinion therefore, the Codex Alexandrinus is not more ancient than the eighth century.

A question, that is much more important, but difficult to be separated from that of its antiquity, is, whether the Codex Alexandrinus has been altered from the Latin. My father, and Wetstein, have answered it in the affirmative, and supported their opinion by weighty arguments. The number of remarkable instances of coincidence with the Latin version in readings, where the latter is particularly distinguished from the Greek text is very considerable. I will produce only a single instance, from which the reader will be convinced, that the Latin version has had some influence on the Alexandrine

andrine manuscript³⁶. The common Greek text, Acts iv. 25. is *ο δια σωματος Δαβιδ τε παιδος ου ειπων*, but in the Vulgate we find *qui spiritu sancto per os patris nostri David pueri tui dixisti*. Other latinizing manuscripts, the Cod. Cantabrigiensis and Laudanus for instance, have inserted into the Greek text the words expressive of *spiritus sanctus*, and *pater noster*: the same interpolation is in the Codex Alexandrinus, but the words are inserted in such a manner as shews them to be spurious, because the construction is wholly devoid of meaning, *ο τε πατρος ημων δια πνευματος αγιου σωματος Δαβιδ παιδος ου ειπων*. If I were not unwilling to detain the attention of the reader, I could add a number of examples, which my father had written on the margin of his *Tractatio Critica*, but I will reserve them for a new edition of that work. The question will be determined with no precision, till we are in possession of the Coptic and Sahidic versions, which at present lie buried in libraries: for as these two versions harmonize in a remarkable manner with the Codex Cantabrigiensis, it is possible that the Codex Alexandrinus was altered from them, and not from the Latin. It may be observed in general, that we are in a state of obscurity with respect to the latinizing manuscripts, and shall continue so, till a proper use has been made of those versions.

Several remarks, which might be made on the Alexandrine manuscript, with respect to the Old Testament, I must defer till the publication of my *Introduction to the Old Testament*, though they might have influence in determining the value of the readings in the New Testament³⁷: in the mean time the reader may find some account of them in my notes to the first book of the Maccabees. Before I conclude, I must mention a circumstance, that seems at first sight to contradict what I asserted above, that this manuscript was written by a person, who was not master of the Greek: namely, we find in several parts of it ingenious corrections, which could only have been made by a man of learning. But both these circumstances may be easily reconciled, for
an

an unlearned copyist, a Thecla, might have transcribed the Codex Alexandrinus from a more ancient Egyptian manuscript, in which those alterations had been already made.

This manuscript has been frequently collated, and with more accuracy than any other. The first person who examined it was Patricius Junius (Patrick Young), whose extracts were used by Grotius, afterwards by Alexander Huissius, and with still greater accuracy by Mill, though Pfaff* has observed, and probably with reason, that all his extracts are not perfectly exact. But since this labour has been repeated by Wetstein, we have reason to believe that we are now in possession of a complete and accurate collection of its various readings. I have lately received intelligence from London that Dr. Owen designs to publish the Codex Alexandrinus: if the plan should be put in execution, it would be the completion of a wish, which I have long entertained, and which I expressed in the preceding edition: but there is another manuscript, the publication of which would be attended with still more beneficial consequences, the Codex Cantabrigiensis. [It is well known at present that the above-mentioned plan has been very ably executed by Woide.]

2. Codex Amandi, which in the second part³⁸ of Wetstein's Greek Testament, is noted Cod. 15. We know nothing more of it than that Amandus, who lived at Louvain, had it in his possession, that Zeger has appealed to it, and that Erasmus supposed it to be a latinizing manuscript: It is certain that it has the suspicious interpolation *εὐαγγέλιον*, Rom. i. 32. How many books of the New Testament it contains, where it is at present preserved, and whether it has been used in modern times under another name, are questions which I am unable to answer³⁹.

3. Codex Antonii Askew, noted 58 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., containing all the epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles, written on vellum: it has never been

* De var. lect. N. T. cap. 3. p. 63.

been collated, but has been consulted for 1 John v. 7. Velthusen has given a description of it in his *Observations on various subjects*, p. 51. It is the very same manuscript which Wetstein has likewise called *Meadii tertius*, and noted Cod. 22; it has therefore been twice reckoned⁴⁰. There are, properly speaking, three volumes, the first of which contains the Gospels, and is termed by Wetstein *Meadius 1*, or Cod. 109, but it is not certain whether all three belong to each other. The question was affirmed by Askew, but denied by Velthusen, who however confesses that he has forgotten several circumstances. The first volume according to its subscription was finished 24 Feb. 834; now this is not the year of Christ, as Velthusen supposes, but the year 6834, according to the Greek reckoning. This remark was made by Kulencamp in the German museum for March 1776 N° 2, in consequence of which he places it in the year of Christ 1326. It is therefore a very modern manuscript⁴¹. Velthusen is of opinion that the copyist understood not what he wrote, in support of which he appeals to Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. where it has *Θεός* and *Θεός*. It appears then that this manuscript has been examined for certain controverted points; but from extracts like these we derive not sufficient knowledge of a manuscript, to warrant a quotation from it, as from an evidence of good authority.

4. *Augiensis*, noted F in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, which is however defective from the beginning to Rom. iii. 8. and the epistle to the Hebrews is found only in the Latin version. This manuscript, which is supposed to have been written in the ninth century⁴², has taken its title from *Augia major*, the name of a monastery at Rheinau, to which it belonged at the time of holding the council of Basil. It has since passed through several hands, those of George Michael Wepfer, and Mieg, till Bentley purchased it in 1718, for 250 Dutch florins: but I know not where it is at present⁴³. It has been collated by Wetstein. It coincides in very many places

places with the Codex Boernerianus, and belongs evidently to the Western edition, for which reason it has been ranked among those which have been said to latinize. Now it is true that it harmonizes with the Latin version, but this is no proof of corruption. I will give only the two following examples: 1st Cor. xiv. 21. it has in common with the Vulgate, and Cod. Boern. *εν ιτεραις γλωσσαις* for *εν ιτερογλωσσαις*, but on the other hand *εγκακεμεν*, 2 Cor. iv. 1. in common with the Alexandrinus and Claromontanus, a reading which has hitherto not been quoted^c from the Boernerianus^d.

5. Augustanus primus, noted 83 in the first volume of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, is written on vellum, and has been collated by Bengel^d.

6. Augustanus secundus, noted 84 in the first volume of Wetstein's N. T., contains a part of St. Matthew and St. Mark on vellum. It has been collated by Bengel, who relates, sect. 8. that it has five chasms.

7. Augustanus tertius, noted 85 in the first volume of Wetstein's N. T., contains only single leaves of vellum of the four Gospels, in which are ten chasms. It has been collated by Bengel.

8. Augustanus quartus, noted Evangelistarium 24, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. It has been collated by Bengel.

9. Augustanus quintus, noted 54 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the ten last chapters of the epistle to the Romans. It has been collated by Bengel.

10. Augustanus sextus, noted 55 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 46; contains the

^c For an account of this remarkable reading see ch. iv. sect. 14. of this introduction.

^d Of these seven following Augsburg manuscripts, we know nothing more than what Bengel has related. It is a pity that they have not been more accurately described, for with respect to the second and third, we are ignorant what chapters they contain; Bengel calls the first probus, the second sincerus; whether they deserve these epithets I am unable to determine.

the Acts of the Apostles, the epistles of St. Paul, and the catholic epistles. It has been collated by Bengel.

11. Augustanus septimus is a copy of the Exposition of the Revelation of St. John by Andreas Cæsareensis, and has been collated and quoted by Bengel, as a manuscript of the Greek Testament, because it contains, beside the commentary, the text of the Revelation. He supposes it to be several hundred years old, and that it has the African readings. See his *Fundamenta criseos apocalypticæ*, § 9. p. 490. of the second edition of his *Apparatus criticus*. This manuscript is not numbered in Wetstein.

12. Codex Bandurii, noted O in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is nothing more than a fragment, torn out of a larger manuscript, containing the story of the Pharisee and the Publican, Luke xviii. and was given to Mountfaucon by Anselmo Bandurii. I have found only one reading quoted from it by Wetstein, namely, ver. 14. *η γαρ εκεινος*.

13—34. Barberini, noted 112 in the first volume of Wetstein's N. T. John Matthæus Caryophilus, by order of Pope Urban VIII. collected readings from twenty-two Greek manuscripts, which he collated with the *Biblia Regia* of Antwerp, with a view of publishing a new edition of the Greek Testament, though the project was never executed. According to his description, ten of these manuscripts contained the Gospels, eight of them the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, and four the book of Revelation. He gives no further account of them than that they were preserved in the Vatican, and other principal libraries in Rome; and even from the description which Blanchini has given of Roman manuscripts, we are unable to ascertain those which were used by Caryophilus: it is therefore possible that these manuscripts have been quoted under other names. Nor has he mentioned in his extracts what manuscripts, but only how many are in favour of any particular reading; he has numbered therefore his evidence, without naming them, which is a very great defect. His

collection of readings is preserved in the library of Cardinal Barberini in Rome, and because they were thence made known to the world, the manuscripts themselves acquired the title of *Codices Barberini*, an epithet which belongs only to the extracts, though the name is of no importance, provided it does not lead us into error. Petrus Possinus was the first who published them: he annexed them to his *Catena patrum Græcorum in Marcum*, printed at Rome in 1673, and prefixed to them the following title, *Collationes græci contextus omnium librorum N. T. juxta editionem Antwerpensem Regiam cum 22 codicibus antiquis MSS. Ex bibliotheca Barberini*. Mill inserted them among his various readings, but Wetstein omitted them, on account of a suspicion which he entertained, and which I shall presently examine; an omission by which he has rendered his edition of the Greek Testament less perfect. And even admitting that the whole collection were an imposture, he might have quoted them with the same propriety as he has quoted the corruptions of Marcion⁴⁵.

It has been doubted whether the *Codex Vaticanus* was in the number of those which Caryophilus collated, but at present the fact is certain: for in the address presented to the Pope, which is still preserved in Rome, he requests the use of the manuscript noted 1209, which is the celebrated *Codex Vaticanus*. See the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XXIII. p. 156⁴⁶. He seems to have reckoned it as two manuscripts, because it is divided into two parts, the one containing the Gospels, the other the Epistles.

The readings of the Barberini collection are for the most part in favour of the Latin version: it has been therefore concluded, that among these twenty-two manuscripts, there must have been many *codices latinizantes*, a conclusion which is wholly ungrounded, since the only inference that can be drawn is, that these
manuscripts

⁴⁵ Caryophilus says himself in the preface, *Summo Dei beneficio ex hac collatione perspectum illud est, Vulgatam editionem Latinam testimonio Græcorum vetustissimorum codicum et autorum esse fidelissimam, et Græco fonti non immerito æquiparandam.*

manuscripts were of the Western edition; besides, Caryophilus might have selected those which coincided with the Vulgate, in preference to others. But Wetsstein goes still further, and contends that the whole collection is a mere imposture⁴⁷. The circumstance, which excited this suspicion is, that the number of the manuscripts is precisely twenty-two, for he says, 'Stephens used ten manuscripts of the Gospels, eight of the Apostolicum, and two of the Revelation, which the errors of the press have converted into four; it is highly improbable that exactly the same number should have been collated in Rome; and the editor Possin was a Jesuit, and therefore justly exposed to the suspicion of a pious fraud.' I confess that the coincidence of the numbers is an extraordinary circumstance, especially as the Codices Velesiani, which are likewise a present from the Jesuits, amount to sixteen, the number used by Stephens, according to another calculation. But since many of the Barberini readings contradict the Vulgate, and we have many manuscripts which latinize in a still higher degree, a stronger proof seems necessary, before we can charge the church of Rome with an imposture, which is not only useless, but if true, betrays the utmost weakness, since no one, whose object was to deceive, would have determined his pretended manuscripts precisely to the same number as those which Stephens had collated. As mere accident therefore is hardly sufficient to account for this agreement, it is more reasonable to suppose that Caryophilus designedly chose this number, in order that a publication patronized by the Pope, might have at least as much authority as that of the Paris editor.

To this may be added a circumstance, which renders the notion of an imposture still more improbable, and at the same time affords a reason why the Barberini readings are so frequently in favour of the Vulgate. The second rule, which Caryophilus laid down in his preface, and by which he intended to abide, in his edition of the Greek Testament, was the following, *si omnes MSS. codices a Regio et Vulg. edit. Lat. dissentirent, ut*

textus

textus ad fidem codicum MSS. legeretur, sed antiqua lectio ad finem capitum annotaretur. It appears then that the editor, however partial he might have been in favour of the Vulgate, intended to publish the Greek text in opposition to it, as often as it was contradicted by all his manuscripts; and upon examining the Barberini readings, we find that this has really happened. A pious impostor, whose object was to confirm the text of the Vulgate, would never have invented a set of manuscripts, all of which decided against it. But as he constantly noted the reading that was favourable to the Vulgate, even though he found it in only a single manuscript, according to his fourth rule, 'ne si vel unus ex Codd. MSS. faveret Vulg. lat. editioni ad finem capitum inter annotationes prætermitteretur,' and rejected those supported only by a single manuscript, if unfavourable to the Vulgate, his readings unavoidably acquired a latinizing appearance.

Lastly, as many Barberini readings, which coincide not with the Vulgate, have been found to harmonize with the old Latin versions, published by Blanchini, no one can suppose that they were a forgery of Possin. For he must have been endued with the gift of prophecy, had he invented readings that harmonize with versions not published before the present century: and he could have had no motive for the forgery of readings that deviate from the Vulgate, since they contradict a version, established by papal authority. A list of these passages may be seen in Blanchini *Evangelium quadruplex*, P. I. p. 491. for it is evident that the manuscripts there, called *Decem Græci codices Romæ asservati*, are no other than the *Codices Barberini* ⁴². It is here necessary to remark, that Blanchini has sometimes quoted, through mistake, nine manuscripts against a reading, where Caryophilus has quoted only one in favour of it, concluding too hastily, that where Caryophilus has written MS. 1. the other nine must have had a different reading.

It appears from what has been said above, that Wetstein's suspicion was ungrounded, and that in future

editions of the Greek Testament, the Barberini extracts may be safely admitted into the list of various readings.

It were to be wished that more certainty could be obtained, in regard to the Codices Barberini, because questions of importance sometimes depend on them. For instance, in 2 Tim. iii. 16. a Barberini manuscript is the only one that has been quoted for the omission of the particle *καί*, which in that passage is of very great importance. Now if they are not Greek, it follows that not one single Greek manuscript omits this important *καί*; if they are, the omission is supported by a single latinizing manuscript, which, from this very circumstance, we should discover to be one of the Codices Barberini.

P. S. This certainty we have at last obtained by means of Professor Birch: He discovered in Rome the very memorial of Caryophilus, in which he requests permission to use the manuscripts, noted in the Vatican by 349, 354, 358, 1150, 1254, and 1209, which last is the famous Codex Vaticanus. Birch has collated these manuscripts, and found in them the Barberini readings⁴⁹. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. p. 153—163. Wetstein therefore acted very unjustly in rejecting the collection, and has thereby rendered his Greek Testament of less value.

35. Baroccianus tertius⁵⁰, noted 28 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 23, in the fourth 6. It is written on vellum, in small, neat characters, and according to Mill's opinion, who reckoned it among the probatiores, above 500 years old. It contains the Acts of the Apostles from chap. xi. 13., the catholic epistles, those of St. Paul, and the Revelation of St. John, in which however the three last chapters fail. It was first collated by Mill, but it appears from Wetstein's second volume, p. 743, that Caspar Wetstein, chaplain to the Princess of Wales, has collated it still more accurately, though the collation appears to have been confined to the book of Revelation.

36. Baroccianus quadragesimus octavus, noted 28 in the

the fourth part of Wetstein's N. T., contains, beside other writings, which belong not to our present enquiry, p. 51—75. the Revelation of St. John, from the beginning to chap. xvii. 6. Wetstein procured extracts from it, by means of Caspar Wetstein above-mentioned.

37. Basileensis, B. VI. 21. noted in Mill B. 1., in Bengel Bas. α⁵, and in Wetstein's first part E. It contains the four Gospels, but with the following chasms, Luke i. 69. — ii. 4. iii. 4—15. xii. 58. — xiii. 12. xv. 8—20. xxiv. 47. to the end of the Gospels; but some of them have been filled up by a later hand. Mill, who highly valued this manuscript, estimates its antiquity, on the credit of Mabillon and Battier, at 1000 years; these two critics have depended on Buxtorf, who ascribed to it that age, even an hundred years before their time; and if again we abide by the assertion of Mill, it follows, that this manuscript is not more ancient than it was a century and an half ago. In fact, the estimate is too great, even for the present year. Wetstein says, the account communicated to Mill, that its characters resembled those of the Codex Alexandrinus, is false, and that it has marks of aspiration, and accents. He refers it himself to the ninth century, allotting it the fifth place among the manuscripts, in respect to antiquity, though he makes an interval of some centuries between this, and the four most ancient. Wetstein is of opinion, that the orthography betrays a copyist, to whom the words were dictated, and who understood little of what he wrote, as he has frequently confounded ι and αι — ει, ι and η — ω and ο — οι and υ, has written κλαδμος for κλαυθμος, and for κελεισμενων, John xx. 26. καικησμενων, a word devoid of meaning, and which does not exist in the Greek language. See Schmelzer's *Dissertatio de Basileensis bibliothecæ codice Græco evangeliorum*, published at Gottingen in 1750.

This

* The account which Bengel has given of this and the two following manuscripts, must be sought not in his *Introductio*, but in his *Apparatus criticus*, in the remarks immediately preceding the first chapter of St. Matthew.

This manuscript is one of those which was presented by Cardinal Johannes de Ragusio, who died in 1444, to a monastery in Basel, whence it was brought to the public library in 1559. It was not used by Erasmus for his edition of the Greek Testament, as Mill supposed, an opinion which has been confuted by Wetstein. The mistake arose from the circumstance, that it has many readings in common with that noted B. VI. 25. which I shall presently describe under N° 39. and which Erasmus sent to the printing-house of Frobenius, with a design of giving an impression of it. In whatever relates to the manuscripts at Basel, we may depend on the accounts of Wetstein, who resided there, and made very frequent use of them, whereas the descriptions, which have been given by strangers to that city, are for the most part erroneous, as they were obliged to depend on extracts, and to substitute conjectures for facts. Mill procured extracts of this manuscript, not from John Battier, as he himself relates, (for among the literati of Basel at that time, there was no one of this name) but from Samuel Battier. Several of these passages were revised by Iselin for Bengel's edition of the Greek Testament, but Wetstein himself collated this manuscript in 1714, and has given its readings in his editionst.

38. Basileensis, B. VI. 27. noted by Bengel Bas. γ, and by Wetstein ι. in all the four parts of his N. T.^{sa} Erasmus, who used it for his edition of the Greek Testament, calls it Exemplar Capnionis, and also Reuchlini, because he had borrowed it from Reuchlin, though it was not his property. It is one of those which were given by Johannes de Ragusio to the monastery in Basel, and Reuchlin borrowed it from the monks, who were too ignorant to use it themselves, and kept it during thirty years, till the time of his death. It contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation; is written on vellum, with small characters, and accents. On account of the subscriptions, and pictures, which are found in it, one of which appears to be a portrait of Leo Sapiens, and of his son Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, Wetstein conjectures,

conjectures, that it was written in their time, that is, in the tenth century. Erasmus, agreeably to his usual suspicion, supposed it to be a latinizing manuscript; this was denied by Wetstein, in the first edition of his *Prolegomena*, but in the second edition, which was prefixed to his *Greek Testament*, he admitted the charge to be grounded. Wetstein has likewise observed, that this manuscript alone has as many readings, which differ from the printed text, as all the other manuscripts together. Bengel values it higher in the Gospels, than in the other parts of the New Testament⁵, saying, in evangelistis duntaxat, (nam etiam acta et epistolas habet) a sinceritate commendatur. He procured a few extracts of it from Iselin, but Wetstein has twice collated it with great care, as he himself assures us.

According to my opinion of this manuscript, it is entitled to very great esteem. I have frequently remarked, even in those readings which it has in common only with a very few manuscripts, that they are entitled to the preference, for instance Luke xi. 2—4. where those passages of the Lord's prayer are omitted, which I hold to be interpolations from the Gospel of St. Matthew: it is true, that in such cases its readings coincide only with one or two manuscripts, but, on the other hand, they are confirmed by the authority of ancient versions. Now, the above-mentioned interpolation is omitted indeed in the Vulgate, but this is no reason for concluding that the manuscript latinizes, since it is likewise omitted by Origen, to whom this charge cannot possibly be laid⁴. Another example may be taken from Luke x. 42. where the preferable reading of Origen, the Coptic version⁵, and of the margin of the Philoxenian version, *ολιγων δε εστι χριστα η ινους*, is found in only two manuscripts, of which that in question is one. Here it cannot latinize, because the Vulgate harmonizes with the common reading, 'porro unum est necessarium,' and the old Italic, according to three manuscripts, namely Corbeiensis, Veronensis, and Vindobonensis⁶, omit entirely the words *ινους δε εστι χριστα*. The charge, therefore,

therefore, which has been laid to it must be entirely ungrounded. A reading peculiar to this manuscript, *προφητης ειν η ως εις των προφητων* ⁵⁷ (for *προφητης ειν ως εις των προφητων*, which is found in all the other manuscripts, and gives a totally different sense), was probably taken from it by Erasmus, from whose edition it has been transmitted to others: no other manuscript has been hitherto quoted for the particle *η*, and no doubt can be made that it is really in this manuscript, since Wetstein, who twice collated it, has not quoted it among those, in which the particle is omitted. Without deciding on the genuineness of the reading, I will only remark, 1. That it is not a latinizing reading, since the particle is found in no Latin version. 2. It is a very ancient, and therefore respectable reading, since it is found in the Philoxenian version *ܐܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ* ⁵⁸. 3. As this version was made at Alexandria, the manuscript is at least related to the Alexandrine edition ⁵⁹. I have selected only these few examples, but as they are of importance, I hope that future critics will esteem the manuscript as highly as it deserves.

39. Basileensis, B. VI. 25. in Bengel Bas. β, and, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., Codex 2. According to Wetstein, it is an incorrect copy of the Gospels, written in the 15th century, in which α, ι and η, ω and ο, ας and ε, β and υ are very frequently confounded ⁶⁰, and which was purchased by the monks of Basel for two Rhenish florins, a price proportionate to the value of the manuscript. Erasmus used it in his edition of the New Testament, and it was from this manuscript that the press was set, after he had made his alterations, which are still visible ⁶¹, as also the marks of the printer. Yet Bengel has allotted a place, in his Apparatus Criticus; to several of its readings, which he procured from Iselin.

40. Basileensis, B. VI. 17. noted 7 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the epistles of St. Paul as far as Heb. xii. 18. Wetstein has often quoted it, and has probably therefore collated it himself, though he makes no mention of it in the place where it is most reasonable

reasonable to expect it. A remarkable reading, which Erasmus took into his text on the authority of this manuscript, namely, Rom. viii. 35. *απο της αγαπης τε θει*, for *τε χει*, is found only in this, and in the Moscow manuscript⁶², noted N: some others have it as a scholion. The reading is likewise ancient, for it is found in Origen, but it does not necessarily follow that it be genuine.

41. Basileensis, B. IX. in Mill B. 2. in the second and third parts of Wetstein's N. T., Codex 2. Wetstein has named it also Codex Amerbachii. Mill has given, § 1119, very ungrounded conjectures relative to this manuscript, which he delivers as facts: we must therefore abide by the accounts of Wetstein, who was eyewitness to what he relates. It contains the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, belonged formerly to Amerbach, as appears from a subscription, not to the monastery in Basel, as Mill relates; has several corrections either of the transcriber himself, or of some person who lived nearly in the same age; was altered in some places by Erasmus, and delivered into the printing-house, like that described N° 39. Since that time it has suffered partly from the mice, partly from the carelessness of the book-binder, who cut off from the margin many of the corrections of Erasmus. Wetstein says, that this manuscript is more ancient than that mentioned N° 39; I have no further knowledge of the time when it was written. Mill relates that Erasmus valued it at 600 years, that is at present 860, but Wetstein has shewn that Mill was mistaken, and that he applied to this Greek manuscript, what Erasmus has said of a Latin one. Mill procured extracts from it by the assistance of Battier.

42. Basileensis, B. X. 20. in Mill B. 3. in the second and third parts of Wetstein's N. T., Codex 4. contains all the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, not in the same order as in the Greek manuscripts, but according to the Latin arrangement, the Epistles of St. Paul being preceded by the Acts of the Apostles, and followed by the

the catholic epistles. Wetstein reckons it among the latinizing manuscripts, places it in the fifteenth century, and observes that the copyist has inserted marginal glosses into the text: for instance, Rom. xiv. 17. to those things, of which the kingdom of God consists, he has added a fourth, *καὶ ἀσκησις*, an addition which manifestly savours of monkish morality, and 1 Cor. xiv. 34. he has mitigated the expression of St. Paul, and converted *ἐπιτεταμέναι* into *ἐπιτεταμέναι*, a reading found in this manuscript alone.

I have observed in the Curæ, p. 127 and 178, a remarkable coincidence between this manuscript and the Syriac version, in a reading that is evidently false, whence we may conclude, that the corrections and additions found in this manuscript were not all of them made in the 15th century, and by the transcriber himself, but that many of them are more ancient. Acts xix. 18. it has *τὰς ἀμαρτίας* for *τὰς ὑπαρχίας*, which Caryophilus had likewise found in one of the Codices Barberini^a. The Syriac version has both readings, for we there find ‘*renuntiabant offensas suas, confitebanturque quod fecerant*,’ but in the Latin version there is no trace of this addition, either in the Vulgate, or in Sabatier’s Bible. This manuscript therefore has additions, which are very ancient, and yet not taken from the Latin, a circumstance which is unfavourable to Semler’s conjecture, who supposed it to have been copied from the Complutum edition⁶⁵. Besides, the celebrated text 1 John v. 7. which is printed in that edition, is wanting in this manuscript, as Goeze has observed p. 61. of his Defence of the Complutum edition.

Erasmus made use of this manuscript, and Mill procured extracts of it from Battier, but from no other part than the three epistles of St. John. Wetstein must have collated

^a This is one of the examples which confirm the Barberini readings, and at the same time shew that Caryophilus and Possin were innocent of the charge that was laid to them by Wetstein, as this reading had never been quoted, when Possin published the *Collatio Caryophili* in 1673⁶⁶. See the above-mentioned description of the Codices Barberini, by Professor Birch⁶⁷.

collated it, because he quotes it from the beginning of the epistle to the Romans, to the end of the Epistles.

43. Codex Monachorum S. Basilii Romæ, N° 119. noted 41 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., in the fourth 20. This ancient manuscript, which Blanchini describes in his *Evangeliarum quadruplex*⁶⁶, P. I. p. 519, includes the whole of the New Testament, but there is a chasm from the beginning, as far as *μετανοειτε*, Matth. iv. 17. It has never been collated, and belongs therefore properly to the preceding section⁶⁷: but as Wetstein has allotted it a place in his catalogue, and quoted in his collection some few of its readings, which Blanchini had given as samples, I could not omit it. The same may be said of the following manuscript.

44. Codex Monachorum S. Basilii Romæ, N° 101. This is Wetstein's Codex 24. in the Revelation of St. John. It is described by Blanchini, p. 522. of the above-mentioned volume of his *Evangeliarum quadruplex*. It begins with Acts xxviii. 19. the end of which book is immediately followed by the Revelation: then come the catholic epistles, and lastly those of St. Paul, as far as Heb. iii. 12. Blanchini commends it as very ancient, but as it has not been collated, it belongs not properly to the present catalogue⁶⁸.

45. Bodleianus 1, noted 45 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. is a copy of the four Gospels, written on vellum, but of no great antiquity. It has been collated by Mill⁶⁹; and Griesbach has examined it more accurately in the two chapters Mark viii. and Luke ix. See his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. clxx.

46. Bodleianus 2, noted 46 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a copy of four Gospels, collated by Mill, who estimated its antiquity at about 300 years. Griesbach has examined it for Mark xii.

47. Bodleianus 3, marked in the Bodleian library Baroccianus 202, is a *Lectionarium* of the four Gospels written in 995, and Wetstein's *Lectionarium*. 5. It was collated

collated by Mill, and again in several passages by Wetstein, who says only 'ex parte contulimus.' It has many chasms.

48. Bodleianus 4, Wetstein's Evangelistarium 18, has likewise many chasms. Mill, who collated it, estimated its antiquity at about 500 years.

49. Bodleianus 5, Wetstein's Evangelistarium 19, was brought from Turkey, and is very modern. It has been collated by Mill.

50. Bodleianus 6, in the London Polyglot Bod. 1, and in Wetstein's first part Codex 47, is a very modern manuscript of the four Gospels, which Mill places towards the end of the 15th century. Usher was the first who procured extracts from it: these were inserted in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot, and thence taken by Mill and Wetstein. It has a manifest interpolation, Luke i. 28. *καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας* εα, which is found in no other manuscript.

51. Bodleianus 7, noted 48 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, collated by Mill, but of no great antiquity.

52. Bodleianus 24, Griesbach's Codex 118, is a manuscript of the four Gospels⁷⁹, beginning with Matth. vi. 1. and continued to John xvi. 25. It was written in the thirteenth century, and has many chasms. Griesbach has collated it in the following places, Matth. viii.—xiv. Mark i.—iv. ix. x. xvi. Luke i.—iv. 30. xi. xiii. 35.—xiv. 20. xviii. 8—33. John i.—iii. v. 3—15. viii. 1—26. It is a Codex eclecticus, of a very extraordinary composition. It harmonizes in so many places with the Codex Reuchlinianus, described above, N° 38. even in manifest errata, that the former was either copied from the latter, or from one that had been transcribed from it. But in some cases it deviates from the Codex Reuchlinianus, where, though we find the common readings, the relationship is still visible. Again, there are other passages, in which the transcriber seemed to be in doubt what manuscript he should follow, and left
a vacant

a vacant space. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. ccii. where examples are given.

53. Boernerianus, noted G in the second part of Wetstein's N. T. It belonged to Dr. C. F. Boerner, was collated by Küster, and described in the preface to his edition of Mill's Greek Testament. It contains the epistles of St. Paul, except that to the Hebrews, which was formerly rejected by the church of Rome: it is written in Greek and Latin, according to one of those versions, which were in use before the time of Jerom. The Latin is interlined between the Greek, written over the text, of which it is a translation; and as far as I can judge, from the description given by Stemmler, who made frequent use of it, the Latin was written since the Greek⁷¹. This manuscript is preserved at present in the Electoral library at Dresden.

It is one of those, which have been particularly accused of having been corrupted from the Latin. That it is a Greek-Latin manuscript, that it very frequently harmonizes with the Codex Claromontanus, and also with the Augiensis; are circumstances which afford no proof of its corruption, and shew only that it belongs to the Western edition. But on the other hand, it has several peculiarities, which corroborate this suspicion, so that Bengel himself, who was favourable to the Latinizing manuscripts, has not ventured in all cases to defend it. See his remarks in the *Apparatus criticus*, immediately preceding the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans⁷². Among other examples, we find *αξίως τῷ πεγγελίῳ* for *αξίως τῆς εὐαγγελίας*, Phil. i. 27. because *digne* is followed in the Latin by an ablative, and ch. iii. 10. *συνφορτιζόμενος* for *συμμορφόμενος*, because the old Latin version had *cooneratus morti ipsius*, which seems to have taken its rise from *coornatus*⁷³. Rom. xv. 32. *συναπαυσταί υμῖν* is changed into *αναψυχὴ μεθ' υμῶν*, because the Latin has *refrigerem vobiscum*⁷⁴. It has likewise the suspicious interpolation *καὶ ἐγνωσαν*, Rom. i. 32. which I mentioned in the third section of this chapter. The charge therefore which has been laid to it,

seems not to be wholly ungrounded: but the alterations were probably not made by the transcriber who wrote this manuscript, for according to the account which Küster has given of his ignorance, he had hardly sufficient knowledge of Greek to enable him even to corrupt it⁷⁵. It is possible therefore that he copied from a more ancient Latinizing manuscript. Wetstein conjectured, from the striking similarity, that it was transcribed from the Codex Augiensis⁷⁶; but we are not in possession of the means of determining whether this conjecture be grounded, or not; for he has entirely omitted the two most suspicious readings, Phil. i. 27. iii. 10. so that we are unable to determine whether they were in the Augiensis, the only one of these two which he himself collated⁷⁷. He has acted in the same manner in regard to the extraordinary division which takes place not only in the sentences, but even in the words of the Boernerianus; for instance *κατοις κοπυρις*, Phil. ii. 4. where the Latin version has *singuli laborantes*⁷⁸. It is true then that the Boernerianus and Augiensis coincide in many readings, that are found in the Latin version, which might be peculiar to the Western edition, without affording a positive argument of corruption⁷⁹. Unfortunately we are unable to consult the Augiensis itself, because we know not where it is at present preserved.

Another peculiarity of this manuscript is, that the doxology, Rom. xvi. 24—27. which many manuscripts have at the end of the 14th chapter, is here omitted in both places⁸⁰. This is likewise the case with the Claromontanus and Augiensis, with this difference, that the Boernerianus, after *αμαρτια εις*, at the end of the 14th chapter, has a vacant place of six lines for the Greek text, and as many for the Latin version.

That this is an ancient manuscript, appears from the form of the characters, and the want of accents and marks of aspiration⁸¹. Yet, as far as we are able to judge at present, it has been altered from the Latin, ⁸², though it does not follow from this circumstance that all those readings are to be rejected, in which it coincides with

with the Latin version. I wish, that I had more knowledge of this manuscript, as I have frequently found it in favour of that, which appears to be the best reading, and, that an impartial critic would carefully inspect it, as it is difficult to form an adequate judgment, without examining the Greek and the Latin at the same time. We have reason to expect a critical account of it from Matthäi; but I fear that it will not be impartial, because he usually gives the title of *scurrilis recensio* to what Griesbach calls the Western edition⁸³.

54. Codex Boreeli, noted F, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. contains the four Gospels, beginning with Matth. vii. 6. it has also the two following chasms, Matth. xiii. 25—58. and Mark vi. 16. It was formerly in the possession of John Boreel, Dutch ambassador at the court of London in the time of James I. We know not where it is at present, but Wetstein procured extracts from it by means of Verburgen, which were made soon after the death of Boreel, and inserted them in his collection⁸⁴. But they extend not to the whole manuscript, going no farther than Luke x.

55. Fragmentum Borgianum, a fragment of a Coptic-Greek manuscript, brought by an ignorant monk from Egypt; but we know not how many books of the New Testament it contained, as the illiterate proprietor threw away the greatest part of his discovered treasure. The trifling remnant, consisting of about twelve leaves, he sent to Stephen Borgia, secretary to the society de propaganda fide. It begins with John vi. 28. and ends vii. 23. is divided into two columns, the first of which contains the Greek text in uncial letters, and without intervals between the words; the other column contains the Coptic. It is a very important specimen of the Alexandrine edition, and it is highly to be lamented that so much of it is lost. Hwiid, who saw this fragment at Rome, in the house of secretary Borgia, having observed that it had the reading *παπαροι*, John vii. 49. to which he remembered that I had given the preference in my public lectures, obtained permission to extract its principal

cial readings, which, together with a description of this fragment, may be seen in my *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XVII. N°. 267⁸⁵.

Britannicus Erasmi, in which 1 John v. 7. is said to be contained, is most probably the same with that which I shall describe in the sequel, under the title Montfortianus.

56. Bunckle, noted in Mill Bu, and 70 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. It is a modern manuscript of the four Gospels, and was formerly in the possession of Dr. Bunckle, in London, whose extracts from it were communicated to Mill. Whether it was written a short time before, or a short time after the invention of printing, which last Wetstein asserted in opposition to Mill, is a matter of little importance. It is said to have been brought to England in 1476, and to have been written by George of Sparta, from whom we have a few other manuscripts of the Greek Testament. This is related by Wetstein, without mentioning the source from which he derived his intelligence; but it is probable that he speaks as eye-witness, and that he took his accounts from the subscription to the manuscript itself⁸⁶.

57. Byzantinus, noted 86 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. It is preserved at Presburg, contains the four Gospels, and was collated by Wetstein: we know nothing further of its antiquity, than that it was purchased by Alexius Comnenus the Second, in the year 1183.

Cæsareus, or Cæsareanus, must be sought under Vin-dobonensis.

58. Camerarii, noted 88 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. a manuscript which Joachim Camerarius describes as ancient, and frequently quotes in his *Notes to the Gospels*⁸⁷. It is one of those few which have *την* for *την*, John xix. 14. which I believe to be a correction, though a very ancient one.

59. Cantabrigiensis, or Cant. I. or Codex Bezae, is that very ancient and celebrated manuscript which Wetstein, in the first and third parts of his Greek Testament, has noted by the letter D. Beside the well-known writers

on this subject, the reader may consult Semler's Appendix Observationum to his edition of Wetstein's Prolegomena, Obs. 2. and Griesbach's Symbolæ criticæ⁸⁸, p. lv—lxiv. It is a Greek and Latin¹ manuscript of the four Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles. In the Greek it is defective from the beginning to Matth. i. 20. in the Latin to Matth. i. 12. and has likewise the following chasms, Matth. vi. 20.—ix. 2. xxvii. 1—12. John i. 16.—ii. 26. Acts viii. 29.—x. 14. xxi. 2—10. xxii. 10—20. and from xxii. 29. to the end. The Gospels are arranged in the usual order of the Latin manuscripts, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. The uncial letters, with the want of accents, of marks of aspiration, and of intervals between the words, discover a high antiquity, and perhaps of all the manuscripts now extant, this is the most ancient. It has a great number of corrections, of which the best account has been given by Griesbach⁸⁹: many were made by the transcriber himself, but others have proceeded from a second, third, and even fourth hand; they betray different ages, and two corrections are sometimes at variance with each other, of which those made Matth. v. 36, afford an example. The extracts, which have hitherto been given of this manuscript, are extremely defective, because neither a proper distinction has been made between the corrections and the text itself, nor attention paid to the particular hand, from which each correction proceeded: it is difficult therefore, according to the opinion of Griesbach, to determine the edition, to which the Codex Cantabrigiensis properly belongs.

To this manuscript has been laid the charge that the Greek text has been altered from the Latin version⁹⁰. It cannot be denied that some of the examples, which have been alleged in support of the accusation, are very extraordinary; for instance, the grammatical error *side to* *πρωτος τε δευ καταβαινοντα*, Matth. iii. 16. which has been termed

¹ The Latin text of St. John's Gospel has been printed by Semler, at the end of his Paraphrasis Evangelii Johannis. It was communicated to him by Kennicott.

termed an unhappy translation of the Latin *spiritum Dei descendentem*⁹¹. But a transcriber, who designedly made this alteration, must have been sufficiently acquainted with the Greek grammar, to know the difference between the masculine *καταβαινοντα* and the neuter *καταβαινον*, and at the same time so ignorant as not to know that *πνευμα* was a neuter. Mill endeavours to account for this grammatical error, on the hypothesis that the transcriber intended to express the personality of the Holy Ghost, the construction being similar to *ο κοσμος αυτον εκ γυνω*, John i. 10. where the pronoun is masculine, though *το φως* preceded in the ninth verse⁹². Other examples, in which this manuscript coincides with one or other of the Latin versions, I omit as of little importance.

On the other hand, I have found examples, which seem to rescue the copyist from the charge of having corrupted the Greek from the Latin, of which I will mention only two, though many more might be produced. 1. The Greek text varies sometimes even from the Latin version, with which it is accompanied. For instance, this is the only Greek manuscript now extant that has in the singular number *εξιθοντα απο Βηθανιας επινασειν*, Mark xi. 12. a reading which coincides with that of the Syriac version, ܐܬܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܝܢܝܐ ܥܠܝܢܐ, and with the Latin in the Codex Veronensis⁹³; whereas the Latin text of the Cod. Cant. has the plural number, agreeably to the common reading, *εξιθοντων αυτων*, et alii die, cum exissent a Bethania, esuriit, as I was informed by Mr. Whiston, in a letter dated Feb. 2, 1756, who at my request examined this passage. 2. The Latin text appears in some cases⁹⁴ to have been altered from the Greek. For instance, the Latin version has in general *hic dicet tibi quid te oporteat facere*, at the end of Acts x. 6. but these words are omitted in the Latin text of the Cod. Cantabrigiensis, as well as of the Laudanus 3. the only two⁹⁵ in which the omission is observable, because the spurious addition *ετος λαλησει σοι τι σε δεη ποιειν*, is rejected from the Greek text of those two manuscripts.

Of

Of still more importance is its remarkable coincidence with several ancient versions. The first discovery which I made of this nature relates to the Syriac version, which harmonizes with the Cambridge manuscript in a manner that surpasses all expectation, and I may venture to affirm that this coincidence is at least ten times superior to what is discoverable between the Syriac version and any other Greek manuscript whatsoever. Notwithstanding the chasms in the Acts of the Apostles, it agrees with the Syriac versions in seventy-seven readings, that are found in no other manuscript, as may be seen in my *Curæ* in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, p. 82. and in the short Gospel of St. Mark I have likewise observed twenty-nine passages of this kind, namely iii. 11. 13. 17. iv. 15. 28. v. 21. 23. 26. 28. vi. 25. 28. 31. 38. 53. vii. 21. (in two readings in the same verse) viii. 1. ix. 3. x. 6. xii. 2. 14. 40. xiii. 19. xiv. 12. 30. 65. 67. 69. xv. 19. If therefore, as some critics have affirmed, the Cod. Cant. had been altered, throughout the whole, from a version, it would be most reasonable to suspect they Syriac^k. But of late years there has been produced a still greater number of ancient testimonies, with which the Cambridge manuscript very evidently agrees.

1. One of those Greek manuscripts, which were collated with the Philoxenian version in the seventh century^m.

2. The Coptic version, in a remarkable and characteristic reading, John xviii. 1. of which an account may be seen Ch. vii. sect. 13. of this Introductionⁿ. The two following are likewise examples of coincidence with the Coptic, Mark iii. 21. *οτι ημεσιν περι αυτου οι γραμματαις*

και

^k Professor Storr in the 8th section of his *Observationes super Novi Testamenti versionibus Syriacis*, has produced several other examples, in which the Syriac version coincides with the Codex Cantabrigiensis, and at last conjectures that the latter has in some cases been improperly altered from the former, through a mistake of the Syriac text. If the conjecture be grounded, he has detected the perpetrator in the very act; and I confess that the examples, which he has given, are not devoid of probability^m.

καὶ οἱ ῥοῖτοι, and ver. 29. ἀμαρτίας, instead of the usual reading *χριστῶς*⁹⁹.

3. The Sahidic version agrees in a very extraordinary manner with the Cambridge manuscript, an account of which may be seen in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. III. p. 201 —207¹⁰⁰.

After a due consideration of all these circumstances, we shall hardly conclude that a Greek-Latin manuscript written in the West of Europe, where Latin only was spoken, has been altered from the Syriac; and the natural inference to be deduced is, that its readings are for the most part genuine, and of course preferable to those of modern manuscripts¹⁰¹. On the other hand, I will not deny that several appear to be faulty, being either scholia, or a substitution of an easy for a difficult reading, or the result of an alteration made to remove some unfavourable doctrine. I will mention a few of these which seem to be spurious, though, in consequence of the defective extracts, which have been made from this manuscript, I am unable to determine, whether they are readings of the first hand, or merely corrections; a knowledge of which must have material influence on our judgment of the manuscript itself. Matth. x. 4. we find *Καναανίος* for *Καναανίτης*, an alteration which must be ascribed to the conceit of an ignorant transcriber, who changed a proper name, which was unknown to him, into one, with which he was acquainted; it is found in no manuscript, nor even in the Syriac version, but is peculiar to the Latin and the Coptic, and proceeded probably from a copyist, who was ignorant of the Oriental languages, Matth. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. we find in this manuscript alone *ἀναγει* for *ἀναφέρει*, which has the appearance of a scholion, made in consequence of the objection to the latter reading, that Christ conducted, not carried his disciples to the Mount, in the same manner as Cicero vented his satire against a similar use of the Latin word *adferre*. Matth. xxi. 7. for *ἐγκαθίσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτῶν*, a reading at which many had taken offence, because Christ could have sat on only one ass, not considering

considering that *αυτων* might refer to *ιματια*, we find in this manuscript alone *επανω αυτε*: it is true that this is the reading of the Latin version, but not of the Latin version alone, for it is likewise in the old Syriac, and the Coptic. Mark i. 41. the Cod. Cant. alone has *οργισθεις* for *σπλαγχνισθεις*, agreeably to the Latin *iratus*; a reading found also in the Corbejensis 2. and the Vercellensis ¹⁰². This has all the appearance of an alteration from the Latin version, which in other manuscripts, both ancient and modern, has *misertus*. In the old Syriac, as well as in the Philoxenian, we find *ܡܝܫܪܬܐ* *misertus est*, which might be an erratum for *ܡܝܪܐ* *iratus est*, and give rise to the reading of the Cambridge manuscript, though it is possible that the reading of the latter was an early correction of some critic, who thought that a word expressive of anger was more suitable to the occasion, than one expressive of pity. Mark vi. 56. *πλατειαις* is peculiar to this manuscript, instead of *αγοραις*, an alteration which arose perhaps from the supposition that the former reading was more suitable to the context, which relates to towns and villages. It is admissible as a scholion, but not as a part of the text. In this example the Cambridge manuscript agrees with the Vulgate, which has in *plateis*; but it is by no means a necessary consequence, that the former was altered from the latter, since it might have been copied from a still more ancient manuscript, that had *εν πλατειαις* ¹⁰³. The Syriac *ܠܫܬܐ* is a medium between both, since it may be rendered either street or market ¹⁰⁴. Mark vii. 19. *εις οχeton εξερχεται* is nothing more than a scholion for *εις τον αφερωνα εκπορευεται*, which is found in all the other manuscripts. Luke xvii. 22. it adds *τετων* to the common text, having *μιαν των ημερων ΤΟΥΤΩΝ τε. νιν τε ανθρωπη*, and in the Latin we find in like manner *unum dierum HORUM filii hominis*, a reading found in no other manuscript, either Greek or Latin. This *τετων* determines the sense of the passage, which without it is capable of more than one explanation; and the Latin appears in this case to have been altered from the Greek reading, which is peculiar

to this manuscript, and is found in none of the ancient versions, that in other respects agree with it, not even in the Syriac. Whether it is to be explained as a scholion, or an interpolation, I will not pretend to determine. Luke xxii. 16. *ως οτε καινον βρωθη*, in the Latin *usque quo novum edatur*, a reading found in no other either Greek or Latin manuscript, has all the appearance of a scholion¹⁰⁵, and the Latin seems to have been altered from the Greek: the same may be said of *εν τη ημερα της ελευσις σε*, in *die adventus tui*, Luke xxiii. 42. unless it be explained as a correction. John vi. 1. *εις τα μιση* is an addition peculiar to this manuscript, it being the only one that has *πραν της θαλασσης ΕΙC ΤΑ ΜΕΡΗ της Τιβεριαδος*, and the Latin text of the Cod. Cant. which is here altered from the Greek, has *trans mare Galilææ in fines Tiberiadis*. The Vulgate, both ancient and modern, has very properly *trans mare Galilææ, quod est Tiberiadis*; but the old Latin version, in the Codex Veronensis, has in *fines* in common with the Cambridge manuscript, whereas all the others, which coincide not with the Vulgate, explain the passage by different additions, as may be seen in Blanchini¹⁰⁶. Acts xii. 5. the Cod. Cant. alone has *πολλή δε προσευχη ην εν εκτινιαι περι αυτε απο της εκκλησιας προς τον Διον περι αυτε*, and in the Latin, *multa vero oratio erat instantissime pro eo ab ecclesia ad Deum super ipso*, a reading which has been chiefly taken from the Greek¹⁰⁷. Acts xii. 19. *αποκταίνθηαι* for *απαχθηναι* seems to be a scholion, unless it be a correction from the Syriac, or the Coptic. Perhaps it was originally written as a marginal note, taken from one of these versions, and by degrees admitted into the text. This, at least is certain, that it is not an alteration from one of the Latin versions, which have almost universally *duci*, and the Latin text of the Cambridge manuscript itself has, according to Sabatier, *vigiles jussit obduci*. Acts xiii. 47. the Cod. Cant. alone omits *ημιν*, and reads *εγω γαρ εντιταλεις Κυριος*, but not in the Latin, which is, according to Sabatier, *ita enim mandatum dedit nobis dominus*. It seems to be a designed omission, and

and that *ἡμῶν* was rejected by some ancient critic as a spurious reading, because the passage of Isaiah, which St. Paul immediately quotes, refers to Christ alone.

On the other hand, several of the readings in the Codex Cantabrigiensis are the very reverse of corrections, or modifications of a difficult passage: for instance, *καὶ ἀναβάντων*, John vii. 8. a text which has been exposed to the censure of Porphyry, and therefore altered by many transcribers, with a view of evading the objection, into *καὶ ἀναβάντων* ¹⁰⁸.

The result of the preceding remarks is, that the manuscript in question cannot possibly have been altered from the Latin, according to the charge which has been usually laid to it. The transcriber appears to have acted like a critic, to have corrected the text from the best help which he could procure, to have derived assistance from many ancient manuscripts, some of which perhaps had admitted scholia into the text, and at times to have ventured a critical conjecture. But till we are fully informed what readings are to be ascribed to the text itself, and what to subsequent corrections, it is impossible to decide on this subject with any certainty, which we shall more easily obtain, if to the above-mentioned information be added a diligent use of the Sahidic version. I defer therefore for the present my opinion on many points relative to this subject, and wait for the publication of Dr. Kipling, to whom none of these sources of information can be inaccessible.

The history of this most important manuscript must be related in an inverted order, because our knowledge of it in later times is certain, whereas the higher we ascend, the greater is the obscurity, in which we are involved, till at length we lose ourselves in the maze of those unwarranted conjectures, that have been ventured by Wetstein. At present it is the property of the University of Cambridge, which received it as a present from Beza, its former proprietor, in the year 1581. The learned donor was so far from over-rating the value of his manuscript, that, in his letter to the University, he expressed

expressed himself in the following manner: *etsi vero nulli melius quam vos ipsi, quæ sit huic exemplari fides habenda, æstimarint, hac de re tamen vos admonendos duxi, tantam a me, in Lucæ præsertim evangelio, repertam esse inter hunc codicem et cæteros quantumvis veteres discrepantiam, ut vitandæ quorundam offensioni asservandum potius quam publicandum existimem.* This passage is the more entitled to our attention, as Wetstein, who sometimes forgets the rules of decorum, when he speaks of Beza, has accused him not only of being too precipitate, but even of acting unfairly, and of quoting this single manuscript as two different manuscripts confirming the same reading. He says, p. 34. *vereor ut Beza ipse omni culpâ careat, neque reperio quomodo ipsum crimine minus sincere administratæ rei liberare queam.*

According to Beza's own account, which he has repeated more than once, this manuscript was found at Lyons, in the monastery of St. Irenæus, in the year 1562, at the commencement of the civil war in France¹⁰⁹, from which period he made use of it till the year 1581, and has frequently quoted it in his edition of the Greek Testament, published in 1582. Though he styles it in this publication *meus codex*, notwithstanding he had sent it to Cambridge the year before, yet no impartial critic can find with Wetstein in this circumstance, a ground of suspicion: for it cannot be supposed that Beza made his remarks in the same year, in which the work was printed, but during the interval that elapsed between the editions of 1565 and 1582. At that time therefore he could give it no other name than that of *codex meus*, and it would have been surely absurd, because the manuscript was already sent to Cambridge when his remarks were ready for the press, to have altered in each of them *codex meus* into *codex olim meus*.

On the other hand, the account of Beza appears contradictory to the very probable assertion of Wetstein, that the Cod. Cant. and the Codex β Stephani, which, as he relates, some of his friends had collated in Italy, for his edition

edition of 1550, are one and the same manuscript. It is true that Beza quotes them as totally distinct; but very obvious circumstances decide in favour of Wetstein. Both manuscripts, if the expression is allowable where the same thing has merely two different names, contain only the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles: where the Cambridge manuscript has chasms, no readings are quoted by Stephens from the Codex β ; and the readings of the Codex Stephani β , among which are 450 lectiones singulares, are in general found in the Cambridge manuscript¹¹⁰. This discovery is of real importance, for, since the Cod. Cant. varies from the common Greek text in a greater degree than any other, it makes a material difference, whether the deviations are peculiar to this manuscript, or whether they are confirmed by other authority. Wetstein therefore, in order to avoid the error of producing two witnesses instead of one, has not admitted the Cod. Stephani β into his collection of various readings.

The animosity which Wetstein had excited in Basel, united with his harsh treatment of Beza, was the cause not only that this discovery was called in question by cool and impartial lovers of the truth, but that the author was attacked in a violent, and even virulent manner, in a work published in 1730, by an anonymous writer, and entitled *Specimen observationum in prolegomena, &c.* The only argument of real consequence, advanced in this work, is the following, that Stephens has quoted from his Codex β twenty passages, which vary from those in the Codex Cantabrigiensis. Bengel¹, who speaks without warmth or partiality, has added to these twenty an instance taken from Acts xxi. 35. and I have found another, Acts xiii. 1. But the answer is easy, and has been really given by Wetstein¹¹¹, namely, among so great a number of quoted readings, either Stephens himself,

or

¹ P. 445. of the first edition, p. 81, 82, of the second. He says, non interpono me in controversiam, quæ politicas potius quam criticas videtur rationes habere.

or the compositor, might have easily made twenty errata, either by inaccurately quoting the words, or setting the letter β, where another letter should have been placed. Wetstein's reply derives a great accession of probability from the doubts which he has started relative to the celebrated accuracy and diligence of Stephens¹¹², and also from the following remark of the impartial Bengel, that, though the Complutensian Bible, and the Codex Stephani α, are undoubtedly one and the same thing, yet more than twenty examples might be produced, where Stephens quotes from Codex α what is not found in the Complutensian Bible. Wetstein has given likewise particular answers to the respective examples, of which I will quote the following, as it contains at the same time a new argument in favour of his discovery. Acts viii. 6. Stephens quotes from the Codex β, *προσειχον δε οι οχλοι*, and Mill, from the Cod. Cant. *ως δε ηκουσαν πατεραις οι οχλοι, προσειχον*. Now the Cambridge manuscript, according to Wetstein, has both these readings, one from the hand of the transcriber, the other from the hand of a corrector.

As it appears then that these two different titles belong in fact to one and the same manuscript, the question naturally arises, how could Beza give so contradictory an account, and quote them as different manuscripts¹¹³?

Wetstein

¹¹² To this may be added what Semler has observed in his 46th Note to Wetstein's Prolegomena: *quomodo fingi potest, ut Beza manibus suis teneat codicem, eumque diversum putet a Stephani β, si hic β fuit numero idem ille codex? Nunquamne, qui contulerat, Stephani filius oculis postea vidit hunc Bezae librum? But this objection will be obviated, when we recollect that the manuscript was not collated by Henry Stephens, for his father says expressly, Το β' το η Ιταλικον υπο τιμω ημαστινη αντιγραφει φιλων¹¹³. Dr. Semler conjectures in his 44th Note that the Codex Stephani β might have been a transcript of the Cod. Cant. and brought to Italy a short time before it was collated. The same thought has likewise occurred to me, but it is attended with the following difficulties.*

1. Stephens calls his Codex β, *vetustissimum exemplar in Italia ab amicis collatum*.

2. It

Wetstein conjectures, that Beza confounded the manuscript, which was discovered at Lyons, with that, which was brought from Clermont, in which latter place, Wetstein believes that the Codex Cantabrigiensis was found; and supposes further, that Beza, who says that his MS. of St. Paul's epistles came from Clermont in the diocese of Beauvais, was here again guilty of a mistake, in confounding this place with Clermont in Auvergne². Now two such blunders together can hardly be ascribed to Beza, and I would rather suppose that a manuscript, which had been preserved in Italy till the year 1550, was brought by some accident to Lyons, and discovered there in 1562, by some one, who was ignorant of its value, and was able to give no further account of it¹⁶. The manuscript then was about the year 1550, in Italy, that is, according to a conjecture of Wetstein, which is still less probable than the former, at Trent¹⁷. For, since

William

2. It is difficult for a transcript to harmonize so perfectly with the original, as is really the case with the Cod. Cant. and the Cod. β , even if allowance be made for the two-and-twenty readings in which they appear to differ¹⁴.

* Wetstein adds, as a new argument in support of his conjecture, that Beza, in his last edition, published in 1595, calls our manuscript Claromontanus, in his Notes to Luke xix. 26. and Acts xx. 3. The truth of this assertion cannot be denied; but if we reflect that Beza was at that time seventy-six years old, that he had sent his manuscript to Cambridge fourteen years before that period, and that he entirely lost the use of his memory in the latter part of his life, the inference, which Wetstein deduces, loses all probability. The two quotations, which he has made from Beza's last edition, are to be found in none of the preceding, and they cannot be considered as corrections of former mistakes. These two notes, which may be regarded as new at that time, as far as concerns the publication, he had probably put to paper before the year 1581, in which he gave away the manuscript, but had not printed them, as being of little importance. Many years afterwards, agreeably to the usual practice of men of learning toward the close of their lives, he collected his scattered papers, and being deprived of his memory, it is no wonder that he confounded the Codex Cantabrigiensis, which he had not seen during fourteen years, with the Claromontanus, which was still in his possession, as the two manuscripts are so nearly allied¹⁵.

William a Prato Bishop of Clermont, brought with him to the Council of Trent a Greek manuscript, from which he quoted John xxi. 22. *ἵαν αὐτον θελω μινειν ΟΥΤΩΣ εως ερχομαι*, a reading found only in the Cod. Cant., Wetstein, who heaps conjecture on conjecture, concludes that the Bishop had the Cod. Cant. and that it ought to have been called Claromontanus ¹¹⁸. But this argument of Wetstein rests on very uncertain ground, as coincidence in a single reading is a weak proof of the identity of whole manuscripts ¹¹⁹.

Having thus far advanced, he takes a flight of not less than seven centuries, and is so fortunate as to find the manuscript again in France about the year of Christ 840: Druthmar relates that he had seen a Greek manuscript of the Gospels, in which that of St. John immediately follows that of St. Matthew. Now this conjecture reminds me of the story of one who heard of a blind man, and immediately asked if it were Homer. Surely no one will doubt, that nine hundred years ago there were other Greek manuscripts, in which the Latin order of the Gospels was observed, beside the Codex Cantabrigiensis: and, independent of the objection which Semler has made, that this manuscript is Latin as well as Greek, it may be observed, that it contains likewise the Acts of the Apostles, which Druthmar has not related of his manuscript ¹²⁰.

Lastly, Wetstein takes a still bolder step, and discovers the Cod. Cant. among those which were collated at Alexandria in 616, for the New Syriac version, because he found a coincidence in several readings, which he has counted as far as eleven. This is a weak argument in favour of an assertion, which is in itself highly improbable, since we can have no reason to suppose that to Egyptian manuscripts of the Greek Testament, would be added a Latin translation*. As Wetstein made use of Ridley's manuscripts of the Heracleian version during only fourteen days, it is hardly possible that he had sufficient time

* A more probable argument, as well as the answer to it, may be seen in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVIII. p. 177 ¹²¹.

time to examine, whether his supposed discovery were really grounded. The public library at Alexandria was soon after that period reduced to ashes; the question therefore proposed by Wetstein, *quid necesse est alium similem atque gemellum creare, eumque statim ad nihilum redigere*, is totally useless. Besides, Ridley has clearly shewn, p. 61, 62. of his dissertation, that the Cambridge manuscript cannot possibly have been one of those which were used by Thomas of Heraclea, because its characteristic readings are not discoverable in the extracts, which were added by the editor ¹²².

With respect to the use which has been made of this manuscript; I have mentioned above, that Stephens made extracts from it, though with no great accuracy, under the title *Codex β*, for the edition of the Greek Testament, of 1550, and likewise Beza for his own edition, which was published in 1582. Since it was sent to the University of Cambridge, it has been more accurately collated by Junius: his extracts were used by Curcellæus and Morinus, of whom the latter had principally in view to defend the Latin version, and those readings which agree with it. A fourth, and much more accurate collation, was made at the instigation of Usher, and the extracts were inserted in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot. Mill collated it a fifth and sixth time, as he assures us, sect. 1418, 1419, and found a variety of matter which had escaped the notice of his predecessors: but that his extracts are likewise defective, appears on comparing them with Wetstein's New Testament ¹²³: The last-mentioned critic has exerted the most zeal and diligence, having transcribed the whole of this manuscript in the year 1716. The world therefore is in possession of two written copies of the same manuscript, and the critic, into whose hands the transcript of Wetstein may hereafter fall, must take care to avoid the error of quoting it as a new evidence ¹²⁴.

Lastly, the University of Cambridge has come to a resolution in the present year 1787, of printing the whole manuscript, in letters of the same form and magnitude as the original hand-writing, and has committed the

publication to the care of Dr. Kipling. It is an undertaking of very great importance, for which I acknowledge my particular thanks, it being the completion of a wish, that I have expressed on several occasions, though my advanced age gives me little reason to hope that I should survive the publication.

60. Cantabrigiensis 2, according to Mill, a manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, the catholic epistles, and the epistles to the Hebrews, written on vellum, and supposed by Thomas Gale to be five or six hundred years old. It has the following chasms, Acts i. 1—10. xviii. 20—xx. 14. James v. 14. to the end of the epistle, 1 Peter 1—3. and a part of the fourth chapter. It has been collated by Mill^p: but as he describes it, § 1419, as if it contained no other of St. Paul's epistles, than that to the Hebrews, it is inconceivable how it can be quoted so often for the others. We can make no other conclusion than that they are really contained in this manuscript, and that Mill has expressed himself inaccurately¹⁵⁵.

61. Cantabrigiensis 3, or Codex collegii Emanuelis Cantabrigiæ, noted 30 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T.,

^p I am at a loss to determine whether Wetstein has entirely omitted this manuscript, or whether he has only given it a false name. It appears to me to be the same as that which he has noted 29 in the second part, and 24 in the third, his description of which is attended with more than one mistake. His account of the Cod. 29, in the second part, is as follows: Codex Oxoniensis collegii Christi membranaceus in octavo continet acta et epistolas apostolorum. Desunt tamen Act i. ad vers. 10, item ab xviii. 20. ad xx. 14. Quingentorum est annorum. Thomas Gale contulit et cum editore Oxoniensi N. T. anni 1675 communicavit. Here Oxoniensis seems to be an erratum for Cantabrigiensis, because his Cod. Oxon. has the same chasms as Mill's Cod. Cant. the same antiquity likewise is ascribed to it, and in the third part Wetstein himself describes his Codex 24, 'Cantabrigiensis collegii Christi, Tom. II. p. 13. num. 28,' where 28 appears to be an erratum for 29, because n. 28. is the Baroccianus which I have described above N^o. 35, and which in Wetstein's third part is Codex 23. Besides, at Oxford there is no Collegium Christi, but Corpus-Christi College, and Christ-Church College. One circumstance however occasions some perplexity, namely, that Wetstein appeals not to Mill, but to Gale. As I am not in possession of the Oxford edition of 1675, on which the whole depends, I am unable to determine the question¹⁵⁶.

N. T., in the third 53. This is a very neatly written, but not ancient, manuscript of all the epistles. It has many chasms, for the catholic epistles begin with the middle of 2 Peter i. and is not legible before 2 Peter ii. 4. It is likewise defective from 1 John iii. 20. as far as the end of the third epistle; that of St. Jude also is wanting, and it has likewise the two following chasms, 1 Cor. xi. 7—xv. 56. and from Heb. xi. 27. to the end of the epistle¹²⁷. Its readings were first published in the London Polyglot, from which they were taken by Mill and Wetstein¹²⁸.

I will mention two of them; in order to enable the reader to judge of the manuscript itself. Ephes. ii. 4. for *αγαπην*, it has the unusual word *ευσπλαγγνιαν*, a reading found in no other manuscript; and Heb. x. 6. it alone agrees with the Vulgate, and the Syriac version, in the omission of *και*, an error which probably took its rise in the Syriac¹²⁹, as this version has the whole passage literally from the version of the Psalms.

62. Cantabrigiensis, n. 495 in the University library, noted 26 in the second part of Wetstein's N.T., in the third 21, is a manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, written in the twelfth century, but has many chasms. The eleven first chapters of the Acts are totally wanting, likewise xiv. 13—xv. 10. Rom. xi. 22—33. the three first chapters of the first epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Tim. i. and iii. with the epistles to Philemon and the Hebrews¹³⁰. According to Wetstein's account, Mill, though he has not described this manuscript, has yet collated it and called it Luc. because Professor Lucas brought it with him from the East. Whether this be true, or not, I am unable to determine¹³¹. Wetstein collated it in 1716.

63. Cantabrigiensis, n. 496 in the University Library, noted 27 in the second part of Wetstein's N.T., contains the epistles of St. Paul, beginning with that to the Galatians, and was collated by Wetstein in 1716¹³².

64. Carpzovianus, noted 78 in the first part of Wetstein's N.T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum, which Küster judging from the letters, supposed to be 600 years old. John Gottlob Carpzov of

Leipzig had it in his possession; and Küster procured from Dr. Boerner those extracts, which he inserted in Mill's edition of the Greek Testament.

Des Champs, See Regius 2243.

65. Claromontanus, or Regius 2245, preserved in the royal library in Paris, where at present it is marked Cod. Græc. 107, noted D in the second part of Wetstein's N.T., is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, whose antiquity was estimated by Sabatier at 1200 years. It contains the epistle to the Hebrews, though this epistle is omitted in the catalogue of the books of the New Testament, which is annexed to the epistle to Philemon, a proof that this catalogue was made by a member of the Latin church, which formerly rejected the epistle to the Hebrews. In the same catalogue the Latin order of the Gospels is likewise observed, namely, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

Beza, who had this manuscript in his possession, and was the first that made use of it, has given it the title Claromontanus from Clermont in Beauvais, where it is said to have been preserved. But Wetstein contends that this is a mistake, and that Beza confounded it with Cant. I. He conjectures that it was brought into Switzerland from the monastery of Cluny, which the Swiss plundered, and that Beza designedly concealed the manner in which he became possessed of it¹. This is one of Wetstein's partial and unjust reflections on Beza, for if he procured it either by purchase or present, and thereby rescued it from destruction, he might surely have avowed it openly, without exposing himself to the charge of a literary theft, or the danger of having his manuscript redemanded. It is however of little consequence to know where it had been kept before that period. From the hands of Beza it came into the Putean library¹³, and was bequeathed by the proprietor, with all his other manuscripts, to the royal library in Paris, where it is preserved at present. According to the accounts of Wetstein and Sabatier, thirty-six leaves were cut out of

¹ Beza, nescio quo pacto, hæc enim studiosæ silentio involvit, acquisivit.

of it', in the beginning of this century, and sold in England, but they were sent back by Lord Oxford in 1729^a. The manuscript therefore is again complete, as there fails only the covering, in which the stolen sheets had been inclosed, which is kept in the British Museum, and filled with the letters that passed on the occasion, as a monument of this infamous theft.

This manuscript, like other codices græco-latini, has been accused of having a Greek text, that has been altered from the Latin. In support of this charge, Wetstein has produced several examples which deserve to be examined, but they are not all of equal weight¹³⁵. I will not presume to assert that the charge is wholly ungrounded, for it has the suspicious reading *ex syoncau* Rom. i. 32. which I noticed in the third section of this chapter. But at the same time, it harmonizes with other ancient

^a It is probable that the person guilty of this scandalous transaction was John Aymon, of whom Uffenbach relates in Vol. III. of his Travels, p. 475, that he shewed him, on the 29th of January 1711, twelve single leaves of quarto vellum, that discovered the most venerable antiquity, taken from a Greek-Latin manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, and at the same time added, that the remainder of the manuscript was in the royal library in Paris. Uffenbach describes Aymon as a noted literary thief, whose person was not in safety, as he had robbed both the royal and private libraries.

^b I have received the following account from a friend who was himself in Paris, and saw this manuscript. 'A librarian has prefixed the following remark: *Manuscrit gaté par Aymon, qui en a coupé 31 feuillets, to which is added by another hand, Ou plutôt 35.* To this manuscript belongs a second volume noted likewise 107, which contains the leaves, that had been cut out, and in which is the following remark: *Ce Volume contenant trente-quatre feuillets arrachés ou coupés du fameux et précieux MScr. des Epîtres de St. Paul par l'Apostat et le scelerat Aymon, fut renvoyé à M. l'Abbé Bignon au mois de —, 1729, par Milord d'Oxford, Seigneur Anglois. Il les avoit achetées, ou fait acheter du voleur Aymon.* In this small volume, beside the above-mentioned thirty-four leaves, is found a single leaf not stitched with the rest, at the bottom of which is written, *Feuillet envoyé de Hollande par Mr. Stosch, Mars 1720.* It is the 149th leaf, and contains the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians.' The friend to whom I am indebted for this account is Professor Schweighäuser in Strassburg¹³⁶.

ancient versions, more especially the Syriac; and as no one can suppose that this manuscript has been corrupted from them all, no other cause of coincidence can be assigned, than its high antiquity. Heb. xi. 35. it has in conjunction with the Cod. Alex. *ελαβον γυναικας*, which is undoubtedly a false reading, because the following words *της νεκρης αυτων* are left without meaning. This accusative seems to be the remnant of a reading expressed by the Syriac version *γυναικας εξ αναστασιως νεκρων της αυτων*¹⁵, in the Syriac, *ܠܕܘܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ* reddiderunt mulieribus filios ipsarum ex resurrectione mortuorum¹⁶. Perhaps this verse has another various reading, which Wetstein has not quoted, for the Latin text is, *acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuorum suorum*, which expressed in Greek would be *ελαβον γυναικας εξ αναστασιως νεκρων αυτων*, which with exception to *της* is agreeable to the Syriac reading. Heb. xii. 3. it has, in conjunction with the Codex Sangermanensis, a reading that gives a totally different sense from the common text, and that from the first hand, *αναλογισασθε γαρ * τοιαυτην υποκειμενηκοτα απο των αμαρτων εις εαυτες αντιλογιαν*, which is likewise expressed in the Syriac version *ܕܥܡܕܐ ܕܥܡܕܐ ܕܥܡܕܐ ܕܥܡܕܐ*, qui fuerunt sibi ipsis adversarii; and as the Latin text of the Codex Claromontanus is, *recogitate talem vos portasse a peccatoribus in vobis adversitatem*, it was evidently made from the particular Greek text of the Claromontanus, as the common Latin version follows the usual reading¹⁷. Still more extraordinary is the coincidence of the Latin text with the Syriac version, Heb. xii. 18. though, as far as we can judge from the extracts, that have been given of this manuscript, the coincidence does not take place in the Greek text. The Syriac translator, as well as the Coptic and Armenian, has omitted *ορει*, and the first has translated the passage *ܠܡܢ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ* which the author of the Arabic version, published by Erpenius, must have likewise

¹⁵ I omit the verb, because I am unable to conjecture what it might have been.

¹⁶ The Sangermanensis after *της* has *το*.

likewise found in the Syriac, for he has *الى النار مخرجوسية* *مسطرمة*. Now it is difficult to determine what is the meaning of *ad ignem ardentem et palpabilem*, and were it not expressed in other versions, I should suppose that it originated from a mistake of a Syrian transcriber, into which he was led by the similarity of the words *Nuro* and *Turo*, and that the true text were *الى النار مخرجوسية* *مسطرمة*. But this extraordinary reading is in the Latin text of the Claromontanus, where we find, *non enim accessistis ad ardentem et tractabilem ignem*; but the Greek text, if we may conclude from the extracts which have been produced, must have the common reading *οφει* ¹³⁸. It really deserves to be more nearly inspected, in order to see whether a correction has been made in this passage.

The preceding examples, which have occurred to me on examining only a few chapters, shew that this very ancient manuscript deserves a more accurate examination than has been hitherto bestowed on it ¹³⁹, and proves at the same time that the suspicion of its having been altered throughout from the Latin is ungrounded. Were any inference of this kind to be drawn, we might with more reason suspect the Syriac, but this is a version, from which no one can suppose that alterations were made in a manuscript, written in Greek and Latin in the west of Europe. Whoever wishes to examine two other important readings, may have recourse to 2 Cor. iv. 1. Gall. ii. 5. I cannot conclude without expressing a sincere desire that this manuscript might be printed like the Codex Alexandrinus, but I have little reason to expect its completion, as most probably it will never be known in France, that I have ever expressed it.

Mill contended that the Codex Claromontanus was the second part of the Cantabrigiensis, but Wetstein has sufficiently confuted this opinion, and shews that the former is by no means connected with the latter, as appears from the difference of their form, their orthography, and the nature of the vellum, on which they are

written. This has likewise been confirmed by Griesbach in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. lvi. who has examined both manuscripts ¹⁴⁰.

Beza was the first who made use of the Claromontanus: it was afterwards collated by Morinus; with a view of discovering readings in support of the Vulgate: more copious extracts were given in the London Polyglot, which Mill transferred to his Greek Testament, and Wetstein has twice collated it himself in 1715 and 1716, but the extracts from the leaves, which were at that time wanting, he procured from Nieuwenhuis. The Latin version published by Sabatier, was taken from this manuscript and the Sangermanensis.

66. For the extracts taken from the 14 following manuscripts ¹⁴¹, we are wholly indebted to the industry of Wetstein, namely,

Coislinianus 1, noted F in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., contains a part of the Old Testament, and properly speaking has no reference to the New. But as a passage of the latter, namely, Acts ix. 24, 25. is found in it written in the same hand, which discovers so high an antiquity as the eighth century ¹⁴², Wetstein has given it a place in his catalogue.

67. Coislinianus 20, noted 36 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the eleventh century brought from mount Athos, and containing the four Gospels.

68. Coislinianus 21, noted 37 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels written in the eleventh century.

69. Coislinianus 22, noted 40 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels brought from mount Athos: it is defective from John xx. 25. to the end: it is said to be written inaccurately, and to contain readings of little value.

70. Coislinianus 23, noted 39 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, was brought from mount Athos, and written in the twelfth century ¹⁴³. According to the subscription it was presented to the

monastery of St. Athanasius, on that mount, in the year 1218. Wetstein supposes it to be a mere transcript of the Codex Coislinianus 195.

71. Coislinianus 24, noted 41 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains various commentaries on St. Matthew and St. Mark: it was written in the eleventh century.

72. Coislinianus 25, noted 15 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles: it was written in the eleventh century.

73. Coislinianus 26, noted 19 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., and in the third 16, contains commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, and was written in the eleventh century.

74. Coislinianus 27, noted 20 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript brought from mount Athos, containing the epistles of St. Paul with commentaries, but is very defective, and in bad preservation.

75. Coislinianus 195, noted 34 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a very neatly written manuscript of the eleventh century: it contains the four Gospels, and was brought from mount Athos.

76. Coislinianus 199, noted 35 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 18, in the third 14, and in the fourth 17, contains the whole New Testament, was written in the eleventh century, and was brought from mount Athos: in many places it has corrections. Professor Storr in his dissertation *de versionibus Syriacis N. T.* § 35. has shewn that Wetstein has collated it inaccurately, and been guilty of many omissions ¹⁴⁴.

77. Coislinianus 200, noted 38 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 23, and in the third 19, contains the whole of the New Testament, except the book of Revelation. It has several chasms, for instance, Matth. xiv. 15—xv. 30. xx. 14—xxi. 27. Mark xii. 3—xiii. 4. but it seems as if Wetstein had not noted them all ¹⁴⁵. It was certainly written in the thirteenth century, having been sent as a present from the court of

of Constantinople to Louis IX. of France¹⁴⁶. According to Wetstein, it is the same manuscript as Stephens has quoted under the Title Codex 9.

78. Coislinianus 202⁷, noted 22 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., and in the fourth 18, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, and was written in the thirteenth century. 1 Pet. ii. 8. it has a reading which is either the genuine one, or a very ingenious conjecture, *εις ο και πειθησαν*¹⁴⁸. See Gen. xi. 6. xxiii. 5, 7, 12, 16, 20. But I am rather inclined to take it for a conjecture, made with the view to avoid a reading at which many had taken offence. It may be asked whether this manuscript contains other readings of this nature?¹⁴⁹.

79. Wetstein, in the second part of his Greek Testament, has another Codex Coislinianus, which he notes by the letter H, and says it contains fragments of the epistles of St. Paul: but there must be an error relative to the number, either of the writer, or of the printer¹⁵⁰. I have observed a remarkable reading in this manuscript, which is likewise found in the Alexandrinus, namely, 1 Cor. x. 28. *ιερθυτον* for *ειδωλυθον*.

80. Coislinianus 205, noted 21 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 17, and in the fourth 19, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, with the following chasms, 1 Cor. xvi. 17—2 Cor. i. 7. Heb. xiii. 15. to the end of the epistle, and Rev. i. 1—ii. 5. though this last chasm has been filled up by a modern hand. It appears from a subscription, that it was purchased by one Antonius a monk in the year 1079¹⁵¹.

81. The following Codices Colbertini¹⁵², I will arrange, not according to the numbers by which they are marked, but after the order in which they are placed by Wetstein, by which means will be avoided the tedious repetition of the persons, by whom they have been collated.

Colber-

⁷ Perhaps this is a mistake for 102. Treschow p. 9. of his Tentamen writes as follows: de codice 202 hoc monendum est, aut in numerando codices Coislinianos Wetstenium non semper bibliothecam Coislinianam sequutum esse, aut aperte errasse, quando in II parte N. T. Coisl. 202 sub litera H, et etiam sub numero 22 attulit¹⁴⁷.

Colbertinus 2467, noted 22 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels.

82. Colbertinus 3947, noted 23 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels. Those of St. Matthew and St. Mark are accompanied with a Latin version.

83. Colbertinus 4112, noted 24 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, at present Cod. Regius 178, was written in the eleventh century, and has a great many corrections, which are by no means unimportant. Griesbach supposes that the transcriber made use of many manuscripts: he has given a specimen of its readings in his *Symbolæ*, p. clxv.

84. Colbertinus 2259, noted 25 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ*, p. clxiv.

85. Colbertinus 4078, noted 26 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, and was written in the eleventh century.

The five preceding manuscripts were collated by Simon, and their readings noted in the margin of Curcellæus's edition of the Greek Testament: but the number of the manuscripts is mentioned in favour of each reading without their being particularly specified¹³. This copy was given by Allix to Wetstein, who transferred these marginal notes into his collection of readings; but he was obliged in this instance to deviate from his usual mode of notation, and instead of writing *Codex* 22, 23, &c. he could only mention *Colbertinus unus*, *Colbertini duo*, &c. being unable to determine the manuscripts themselves.

86. Colbertinus 6043, in Mill Colb. 1, noted 27 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, in which many readings have been erased, and others substituted in their stead.

87. Colbertinus 4705, in Mill Colb. 2, noted 28 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a copy of the four Gospels, whose antiquity was estimated by Mill at 700 years¹⁴. He says that it is full of chasms, that one Gospel

Gospel is interpolated from another, that its readings differ considerably from the usual text, and that it appears to have been written by a Latin transcriber. But the sentiments of Mill, which are unfavourable to its readings, have been called in question by Wetstein¹⁵⁵. This I have myself observed on carefully collating the Syriac version of St. Mark's Gospel, that this manuscript agrees with the Syriac in particular readings, which it has in common with the Latin. See the *Curæ* in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 179.

88. Colbertinus 6066, in Mill Colb. 3, noted 29 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, with exception to the fifteen first chapters of St. Matthew. Mill relates, that he discovered in the text of this manuscript many marginal notes, and initiatory formulas, taken from the *Lectionaria*.

89. Colbertinus 4444, in Mill Colb. 4. and noted 30 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Mill speaks of '*variationes e xvi. prioribus capitibus Matthæi*,' which words I have retained, because I know not whether he means, that the manuscript has only various readings, or the sixteen chapters themselves¹⁵⁶. The description of Wetstein is agreeable to the latter acceptance, but he has not mentioned whether Mill's account be accurate, from which alone he seems to have borrowed his own.

90. Colbertinus 6083, likewise noted by Mill Colb. 4^a. who unites it with the preceding¹⁵⁷, but distinguished by Wetstein, who has marked it Codex 31. Both of them describe it as containing various readings of the remaining chapters of St. Matthew, and the six first chapters, with the half of the seventh, of St. Mark's Gospel. Their description seems to imply that it has merely various readings, but it is probable that it contains

* This manuscript is understood by Mill when he quotes Colb. 4. for *avrv* instead of *avrv* Matth. xxvii. 53. and Wetstein is guilty of an error in calling it Cod. 30; for his Cod. 30 has only the sixteen first chapters of St. Matthew¹⁵⁸. The reading is remarkable, as it is peculiar to this manuscript, and entirely alters the sense, but it has the appearance of a critical conjecture.

tains the text itself, and that Mill has expressed himself with inaccuracy, which Wetstein has not corrected ¹⁵⁹.

91. Colbertinus 6511, in Mill Colb. 5, noted 32 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a fragment, beginning with Matth. x. 22. and ending with the xxvth chapter.

92. Colbertinus 2844, in Mill, who divided it into three separate manuscripts ¹⁶⁰, Colb. 6, 7, 8. and noted 33 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 17, in the third 13. It contains the whole New Testament, except the book of Revelation, and was in Mill's time supposed to be 600 years old. This critic has asserted that it has many interpolations, of which perhaps that is an instance, which I have remarked in the *Curæ* in Actus Apost. Syr. § xi. p. 179. namely, that this is the only Greek manuscript which has *κορασιον* for *παριδιον*, Mark v. 39. agreeably to the Syriac and Latin versions; but this reading is probably an interpolation from St. Matthew, as Wetstein has already observed. It is the only Greek manuscript, except the Codex Stephani η, which has *μονογενης θεος*, John i. 18. a reading confirmed by very many quotations of the fathers ¹⁶¹; and the only one which confirms my conjecture, that *εν ταϊς καρδιαϊς υμων* is the true reading, 2 Cor. iii. 2. unless we suppose it to be the result of a conjecture in the transcriber of this manuscript. Acts xxi. 25. *μηδεν τοιςτοις τηρειν αυτες ει μη*, which I suspect to be a scholion, is omitted in this manuscript, and two others only, but the omission is confirmed by the Vulgate, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic. This manuscript, which appears to me of real importance, is described by Griesbach in his *Symbolæ*, p. clxvi. who defends it against the suspicion of its having been altered from the Latin, relates that its readings harmonize with those of Origen, refers it to the eleventh or twelfth century, and estimates it as a manuscript of great value.

Of the manuscripts mentioned in the seven last numbers, and which are given in Mill's Greek Testament as eight manuscripts, that learned critic has given a collection

collection of readings, which was made by Larroque, and communicated by Allix. But Larroque appears to have executed the task in a very superficial manner, for Griesbach mentions in his *Symbolæ*, p. clxviii. that he has discovered in the 18 first chapters of St. Matthew, in the last-mentioned manuscript, above 300 readings, many of which are of importance, that Larroque has entirely omitted. The manuscript therefore deserves to be collated anew.

93. The twelve following Codices Colbertini are simply Lectionaria of the four Gospels, which Wetstein collated in 1715.

Colbertinus 700, noted 1 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, who refers it to the ninth century, but other critics ascribe to it a greater antiquity.

94. Colbertinus 2215, noted 2 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, is at present incomplete.

95. Colbertinus 614, noted 7 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, was written in the thirteenth century.

96. Colbertinus 648, noted 8 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, a manuscript of the fourteenth century.

97. Colbertinus 681, noted 9 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, is defective, and in particular the portions of scripture, appointed to be read on the festivals, are wanting.

98. Colbertinus 721, noted 10 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, is still more imperfect.

99. Colbertinus 1265, noted 11 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, appears to have been a part of the preceding.

100. Colbertinus 824, noted 12 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*, is defective in the beginning.

101. Colbertinus 1241, noted 13 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*; many leaves are wanting.

102. Colbertinus 1282, noted 14 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*.

103. Colbertinus 1824, noted 15 among Wetstein's *Evangelistaria*.

104. Col-

104. Colbertinus 2465, noted 16 among Wetstein's Evangelistaria.

Colbertinus 5149 will be described under the title Codex Cyprius.

105. Corsendoncensis, noted 3 in the first, second, and third parts of Wetstein's N. T. The name was given it by Erasmus, who used it in his second edition of the Greek Testament, when it belonged to the Collegium Corsendoncense¹⁶². With exception to the book of Revelation, it contains the whole New Testament: and appears to have been written in the twelfth century. The transcriber has shewn great ignorance in his manner of inserting marginal notes into the text, for he has written, 2 Cor. viii. 4. διξασθαι ημας, εν πολλοις των αντιγραφων πτως ευρηται, και ε καθως ηλπισαμεν¹⁶³. Wetstein likewise contends that the text has been sometimes altered from the Latin. It was collated by Walker¹⁶⁴, whose extracts were inserted in Wetstein's collection. It is at present in the imperial library at Vienna, whither it was brought from that of Prince Eugene, is noted Auctarii 15, and is described in Treschow's Tentamen, p. 85—89¹⁶⁵.

106. Cottonianus, is marked in the Cotton library Tit. C. 15. and in Wetstein's first part Codex I.; it contains only the following fragments, Matth. xxvi. 57—65. xxvii. 26—34. John xiv. 2—10. xv. 15—22. and in several places has corrections: Wetstein collated it in 1715¹⁶⁶.

107. Cottonianus, ranked in the Cotton library under Vespasianus B. XVIII. in the second and third parts of Wetstein's N. T. Lectionarium 2, contains the portions of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistles, appointed to be read throughout the whole year, and is said to have been written in the eleventh century. Casley collated it in 1735, and Wetstein inserted his extracts.

108. John Covell, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, brought with him from the East the five following manuscripts, which were collated by Mill.

Covellianus

Covellianus 1, noted 65 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels¹⁶⁷.

109. Covellianus 2, noted 31 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 25, in the fourth 7, is a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, written in the year 1087¹⁶⁸. It has several very extraordinary readings, for instance *παση ανθρωπινη φουσι*, 1 Pet. ii. 13. The Syriac translator has here *ܐܢܬܗ ܕܡܢ ܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ*, omnibus hominibus, whence it appears that *φουσι* is a mere scholion for *κτισις*. *Πνευμα* instead of *χρῖσμα*, 1 John ii. 27. which this manuscript has in common with the Coptic and Ethiopic versions, is an evident scholion, for Wetstein quotes *χρῖσμα το πνευμα*¹⁶⁹. From these examples, it appears that the manuscript is of no great value.

110. Covellianus 3, noted 32 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 26, has the Acts of the Apostles, beginning with ch. i. 11, with all the Epistles, and was supposed by Mill to be 500 years old. Rom. xi. 33. it has *Ω βαθος πλετα σοφιας*, without the *και*, an omission peculiar to this manuscript, the Sangermanensis, and the Vulgate. It may be asked therefore, whether it belongs to the Western edition, and whether it has more readings of this kind?

111. Covellianus 4, noted 33 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 27, contains the Acts and Epistles, but is written in a modern hand¹⁷⁰.

112. Covellianus 5, called likewise Sinaiticus, because Covell brought it from mount Sinai, noted 34 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 28; and in the fourth 8, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation; but it has been injured, and rendered illegible⁷ in very many places, by the dampness of the place
in

⁷ This is the case in 1 John v. 7, 8. But Woide has with great difficulty discovered the following words and letters: — *οτι το πνευμα αλ ο ι τρεις εις μαρτυρ το πνευμα το υδωρ και το αιμα τρεις εις το μαρτυρ Θ ων νομιμ* . and says 1 John v. 7. is undoubtedly wanting, which is likewise confirmed by Mill: but the legible passages ought carefully to be distinguished from the illegible.

in which it had been kept. It begins with Acts i. 20. and the last lines of the book of Revelation are likewise wanting. It is preserved, as I have been informed by Woide, in the British Museum, in the Harleian library, and noted N° 5778.

113. Cyprius, or Colbertinus 5149, noted K in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a copy of the four Gospels, brought from the island of Cyprus, and referred by Simon to the tenth century. He collated it, and his extracts were inserted in Mill's edition. According to Wetstein, it is a latinizing manuscript, but this charge, though laid to so many by that critic, is seldom grounded. The very ancient reading, *οὐκ ἀναβάνω*, John vii. 8. which this manuscript has in common with the Cantabrigiensis, and which in later manuscripts is altered to *οὐκ ἀναβάνω*, because Porphyry had used it as a ground of objection, deserves particular attention, and is undoubtedly no alteration from the Latin, because it is found in several Moscow manuscripts, quoted by Matthäi, but to be ascribed to the high antiquity of these manuscripts, and the honesty of the transcribers, who ventured not to alter the text, in order to avoid the ridicule of Porphyry. This manuscript appears to me to be of great value, and I wish that we had more accurate extracts from it. A fac-simile of its characters, engraved in copper-plate, may be seen in Blanchini Evangelium quadruplex, P. I. p. 492. pl. 3^d from that page.

114. Douzæ, noted 79 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a Greek-Latin manuscript of the four Gospels, which is quoted in the eighth chapter of St. John, on the evidence of Gomarus.

Dresdensis, see Loescherianus.

Dublinensis ¹⁷¹, see Montfortianus.

115. Eubeswaldianus, noted 100 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a copy of the Gospels, which formerly belonged to Baron Paul of Eubeswald, and was used by Wagenseil: a reading has been taken from it John viii. 6.

116. Ebnerianus, noted 105 in the first part of
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Wetstein's N. T., is a very neat manuscript of the New Testament, excepting the book of Revelation, formerly in the possession of Hieronymus William Ebner of Eschenbach at Nuremberg, who intended to publish it, with the various readings of six other manuscripts, but did not execute his design. Schoenleben has described it in 1738, in his *Notitia codicis N. T. mscr. quem servat Hier. Guil. Ebner ab Eschenbach*. Wetstein, though he has admitted it into his catalogue, has made use of it only in the eighth chapter of St. John: in other respects it belongs properly, as well as several of the preceding, to the class of uncollated manuscripts. According to a subscription at the end of the epistle to the Hebrews, it was written in the year 1391.

117. Ephesius, noted 71 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the Gospels written in the year 1166, and formerly in possession of a bishop of Ephesus, whence it has taken its name. It is at present in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth, to which it was presented by Trahern, together with the extracts which he had made from it. These were inserted by Mill, in his collection of readings.

118. Codex Ephremi, or Codex Regius 1905, noted in the Catalogue of MSS.¹⁷ in the royal library in Paris IX, and in all the four parts of Wetstein's Greek Testament, by the letter C. Griesbach has very particularly described it in his *Symbolæ*, p. iii—liv. It is written on vellum, and is of very high antiquity. The first part of it contains several Greek works of Ephrem the Syrian, written over some more ancient writings, which had been erased, though the traces are still visible, and in most places legible. These more ancient writings were the whole Greek Bible. According to Wetstein, the New Testament has the following chasms: Matth. v, 15—vii, v. xvii, 27—xviii, 28. xxii, 21—xxiii, 17. xxiv, 10—45. xxv. 30—xxvi, 22. xxvii, 11—46. xxviii, 15—Mark i, 17. vi, 32—viii, 15. xii, 30—xiii, 18. Luke ii, 6—42. iii, 21—iv, 25. vi, 4—36. vii, 17—viii, 28. xii, 4—xix, 42. xx, 28—xxi, 20. xxii, 20—xxiii,

xxiii, 25. xxiv, 7—45. John i, 42—iii, 32. v, 17—vi, 37. vii, 3—viii, 34. ix, 11—xi, 7. xi, 47—xiii, 8. xiv, 8—xvi, 21. xviii, 36—xx, 25. Acts iv, 3—v, 34. x, 43—xiii, 1. xvi, 36—xx, 10. xxi, 31—xxii, 20. xxiii, 18—xxiv, 14. xxvi, 20—xxvii, 16. xxviii, 5. to the end. James iv, 3. to the end. 1 Peter iv, 5. to the end. 1 John iv, 3. to the end. Rom. ii, 5—iii, 21. ix, 6—x, 14. xi, 31—xiii, 10. 1 Cor. vii, 18—ix, 6. xiii, 8—xv, 40. 2 Cor. x, 9—Gal. i, 20 Eph. i—ii, 18. iv, 17—Phil. i, 22. iii, 5. to the end. 1 Thess. ii, 9—Heb. ii, 4. vii, 26—ix, 15. x, 24—xi, 15. 1 Tim. i—iii, 9. v, 20. to the end. Revel. iii, 20—v, 14. vii, 14—ix, 16. xvi, 14—xviii, 2. xix, 10. to the end. Beside these chasms, it is in many places illegible, and Griesbach therefore very properly observes, that we ought not immediately to conclude, that it coincides with the common reading, where Wetstein has not quoted it among the various readings. We may presume that those manuscripts are very ancient, in which an old text has been erased to make room for a new, and Wetstein contends that this was written before the year 542, though his arguments are not wholly decisive. Its readings, like those of all other very ancient manuscripts, are in favour of the Latin, but no proof can be given that this has been corrupted from the Latin version. *Exarct* for *ut xct* *ut*, Mark xiv. 19. has more the appearance of a scholion, for scholia are discoverable even in the most ancient manuscripts¹⁷³. It has been altered by a critical corrector, who, according to Griesbach, must have lived many years after the time in which the manuscript was written, and has probably erased many of the ancient readings.

Küster was the first who procured extracts from it, and he inserted them in his edition of Mill's Greek Testament. Wetstein has repeatedly collated it with very great accuracy, and the numerous readings, which he has quoted from it, greatly enhance the value of his edition. He says himself, that he was unable to read many faded passages, and that on a new examination, by the

help of good eyes, fresh discoveries might be made; but Griesbach, p. vi. vii. of his *Symbolæ*, has given the highest commendation, not only of Wetstein's fidelity and accuracy, but likewise of his clear-sightedness. The state in which Dr. Less found this manuscript in 1775, it being at that time still less legible than it seems to have been in the time of Wetstein, is described in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. IX. p. 142—144. and the accounts given by Woide and Griesbach, both of whom differ from Less, relative to what is legible, or rather illegible, 1 Tim. iii. 16. may be seen in the same work, Vol. VII. p. 138—141. and Vol. X. p. 36—57⁷⁴. It is to be sincerely lamented that the manuscript is so faded, but its loss would be in some measure supplied, if we were certain that some other manuscript now extant were a copy of it. It is the wish of Griesbach, that so much of it as is still legible might be printed letter for letter⁷⁵.

Codex Jacobi Fabri Daventriensis, see *Wolfianus*.

Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, in his commentary on St. Paul's epistles, published at Paris in 1512, has sometimes appealed to certain Greek manuscripts, which Wetstein, in the second part of his *N. T.* has noted by the figure 13.

119. *Fæschii* 1, noted 92 in the first part of Wetstein's *N. T.*, in the third 49, takes its name from the proprietor, Andrew Fæsch, Secretary in Basel. It contains the Gospel of St. Mark, with explanatory notes on the catholic epistles, and has been collated by Wetstein.

120. *Fæschii* 2, noted 94 in the first part of Wetstein's *N. T.*, contains several commentaries on the Gospels of St. Mark, and St. Luke; Wetstein used it in his edition of the Greek Testament.

121. *Florentinus*, noted 107 in the first part of Wetstein's *N. T.*, contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation, and was written in the fourteenth century. It belongs properly to the class of uncollated manuscripts, but I am obliged to mention it here, because Wetstein has admitted it into his catalogue, on account of two readings, which he quotes in
the

the first part, and from which he appeals to Joh. Lami de eruditione apostolorum, Florentiæ 1738, p. 218.

122. Florentinum lectionarium, containing lessons from the Gospels and Acts, noted Lec. 4 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., has never been collated, but only examined for the reading 1 John v. 7 ¹⁷⁶.

123. Thomæ Gale, noted 66 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, and was collated by Mill.

124. Gehlianus, noted 89 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1106. Gehle, who died a few years ago, master of the grammar-school at Stade, received it when tutor in the Hanstein family, as a present from one Parasceuas, an itinerant Greek, whom he calls in the preface, not by his real name, but by the name which Parasceuas had assumed in several pamphlets relative to the Wolfian disputes, Damianus Sinopeus, as being a native of Sinope in Asia Minor. The readings of this manuscript were published by Geble in 1729, in a small pamphlet of three sheets, with the following title: Augustini Gabrielis Gehlii codex evangeliorum MS. in lucem prolatum, from which Bengel took his extracts, omitting only what appeared to be unimportant; and Wetstein borrowed from Bengel ¹⁷⁷. It was purchased of the heirs of the proprietor in 1773, for the University library at Göttingen, and may therefore be properly termed Goettingensis 1. but I have retained the name under which it is generally known.

125. Genevensis 1, noted 35 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 29, is a very neatly written manuscript of the Acts and Epistles. Its readings were inserted in Mill's collection. Wetstein relates that he saw it in the years 1714 and 1716, but he has not mentioned where, nor whether he has collated it.

126. Genevensis 2, noted 75 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from Constantinople, of which Wetstein says that he saw it in 1714 ¹⁷⁸.

127. Genovesensis, or Codex bibliothecæ S. Genevesæ Parisiis, a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1284, collated by Griesbach, and described in his *Symbolæ*, p. ccxxiii. He has marked it Codex 121.

128. Guelpherbytanus A, contains fragments of the four Gospels, written on vellum, which were erased in the eighth or ninth century, in order to write several works of Isidorus Hispalensis. Knittel, who refers this manuscript to the sixth century, has at the end of his *Ulphilæ versio Gothica nonnullorum capitum epistolæ ad Romanos, &c.* published in 1763, printed these fragments, given a critical description of them, and added extracts of their various readings; but as they have been hitherto inserted in no critical edition of the Greek Testament⁷⁹, they may be written as marginal notes in Wetstein. They amount to 203, (including those which are manifest errata) among which Knittel reckons 53 peculiar to this manuscript, though some of these again are errata, and 3 which are found only in ancient versions. One of the most remarkable is *ου μαρτυν*, Luke xv. 20. but even this appears to me to be erroneous.

129. Guelpherbytanus B, a manuscript containing fragments of St. Luke and St. John, likewise published, and described by Knittel in the above-mentioned work, and referred by him to the sixth century⁸⁰: this manuscript had likewise been erased, in order to make room for the works of Isidorus Hispalensis. Knittel has extracted from it 117 readings, 25 of which it alone contains, and it has 3 in common with ancient versions, but many of them are without doubt orthographical errors. The most remarkable in my opinion is *τις Σαδδουκαιων*, Luke xx. 39. for it entirely alters the sense, and represents some of the Sadducees as convinced by Christ of the Resurrection of the Dead. But the omission of *εταν ελθης*, Luke xxiii. 42. which is peculiar to this manuscript, has the appearance of a correction, made to avoid a difficulty in the construction.

Nothing can equal the diligence which the learned editor has bestowed on these two manuscripts, and the

remarks which he has made are well worthy of our attention. But if all fragments and manuscripts were treated in the same copious manner, our critical libraries would be swelled to an enormous size.

130. Guelpherbytanus C, contains the Acts, and the Epistles with marginal readings, and the Revelation of St. John. It has been collated and described by Knittel, who is of opinion that it is more modern than the tenth, but more ancient than the fourteenth century, and written by one Georgius, a monk.

The first part, which contains the Acts and the Epistles, is described by Knittel¹⁸¹, in his *New Criticisms* on 1 John v. 7. published at Brunswick 1785, p. 111—126. and very complete extracts of its readings are given p. 180—330. The latter part, which contains the Revelation, is described in his *Materials for Criticism* on the Revelation of St. John¹⁸², published in 1773, and I have likewise given some account of it in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. VIII. p. 155—161. In the book of Revelation, it has those readings which are harsh and unclassical, a circumstance in favour of this manuscript, readings which Wetstein generally preferred, though he had never seen the MS. The *Complutum* edition¹⁸³ very frequently agrees with it, and it has a new and very remarkable reading, Rev. ix. 14, 15. which I have mentioned in the *Orient. Bibl.*¹⁸⁴, and which I should prefer, if it were ratified by the authority of another impartial evidence¹⁸⁵.

131. Guelpherbytanus D, a manuscript of the first epistle of St. John. Under the Greek text is written, 1. The translation of Castalio. 2. The Latin translation of the Syriac text. 3. The Vulgate. 4. The translations of Erasmus, Vatablus, and Beza. It was written in the seventeenth century, and is described in Knittel's *New Criticisms* on 1 John v. 7. p. 116—131. because it has that text. This is such modern evidence, that in my opinion it is entitled neither to a collation, nor a description, but 1 John v. 7. is with many so favourite a passage, that no trouble bestowed on it is thought too great.

132. Guelpherbytanus E, a manuscript of the eleventh century, containing the four Gospels. Heusinger has given a literary description of it, in a small work, entitled, *De quatuor evangeliorum codice Græco quem antiqua manu in membrana scriptum Guelpherbytana bibliotheca servat*; but Knittel has critically described it in his *New Criticisms*, p. 363—398. and has added a reimpression of Heusinger's pamphlet: he has likewise given complete extracts from it, and intends to print the manuscript itself, as it has many remarkable and peculiar readings. See the *New Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. N° 32. p. 140—143¹⁸⁶.

Goettingensis 1, see Gehlianus.

133. Goettingensis 2, formerly Missyanus AA, or Missyanus 1635, is a *Lectionarium* of the Acts and the Epistles, which once belonged to Cesar de Missy, but was purchased after his death by the celebrated navigator Forster, and presented to the University library in Göttingen. In the eleventh volume of the *Orient. Bibl.* I have described it, and produced several of its readings. The late de Missy left a very complete, and almost superfluous collection of its readings; his papers during some time were in my possession, but I know not where they are at present. Matthäi has given extracts from it, immediately after the epistles to the Thessalonians, and a fac-simile of its characters, N° 5. of the copper-plates annexed to the book of Revelation.

134. Gonvilli et Caii, noted 59 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the Gospels, belonging to Caius College in Cambridge, extracts from which were first printed in the London Polyglot. These were inserted in Mill's edition¹⁸⁷: whether Wetstein collated it I am unable to determine, for he says only that he saw it in 1716.

135. Henrici Gooze, noted in Mill Go, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Codex 62, is a manuscript of the four Gospels, formerly in the possession of Henry Gooze of Cambridge: its readings were first printed in the London Polyglot, and thence transferred to the editions of Mill and Wetstein. Where it is at present preserved

preserved is not known, but Wetstein supposes it to be the same with *Usserii primus* ¹³⁸.

136. *Grævii*, noted 80 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the eleventh century, formerly in the possession of the famous Grævius, and afterwards the property of John van der Hagen. Wetstein says, that Bynæus collated this manuscript in 1691, and though he has no where related that he procured these extracts, yet we must at least suppose so, since he has quoted his Codex 80 on various occasions.

137. *Gravii*, noted 93 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, which Vossius has quoted in the genealogy of Christ, Luke iii. It would not be entitled to a place in this catalogue, had not Wetstein introduced it, and supposed it to be the same with *Usserii primus* ¹³⁹.

138. *Havniensis 1*, noted 57 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., was formerly celebrated in the dispute relative to 1 John v. 7. and is quoted by Bengel, in favour of the omission of that verse. Since that time, it has been described by Professor Hensler, in his *Notitia codicum N. T. Græcorum qui Havanæ in bibliotheca regia adservantur*, who has given complete extracts from the Acts, and the Epistles. It was written in the year 1278, and contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation, in the following order, the Acts, epistles of St. Paul, the catholic epistles, and last of all the Gospels, in which arrangement it agrees with the Codex Reuchlinianus, described N° 38, and the *Laudanus 2*. It is remarkable for its coincidence with the Complutum edition, even in readings that are ratified by no other genuine manuscript. I have given a further account of it in the *Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. p. 2—6* ¹⁴⁰.

139. *Havniensis 2*, a manuscript of the Gospels, which very frequently harmonizes with the *Leicestrensis*.

140. *Havniensis 3*, a *Lectionarium*, containing lessons from the Gospels and Epistles. These two last manuscripts are described in Hensler's *Notitia codicum Havniensium*,

Havniensium, and examples given of their readings, which the author intends to publish : otherwise they would not be entitled to a place in this catalogue.

141. Hal. in Griesbach Codex 61⁹¹, a manuscript of which we have at present no knowledge, but Mill has written several extracts from it, in the margin of his own copy of his Greek Testament⁹², which is still preserved in the Bodleian library. Several of them have been printed by Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. 243—304. The MS. must have contained all the epistles⁹³.

142—146. The five following Codices Harleiani, from which Griesbach, in his Greek Testament, has given various readings, and also in his *Symbolæ*, under the title *Spicilegium lectionum variantium*, are described in the first volume of the latter, p. clxxxvii. and following pages⁹⁴.

142. Harleianus 1810, preserved in the British Museum, in Griesbach Codex 113, a manuscript written in the tenth or eleventh century. He has accurately collated the following parts, Mark xvi. Luke iii, 16—38. viii, 15—39. xi, 1—24. John v, 1—vi, 46. vii, 53—viii, 12. the remainder he has either not examined, or only cursorily.

143. Harleianus 5540, Griesbach's Codex 114, written in the thirteenth century. He has accurately collated Matth. viii. ix, x, xi. less accurately the remaining chapters of that Gospel, with the Gospel of St. Mark and St. Luke i—xix. John i—iv. the rest he has not collated. Griesbach highly esteems this manuscript, and refers it to the Western edition.

144. Harleianus 5559, in Griesbach 115, a manuscript of the twelfth century. He has carefully collated Matth. viii—xviii. the remainder he has only cursorily inspected. It has a striking affinity with *Wetstein's C.D.L.* 1, 33. which are valuable manuscripts, but at the same time it has many peculiar readings, which appeared to Griesbach nothing more than bold conjectures.

145. Harleianus 5567, Griesbach's Codex 116, written with accuracy, that is, with few orthographical errors, by the Emperor Theodosius the Great, according to the
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the subscription, which no one however will implicitly believe. Griesbach sets no great value on this manuscript, and of the readings, which are peculiar to it, he says, '*luxurians ingenium librarli prodere videntur.*' With respect to his examination of it, he adds, '*totum perlustravi, exceptis ultimis capitibus Joannis.*'

146. Harleianus 5731, Griesbach's Codex 117, contains the four Gospels, with a fragment of a Lectionarium of the epistles, belonged formerly to Bentley, and was copied in the fourteenth century by a transcriber wholly ignorant of Greek, though, according to Griesbach's opinion, from a more ancient manuscript of value. It has great similarity to the Cantabrigiensis, Regius 2244, and Colbertinus 2844, but has likewise several readings that are wholly peculiar to itself. Griesbach collated Matth. 1—xiii. Luke iii—vii. John 1—iv. and viii.; he adds, that the whole deserves to be collated.

In the same library are preserved six manuscripts of the epistles, noted 5552, 5588, 5613, 5620, 5778, 5796. One of them, 5778, or Covel. 5, has been collated, and is described N° 112; the rest belong not to this catalogue, as they have been never used.

147. Hirsaugiensis⁹⁵, noted 97 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of St. John's Gospel, written by one Nicolaus a monk, in the year 1500*. Bengel has collated it, and found its readings very similar to those of the Codex Trithemii.

148. Huntingtonianus 1, noted 36 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 30, in the fourth 9, a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, brought from the East by Robert Huntington⁹⁶. The beginning is defective as far as Acts xv. 19. The Acts of the Apostles, with the Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, and the two first of St. John, are said to have been written by a somewhat later hand; but the remaining books, namely, the third epistle of St. John, the epistle

* The date is not in Bengel, but in Wetstein, who has quoted it as if taken from Bengel.

epistle of St. Jude, the Revelation, and the epistles of St. Paul, which have the last place, were estimated by Mill, who made extracts from this manuscript, at the age of 700 years, on account of the ancient hand, and the characters.

149. Huntingtonianus 2, noted 67 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, which ends with John vi. 24. Mill, who collated it, ascribes to it an antiquity of 700 years, but it is at present in a very bad state of preservation.

150. Johnsonianus, noted 72 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a copy of the four Gospels, and said to have belonged to the monastery of Simeon Stilites. It discovers its country by the Egyptian names of the months, which the transcriber has written in the margin, to note the time, in which he supposed that this or that event had happened. Griesbach has likewise discovered several Arabic notes, and several various readings, in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, from the transcriber's own hand. He describes it in the first volume of his *Symbolæ*, p. clxxxi. and places it in the eleventh century. It is at present in the British Museum, and is there noted Harleianus 5647. Its most remarkable reading is *τῆτι* for *ἐτι*, John xix. 14. which excites no favourable opinion of its readings, as this is manifestly a correction of the text, made in order to avoid a difficulty attending the explanation of the common text.

Wetstein collated this manuscript in July 1731. He writes, *Antequam in Angliam mitteretur anno 1731 mense Julio a T. Johnson bibliopola mecum communicatum contuli.* Griesbach, who commends the accuracy of Wetstein's collation, has himself made some additions.

151. Laudanus 1^b, noted 50 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, and was estimated

^b The following codices Laudani take their name from Archbishop Laud, who presented them to the University of Oxford, of which he was Chancellor.

mated by Mill, who collated it, at the age of 700 years. Griesbach has collated it still more accurately, Mark—iv—vii. Luke viii, and ix. It is defective from the beginning as far as Matth. ix. 36. also xii, 3—24. xxv, 20—32. Mark xiv, 40. to the end of the Gospel, and from John v, 8. to the end.

152. Laudanus 2, noted 51 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 38, in the third 32, contains the whole New Testament, except the book of Revelation. Mill, who collated it, judged it to be 400 years old: he found a great harmony between it and the Complutensian Polyglot, or, as he expresses himself, in conformity with his hypothesis, the Codex Vaticanus, which he says was faithfully copied in that edition of the Bible. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ*, p. clxxii. Semler supposes that the Complutum edition was printed from the Laudanus 2, the leaves of which were afterwards bound false, whence arose the present extraordinary arrangement of the parts of this manuscript, namely, the Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul, the catholic epistles, and last of all the Gospels. But Griesbach, who has very accurately examined this point, relates that the arrangement must have proceeded from the transcriber himself. The same order is likewise observed in two other manuscripts, the Reuchlinianus, and Havniensis 1. See N° 138.

153. Laudanus 3, noted in Fell's edition, printed in the Sheldon Theatre in 1675, Bodleianus 1, in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., Codex E, is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, in which the Latin text is one of those versions that differ from Jerom's^c edition. It is defective from chap. xxvi. 29. to xxviii. 26.

Mill and Wetstein contend, that the Greek text of this manuscript has been altered from the Latin, and in the former editions of this Introduction I acceded to this opinion,

^c In the former edition I had said, that the Latin version was one of those which were in use before the time of Jerom. This I have altered in the present edition, because the Latin appears to have been altered from the particular Greek text of this manuscript.

opinion, to which I was induced by the very extraordinary circumstance, that an interpolation in the Latin, is in two different manuscripts differently given in Greek, which therefore appears to be not original, but a translation: namely, after *μία*, Acts iv. 32. in the Laudanus 3, *καὶ ἐκ τῆν χωρισμός ἐν αὐτοῖς τις*, and in the Cantabrigiensis *καὶ ἐκ τῆν διακρίσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκάμια*. But Woide has so ably defended this passage, in his preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, § 77—80, that we must conclude the charge is ungrounded. For in the very quoted passage, the Latin text of the two manuscripts is as different as the Greek, the Laudanus having ‘*et non erat separatio in eis ulla*,’ the Cantabrigiensis ‘*et non erat accusatio in eis ulla*,’ where there is a manifest error in the translation of *διακρίσις*, and it appears from Cyprian’s quotation, that even so early as that age, there was a third, and still better translation of this passage, *nec fuit inter illos discrimen ullum*, as may be seen in Sabatier⁹⁷. Though we admit therefore that the passage is spurious, and an interpolation in the manuscripts of the Western edition, arising perhaps originally from a scholion, or marginal note, yet we must not infer that the Greek was taken from the Latin, but, on the contrary, that the Latin was taken from the Greek. Woide has likewise observed other passages, to which the same remark is applicable, for instance, Acts xvii. 16. *κατεδῶλον ἔσεν τὴν πόλιν*, circa simulachrum esse civitatem⁹⁸.

This induced me to make an accurate examination of the Acts of the Apostles in Greek and Latin, which Hearne printed from this manuscript, and the result was a perfect conviction, that the Greek had not been altered from the Latin, but the Latin from the Greek. Ch. xv. 18. the Greek text of this manuscript is *γῶσα ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ἔστι*, the Latin *nota a sæculo EST Deo omnia opera ejus*, which is a notorious false concord: other Latin versions have *notum* and *opus* in the singular, which were here corrected to *nota* and *opera*, but *est* permitted to remain, because *ἔστι* is in the Greek. Ch. ix. 6, the Laud. 3, in conjunction with the other manuscripts,

script, omits the following passage of our common printed text, which Erasmus had interpolated from the Latin, *σκληρον σοι προς κεντρα λακτιζειν. Τριμων δε και θαμβων επι, Κυριε τι με θαλεις ποιησαι; και ο Κυριος προς αυτον.* But, ver. 4. immediately after *διωκεις*, this manuscript alone, in imitation of the Syriac Version, has *σκληρον σοι προς κεντρα λακτιζειν*, and its Latin text has been altered accordingly to *Saule, Saula, quid me persequeris? durum tibi est contra stimulum calcitrare.* It is found in this manner in no other Latin manuscript, a circumstance which shews that the Greek was not altered from the Latin, and if we suspect any version, we must suspect the Syriac, which alone has this reading. Ch. x. 1. it omits, together with many other, not latinizing only, but even Moscow manuscripts, the fourth word *ην*, which renders more easy the connection with ver. 3. *αυτη δε τις εν Καισαρεια ονοματι Κορνηλιος . . . ειδεν εν οραματι.* The Latin text of this manuscript has been altered agreeably to this reading, *vir autem quidam in Cæsarea nomine Cornelius . . . vidit visum*, whereas all other Latin versions have, *vir autem quidam ERAT in Cæsarea . . . IS vidit in visu.* Whoever would examine a very remarkable contrast between our common printed text, which has really been corrupted from the Latin, and the falsely-accused *Codices Græco-Latini*, may refer to Acts x. 6. where *ουτος λαλησει σοι, τι σε δει ποιειν* is nothing more than a Greek translation, which Erasmus himself made from the Latin, and this interpolation, though found in not a single Greek manuscript, has been transferred to our modern editions. But the *Codex Laud. 3*, and *Cantabrigiensis*, in conformity to their Greek text, have omitted the Latin reading, *hic dicet tibi quid te oporteat facere.* The following is an example of a different kind, the Greek text differing from the Latin, with which it is accompanied, and therefore not corrected from it. Ch. iii. 19. its Latin text, in conjunction with the Vulgate, is 'ut cum venerint tempora,' which would be expressed in Greek *οπως εν ελθουσιν καιροι*, whereas the text of the Cod.

Cod. Laud. 3, agreeably to the common reading, is *οτις αν ελθωσι*, ut veniant ¹⁹⁹.

I have mentioned above, that there is an extraordinary coincidence between this manuscript, and the Syriac version, and even in the *Curæ* in *Act. Ap. Syriacos*, p. 182. I had observed eight readings, in which this version agrees with the *Laud. 3* alone, namely *iv. 24. v. 21. vii. 24. xii. 14. xiii. 29. 34. xiv. 3. xvii. 15.* and five in which it agrees with this, and only one or two other manuscripts, namely, *xiii. 43. xvii. 20. xxi. 27. xxii. 6. xxvi. 4.* To those examples I will add *chap. xvii. 10.* where the reading of all other manuscripts is *απησαν*, but the *Cod. Laud. 3.* *εισησαν*, in conformity to the Syriac *ܐܬܝܬܘܢ*²⁰⁰, where it may at the same time be observed, that its Latin text, on the contrary, has *abierunt*.

We might therefore, with more appearance of reason, suspect that the *Laudanus 3*, as I observed of the *Canabrigiensis*, has been altered from the Syriac: but even this suspicion is not only highly improbable in itself, but admits a complete confutation from this manuscript itself, in which difficult constructions are removed, in a manner totally different from that which we find in the Syriac version. *Acts x. 1, 2, 3.* the *Laudanus 3* omits *η*, in conjunction with many other manuscripts, but the Syriac retains *ܐܝܢ*, which is in the first verse, and adds *ܠܗ* in the third, so that the Syriac text *ܠܗ ܠܗ*, coincides with the *Vulgate*, *IS vidit*. *Ch. xvi. 37.* *προς αυτους*, in the plural created a difficulty, because it was supposed to refer to *δισμοφυλαξ*; the Syriac translator therefore rendered it by the singular, as if it were *προς αυτον*, whereas the writer of the *Laudanus 3* has entirely omitted the expression.

Wetstein conjectures, from an edict of a Sardinian prince, *Flavius Pancratius*, written at the end of this manuscript, and from several other circumstances, that it was written in *Sardinia* in the seventh century; nor is the conjecture devoid of probability. A couple of lines from this manuscript, in which is the title *δουξ Εαρδινας*, may be seen in the copper-plate prefixed to *Woide's Preface*

Preface to the Codex Alexandrinus; and the learned editor observes, that the letters in this edict are different from the manuscript itself, which appears also from comparing the specimen in the above-mentioned copper-plate, with that which represents the characters of the manuscript prefixed to Hearne's edition ²⁰¹. The edict is written in a more current hand, and the manuscript is therefore more ancient than this dux Sardiniae. It was afterwards brought to England, where it still remains. Mill has observed, that it resembles the manuscript, from which Bede borrowed the readings, which he quotes in his *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum retractata*; but Wetstein goes a step further, and contends that it is the very same which Bede used, and of which he writes as follows: *quædam, quæ in Græco, sive aliter, sive plus, aut minus posita vidimus, breviter commemorare curavimus. Quæ utrum negligentia interpretis omissa, vel aliter dicta, an incuria librariorum sint depravata, sive relicta, nondum scire potuimus. Namque Græcum exemplar fuisse falsatum suspicari non audeo: unde lectorem admoneo, ut hæc, ubicumque fecerimus, gratia eruditionis legat, non in suo tamen volumine quasi emendator inserat, nisi forte ea in latino codice suæ editionis sic antiquitus interpretata repererit.* Now this passage appears unfavourable to Wetstein's conjecture; for if Bede had been in possession of this Greek-Latin manuscript, it is improbable that he would have represented the Greek readings as being in opposition to the Latin, or have expressed an uncertain conjecture, that similar translations might hereafter be found in the Latin. But on the other hand, Wetstein found in this manuscript all the seventy-four readings quoted by Bede, of which Acts viii. 7. is particularly to be remarked, as being a strong confirmation of Wetstein's hypothesis, though he himself has not particularly noted it. The Laud. 3, is one of the very few Greek manuscripts which have this verse, and Bede found it in the Greek text of his manuscript; '*hic alia translatio juxta Græcum exemplar aliquot versus plus habet, ubi scriptum est,*' &c. His manuscript

therefore, if not the same with the Laud. 3, must have been copied from the Greek text of that manuscript. I wish that this question had been examined by Woide, who in the 38th section of his Preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, accedes to the opinion of Wetstein, having never seen the third edition of this Introduction, in which these doubts were first proposed¹⁰².

This manuscript was first used in the Oxford edition of 1675, and quoted, as Wetstein observes, under the name of Bodleianus 1. It was collated more accurately by Mill, and in the year 1715 was printed by Hearne. The Latin version is in Sabatier's Bible, and also in Professor Hwiid's *Libellus Criticus*¹⁰³. It were to be wished that the last mentioned critic had likewise printed the Greek text, since the Latin version alone is insufficient, and Hearne's edition is uncommonly scarce, as only one hundred and twenty impressions were taken off. It is a manuscript which is indispensable to every man, who would examine the important question, whether the Codices Græco-Latini have been corrupted from the Latin, and it is this manuscript which has convinced me that the charge is without foundation.

154. Laudanus 4) noted in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. *Evangelistarium* 20, was written in the year 1047, and has been collated by Mill.

155. Laudanus 5, noted 52 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1286. It has been collated by Mill, and in the following parts still more accurately by Griesbach, namely, Mark iii. Luke iv, v, vi. John v. 1—6. vii. 53—viii. 19.

156. Leicestrensis, noted in Mill by the letter L, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Codex 69, in the second 37, in the third 31, in the fourth 14, is a manuscript of the whole New Testament, written by a modern hand, partly on paper, and partly on vellum, and referred by Wetstein to the fourteenth century. It is defective from the beginning, as far as Matth. xviii. 5. and has also the following chasms, Acts x. 45—xiv. 17. Jude 7.

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to the end, Rev. xxi. 1. to the end. Mill has observed that it has many peculiar readings, and that in those which are not confined to this manuscript, it chiefly agrees with the Cantabrigiensis. It harmonizes also in a very eminent manner with the Syriac version, not only in the latinizing readings, but in such as are found neither in the Vulgate nor the old Italic, of which I have given examples from the Gospel of St. Mark, in the *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 182, 183. Another example is *μικροί τισσας*, 1 Cor. x. 8. a reading found only in this manuscript, and in the Syriac¹⁰⁴. In a note, Ch. iv. sect. 12. of this Introduction, I have given likewise a remarkable reading from this manuscript, which evidently betrays a critical conjecture. It is an extraordinary circumstance, and at the same time a proof of the value of this manuscript, that several readings, which Mill found in it alone, have been confirmed by other manuscripts, which belong to totally different countries: for instance Rom. viii. 19. *η αποκαταδοxia της* *πιστης* for *κτιστης*, which gives a very different sense, is found in the Moscow manuscript, noted M, though I acknowledge that this reading in particular has the appearance of a mere correction. According to Hensler, the Codex Havniensis 3, has likewise a great similarity to the manuscript in question. Mill has collated it, but Wetstein says that his extracts are defective, and sometimes erroneous. The extracts which Wetstein inserted in his edition, were made by Jackson and Tiffin.

What I have here related of this manuscript, I have partly borrowed from Wetstein, and partly deduced from an examination of the readings, which he has quoted. But the description appears to me to be in some respects erroneous, though I am unable to specify in what the error consists.

In the catalogue of the library of Cesar de Missy*, which was sold in 1776, was the following article, N° 1617, *Collatio codicis Leicestrensis per Rev. Joh. Jackson adscripta margini N. T. Græce impressi Oxonii 1675.*

* See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. X. N° 161 and 169¹⁰⁵.

Hoc est originale, e quo variantes lectiones suo N. T. inseruit Wetstenius. Vide ejus profationem, p. 53. n. 69. I know not whether this collation was purchased by Dr. Hunter, or the trustees of the British Museum²⁰⁶, who seem to have divided the Greek manuscripts of Cesar de Missy; but I can communicate a more accurate description of it, which I had from de Missy himself. There was likewise in this catalogue, N° 1618, an article entitled, *Remarques sur le MS. de Leicester par M. de Missy*, which I had some time in my possession; they were sent to me by his widow, in consequence of a wish that I had expressed in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. I. p. 99. that these remarks might be published, with permission to print them with the other works of this learned and sagacious critic. But as I have returned them to the proprietor, I will select only so much as is necessary to be known, that I may not defeat the publication of the remarks themselves.

The Codex Leicestrensis is in the Town-Library at Leicester, and is written partly on vellum, and partly on very thick paper. The collation which Wetstein procured, was taken from the margin of a copy of the Oxford edition, printed in 1675, in which however not all the readings were noted, but those only which had been omitted, or falsely quoted by Mill. The collation was made by Jackson, the editor of Novatianus, and Lee, a clergyman in Leicester. Joseph Wasse, who afterwards had it in his possession, added new remarks, which consisted partly in comparisons with the Coptic version, and partly in doubts and conjectures. From his hands it came into those of William Tiffin, who revised the notes of his predecessors, and made several alterations. In this state it was purchased by Cesar de Missy, and this collation was used by Wetstein, though he has not accurately described it²⁰⁷.

De Missy's treatise unfortunately breaks off in the middle of the sixth paragraph, it is therefore difficult to determine what were his real sentiments with regard to the value of this manuscript; but they must have been unfavourable

favourable either to the manuscript itself, or to the extracts that had been made from it, for the title page which he has prefixed, and on which he wrote with his own hand *Remarques sur les MS. de Leicester*, has a figure representing a quack doctor, *avec privilege du Roi*; but of Wetstein he speaks with the most profound respect. He appears also to have suspected, if we may judge from the first few paragraphs, that Mill had his doubts with regard to this manuscript. Our knowledge therefore of the Codex Leicestrensis is hitherto attended with a mystery²⁰⁸, of which we have the more reason to wish for an explanation, as its readings so frequently coincide with those of the Syriac versions.

157. *Lincolniensis* 1, noted 56 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. belongs to Lincoln College in Oxford, and is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1502.

158. *Lincolniensis* 2, noted 39 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T. in the third 33, belongs to the same College, and is an ancient manuscript of the Acts and Epistles, written on vellum. The readings of both these Lincoln manuscripts are annexed to the London Polyglot, whence they were taken by Mill and Wetstein. But in the Polyglot no distinction is made between them, both being noted Lin.

Lu. a manuscript quoted, but not described by Mill, and which is supposed to be the same with the Cantabrigiensis 495. See above N° 62.

159. *Loescherianus*, a manuscript of the Revelation, referred by Mathäi to the fifteenth century, though others suppose it to be five hundred years old, belonged formerly to Loescher, from whose library it came into that of Count Brühl, and lastly into the Electoral library in Dresden, whence it has also the title of *Dresdensis*. Stemler, who observed its frequent coincidence with the *Wolfenbüttel* manuscript, described above N° 130, collated the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters, and I have inserted his extracts in the *Orient. Bib. Vol. XVII. N° 268*. Mathäi procured extracts from Dasdorf, and afterwards collated the whole of it himself, as appears from his

Apocalypsis Græce et Latine, p. 213, 214. and annexed both the extracts from this and other manuscripts to his edition of the Revelation, p. 239—309.

160. Magdalenensis 1, generally written Magd. 1, noted 57 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. in the second 41, in the third 35, is a copy of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, belonging to Magdalen College in Oxford, and in the time of Mill was supposed to be seven hundred years old.

The Gospel of St. Mark is defective as far as ch. i. 11. Hammond, who relates that he had twice collated it, has sometimes quoted its readings in his Commentary on the New Testament. A more complete collection may be seen in the London Polyglot. It is one of the few manuscripts which omit, Luke xi. 2—4. the interpolation from St. Matthew, a circumstance which redounds to its honour; and it is the only one which, in conjunction with the Vulgate, omits *μαλλον*, 1 Cor. xiv. 18. an omission which entirely alters the sense.

161. Magdalenensis 2, or Magd. 2, noted 42 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T. belongs to the same College, and contains the epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. Extracts from it were first printed in the London Polyglot, whence they were taken by Mill and Wetstein.

162. San-Maglorianus, noted 43 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. in the second not quoted, in the third 54, contains the Gospels, Epistles, and Acts. Amelotte and Simon have used this manuscript, the former of whom refers it to the ninth century; but the latter, who was undoubtedly a much better judge, places it in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Wetstein has admitted it into his catalogue, because he has sometimes quoted it from the accounts given by the above-mentioned critics; but it has never been properly collated²⁰⁹.

163. Marshi, preserved in the Bodleian Library, and noted Bodleianus 24²¹⁰, is a manuscript of the four Gospels, beginning with Matth. vi. 1. and ending with John xvi. 25. and not free from other omissions: it was written

in the thirteenth century. Griesbach, who describes it at length in his *Symbolæ*, p. ccii—ccxxiii. has collated accurately the following parts, *Math.* viii—xiv. *Mark* i—iv. ix. x. xvi. *Luke* i—iv. 30. xi. xiii. 35—xiv. 20. xviii. 8—33. *John* 1—iii. v. 1—15. viii. 1—26. and inserted the readings in his *Greek Testament*, and *Symbolæ*. It is a remarkable instance of an eclectic manuscript. It corresponds sometimes so exactly to the *Reuchlinianus*, as to coincide even in the errata, and must therefore have been copied either from the *Reuchlinianus*, or from a transcript of it; at other times it varies from it in single readings, and follows the common text; but even in these cases the relation is still discernible. There are again other places, where the transcriber seems to have been in doubt what reading he should prefer, and has left therefore a vacant space.

164. Mazarini, noted 103 in the first part of Wetstein's *N. T.* a manuscript 800 years old, brought from Constantinople, and formerly in the possession of Cardinal Mazarin: but I know not what books of the New Testament it contains. Curcellæus procured extracts from Emericus Bigot, which Wetstein has inserted also in his edition.

Mead. The three following manuscripts, which formerly belonged to the celebrated Dr. Mead, ought properly to be referred to the class of uncollated manuscripts; for Wetstein says of the first, '*quem mihi humanissime in bibliotheca sua ostendit Mead;*' of the second, '*quod vidi apud Mead,*' without making mention of a collation of them; and of the third, '*quem obiter inspexi.*' But as Wetstein has admitted them into his catalogue, on account of the few extracts which he has given, they cannot be excluded from the list. But I shall not number all three, because he has quoted more than one under different names, and I have already described them.

Mead 1, noted 109 in the first part of Wetstein's *N. T.* contains the four Gospels. It came afterwards into the library of Dr. Askew, and it has been described above, N° 3, under that title²¹¹.

165. Meadi 2, noted in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Evangelistarium 23.

Meadi 3, noted 22 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T. a manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles. According to Velthusen, it is the same with that which Wetstein calls Codex Antonii Askew, and which I have described above, N° 3. Wetstein then has counted the same manuscript twice, a mistake which may be easily committed by a critic, who both collates himself, and uses the collation of others: I will quote one of its readings, as being remarkable; instead of the usual, but awkward reading, *ο γαρ θειων ζων αγαπην*, 1 Pet. iii. 10. this manuscript alone has much more properly *ο γαρ θειων ζων, και αγαπων ημερας ιδειν αγαθας*, in conformity to Psalm xxxiii. 13. This might be taken for a modern correction from the Septuagint, were it not found in the old Syriac, and in the Arabic, not only that published by Erpenius, which was made from the Syriac, but in that printed in the Polyglot, which was made from the Greek.

166—175. Medicæi. Under this title must not be expected the whole treasure of manuscripts of the N. T. in the Medicean library, but the few which Wetstein has noted, and which he has sometimes quoted among his various readings.

Medicæus Pithœi, noted 42 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. is a manuscript of the four Gospels; the readings were extracted by Petrus Pithœus, and written in the margin of Stephens's edition of 1550. Wetstein procured these extracts, and inserted them in his edition of the Greek Testament ²²¹.

Medicæi, noted 102 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. in the second 59, in the third 56, and in the fourth 23. A person, whose name is unknown, made extracts from a Medicean manuscript, which is likewise unknown, and wrote them in the margin of Plantin's edition of 1591. These, which extend only from Matth. xxiv. to Mark viii. 1. were inserted by Wetstein in his collection. This account is given by Wetstein in the first part, but in the second

second he adds, that this same anonymous critic, a Dutchman by birth, collected readings from two manuscripts for the epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians, from one manuscript for the Acts of the Apostles, and from four Medicean manuscripts for the catholic epistles: he collected likewise readings for the three first chapters of the Revelation, but probably only from one manuscript. These together make nine manuscripts ¹¹³.

176. Missyanus, noted 44 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Cesar de Missy procured this manuscript of the four Gospels from mount Athos, and collated it with Mill's edition, for the use of Wetstein ¹¹⁴.

Missyanus AA, or 1635, has been described above, N° 133, under the title *Goettingensis* 2.

177. Missyanus BB, noted in the catalogue of his sale N° 1333, and there entitled *Lectionarium ex Actis Apostolorum et Epistolis, Codex MS. membranaceus BB. Contulit hunc codicem Rev. Cæsar de Missy, sed collatio typis nondum est vulgata.* The manuscript itself was purchased by Dr. Hunter^d, and will be called, perhaps, in future, *Hunterianus*. Missy's very accurate collation I had some time in my possession: it was my intention to have printed it, but I could find no bookseller who was willing to undertake the publication, and it was too voluminous for the *Orientalische Bibliothek*. I returned it therefore to Missy's heirs, and am ignorant where it is preserved at present; but sacred criticism has suffered no great loss through the neglect of publication, as we have more reason to complain of superfluity, than of scarcity, of extracts from manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

178. Missyanus CC, in the catalogue of his sale marked N° 1634, and there described, *Lectionarium ex Evangelistis et Epistolis Apostolorum, MS. membranaceus CC, scriptus 1199. Contulit hunc codicem Cæsar de Missy, sed collatio nondum est typis vulgata.* This was likewise purchased by Dr. Hunter; but where the collation itself is, I know not.

Even if these three *Lectionaria* had not been collated, which

^d See the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. X. p. 194.

which they really have been, it would have been necessary to introduce and number them in this catalogue, because a dispute has arisen whether one of them had not the famous passage, 1 John v. 7. The occasion of this dispute was the following: Wetstein, p. 721 of the second volume, quotes *Lectionaria tria Missyana*, which omit 1 John v. 7. but in the errata it is corrected to *Lectionaria duo*: hence it has been concluded that the third must contain the passage. This conclusion is false, for it cannot be said that the manuscript either has it, or omits it. This will best appear from the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, T. XI. Mois de Mai et de Juin 1753, p. 73.

As I have frequent occasion to mention Cesar de Missy, not only on account of his manuscripts, but likewise on account of the controversy relative to the *Codex Ravianus*, it may not be improper to give a short account of him, as his life has never been described in any biographical dictionary²²⁵. He was born at Berlin, June 2, 1703, of parents who were French refugees; studied at Francfort on the Oder, and was examined for orders at Berlin in 1725; but having some scruples relative to the subscription to a book of articles, probably the *Confessio Sigismundi*, the subscription to which was at that time absolute, though at present modified by a quatenus, he left his birth-place, and settled in the Netherlands. He went afterwards to London, where, in 1731, he became French preacher in the Savoy, in 1767 French chaplain at St. James's, and died August 10, 1775. He was a profoundly learned and sagacious critic, but too violent and satirical in controversy, a quality which sometimes carried him beyond the bounds which his ardent love of truth would have otherwise prescribed to him; and even a love for truth, if it be carried so far as to treat with injustice what is deemed to be error, defeats its own end, and assumes the appearance of that which it attempts to expose. I once designed to publish his life, and a critical catalogue of his writings, which I had some time in my possession; but I returned them to the proprietor, as no bookseller would undertake the publication.

179. *Molsheimensis*. The readings of this manuscript must not be sought in the large collections that have hitherto been made, because it was not known till after Wetstein's publication. It contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, and belonged formerly to the college of Jesuits at Molsheim, in Alsace. Oberlin supposes that it was brought thither, with many other books, from the ancient Carmelite monastery in Strasburg. In the year 1764, the Jesuits being obliged to abandon their college, brought it to the abbey of Maursmünster, where it remained during some years; but the suffragan bishop of Strasburg ordered the books and manuscripts to be returned to the seminary in Molsheim, where this manuscript is preserved at present.

The Jesuit Adam Contzen has used it in his commentary on the four Gospels; but as the collectors of various readings expected not to find critical researches in this work, they have left his extracts wholly unnoticed. Father Goldhagen has taken from it fifty-two readings, which he printed in his *Greek Testament**, published at Mayence in 1753. But from these we can form no judgment of the manuscript itself, as the editor has deprived his evidence of all authority, by a too strenuous support of the Vulgate. For he never quotes the *Codex Molsheimensis*, but where its readings coincide with the Latin version: if therefore we abide by his extracts alone, we must of course suspect that this manuscript has been corrupted from the Vulgate, because we see no example of a deviation from it. But we may conclude, from Goldhagen's silence on many passages, that it actually does deviate from the Vulgate; and there can be no doubt that 1 John v. 7. is not contained in it, because the editor has not quoted it for that passage, though he

* Η *καινη διαθηκη*, sive Novum D. N. I. C. testamentum græcum cum variantibus lectionibus, quæ demonstrant Vulgatam Latinam ipsis e Græcis N. T. codicibus hodiernum extantibus authenticam. Accedit index epistolarum et evangeliorum, spicilegium apologeticum, et lexidion Græco-Latinum. Cura et opera P. Hermanni Goldhagen, Societatis Jesu. Editio catholica novissima, cum permissu superiorum. See the Gottingen Review for 1753, N° 93.

he has produced false evidence from other manuscripts in favour of that verse. On the other hand, we must conclude that it reads *ἄρα*, 1 Tim. iii. 16. because Goldhagen has not quoted it for *α*, the reading of the Vulgate¹¹⁶. It deserves to be more accurately examined, and completely collated.

180. Montfortianus, called also Dublinensis, probably the same which Erasmus entitled Britannicus, noted 61 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. in the second 40, and in the third 34, contains the whole New Testament, but is written in a modern hand, and is probably of the sixteenth century. The leaves are a thick glazed paper¹¹⁷, which Ycard took for vellum, and in consequence ascribed to this manuscript a too great antiquity. Another proof that has been alleged of its antiquity is, that it has readings, which are found neither in the Complutum edition, nor in that of Erasmus: but this shews only that it was not copied from one of those editions, not that it is more ancient than the invention of printing. See the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 156—160¹¹⁸. Unimportant as this manuscript may appear, on account of its modern date, it deserves a circumstantial description, as it is one of those two manuscripts which alone contain the celebrated passage of the three that bear record in heaven, 1 John v. 7. I am indeed persuaded that this passage is neither genuine, nor of any importance in dogmatical theology; but since it is a subject of so much controversy, and the advocates for its authenticity appeal to the Montfortianus in support of their doctrine, the manuscript itself becomes important in polemical criticism. Beside the common works in which the manuscripts of the Greek Testament are described, the reader may consult Bengel's remarks, 1 John v. 7. § vi. n. vi. and the writers which he has quoted; also Wetstein's note to this passage, and my *Curæ* in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 184, 185.

The name of this manuscript is derived from a former proprietor. Mill relates, § 1379, that it belonged originally to one Froy, a Franciscan friar, then to Thomas Clement,

Clement, afterwards to William Charc, and lastly to Thomas Montfort ¹¹⁹. Since the time of Usher, it has been preserved in the library of Trinity college in Dublin, where it is noted G. 97. and hence it is sometimes called *Dublinensis*. As Erasmus, in the two first editions of his Greek Testament, omitted 1 John v. 7, but in the later editions inserted it, because he had found it, as he relates, in a codex Britannicus; it has been concluded, with a very great degree of probability, that the Montfortianus is the same as the Britannicus of Erasmus, because, though every manuscript in Great Britain has been carefully searched, this is the only one which contains the passage in question ¹²⁰.

Though no critic would ascribe a high antiquity to the Montfortianus, yet, on the other hand, we have no reason to suspect that it is a mere transcript from the Complutensian Polyglot ¹, as is said of the Codex Ravianus, which I shall describe in the sequel. For the difference is strongly marked in numerous passages, and even the text in question, for which this manuscript is famous, is not the same as in that Polyglot.

Mill has observed, that this manuscript has a very great number of readings, which are peculiar to itself: he has counted not less than 140; and though this number has been diminished, since more manuscripts have been collated, yet it still remains considerable.

Erasmus describes the Codex Britannicus as a latinizing manuscript: Wetstein entertains the same sentiments with respect to the Montfortianus, which he supports by several examples, though they afford not absolute conviction. But the passage in question, 1 John

v. 7.

¹ Dr. Semler has another suspicion with regard to this manuscript, namely, that the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot procured it to be written, in order to serve their own purpose, because Cardinal Ximenes was inclined in favour of the edition of Erasmus. See his examination of the New Testament, printed at Alcala, p. 133. But this suspicion is not supported by sufficient authority, and it may be observed, that both the adversaries and the advocates of 1 John v. 7. have neglected too frequently the rules of moderation and impartiality ¹²¹.

v. 7. without inquiring whether it be genuine or not, affords the very strongest proof of Wetstein's assertion; for in the Cod. Mont. it not only differs from the usual text, but is written in such Greek as manifestly betrays a translation from the Latin. I will transcribe it line for line, with all the abbreviations, as it is given by Travis in his Letters to Gibbon, p. 153.

Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτῦ
 ρουντ' ἐν τῷ οὐνῳ, πῆρ, λογος, καὶ πνα αγίου
 καὶ οὗτοῖ οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσὶ
 Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτῦ
 ρευντ' ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνα, ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα ²²².

Here the article is omitted before the words expressive of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, because there is no article in the Latin, and it occurred not to the translator that the usual Greek was *ο πατηρ, ο λογος, το πνευμα*. He has also *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, which is false Greek, for *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, because he found in the Latin, in *terrâ* ²²³. He has likewise omitted *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς το ἐν εἰσιν* ²²⁴, which is wanting in many Latin manuscripts ²²⁵, because the Lateran council, held in 1215, had rejected it through polemical motives.

In the *Curæ* in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 184. I have noted three passages in the Gospel of St. Mark, which perfectly coincide with the Syriac version. What I have there observed, I will add in a note ⁶, because a knowledge of the Montfort manuscript is of some consequence, and the *Curæ*, which contain dry and critical researches, are not in the hands of every reader. The text, 1 John v. 7. cannot have been taken from the Syriac, for it is wanting in that version. A remarkable reading, *ἐγκακεῖν*, Luke xviii. 1. is found in the

⁶ Solus hic cum Syro Marc. iii. 22, omittit prius *οτι*, atque versu 34 *κυναρ*, quod et Latino codice Vercellensi abest. Capitis vi. versu 48, cum omnes pene codices habeant *ερχται ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ*, hisque duabus vocibus omissis, Cantabrigiensis cum Vercellensi et Vindobonensi latinis, *ερχται Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ*, solus e Graecis Montfortianus utramque lectionem conjunxit, *ερχται ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ*, idemque et Syrus fecit, atque ex Latinis codicibus Brixien-
 sis.

the Montfortianus and Alexandrinus, but in no other. If this manuscript is the same as the Britannicus, the first extracts were made from it by Erasmus, but more complete extracts were given in the London Polyglot, though these extend only as far as the beginning of the epistle to the Romans.

181. *Mori primus*, or M. 1, noted 60, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. in the fourth 10, contains the Gospels, written in a very neat hand, in the year 1297, and the book of Revelation, which is written in a more modern hand. Luke xv. 15. it is the only one of the manuscripts quoted by Wetstein, that has *αγγελος* in the singular, which must be a very ancient reading, for it is found in both Syriac versions, both Arabic versions, all the old Latin and the Vulgate: it was also discovered by Matthäi, in the Moscow Codex x. The manuscript in question, belonged formerly to More, bishop of Norwich, with whose permission Mill made extracts from it: at present it is preserved, as well as the following manuscript, in the University library at Cambridge, to which it was given by George I. together with the bishop's whole library ¹²⁶.

182. *Mori secundus*, or M. 2, an evangelistarium, supposed to be written about the year 1000, formerly in the possession of Bishop More, but at present in Cambridge. It has been collated by Mill, and is noted by Wetstein Evangelistarium 4¹²⁷.

183. *Moscuensis*, noted 87 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, preserved in Moscow; but the latter part, from John vii. to the end, is written in a more modern hand, which was finished, however, so early as the year of Christ 1000, and the more ancient part is referred, by Bengel, to the eighth century. We know nothing more of this manuscript than what is given in Bengelii *Introductio in crisin* N. T. § 7, where readings are given which had been extracted by Professor Gross. Wetstein has nothing more than what he borrowed from Bengel; but we may expect more certain and complete accounts of it in

in the prefaces to St. Matthew and St. Mark's Gospels, which will shortly be published by Matthäi ²²⁸.

184. Mosquenses a C. F. Matthäi excerpti. While Matthäi was Professor in Moscow, he found in that city a very considerable number of manuscripts of the Greek Testament, which he has collated with great accuracy, and communicated to the world their various readings in his edition of the New Testament, in Greek and Latin, which was begun in 1782, and which I shall describe in the chapter relating to the editions of the Greek Testament. Though he collated above twenty manuscripts, yet, as his publication is not yet finished, I shall include them all under a single number. In his prefaces, he has generally given some description of them, and either at the beginning or end of each volume, specimens of their letters in copper-plate. But I shall make no use of this work on the present occasion, partly because it is hitherto incomplete, and the description of several manuscripts is still wanting; partly because the plates and the description are in different volumes, which creates confusion: and I shall be the more easily excused, as we may hope that the editor himself will add, at the end of his publication, a regular catalogue of the Moscow manuscripts, with reference both to the plates and the descriptions ²²⁹.

Though these manuscripts are not of the highest antiquity, they are far from being modern, since many of them were written in the eleventh century. As the Russian is a daughter of the Greek church, it of course follows, that they very frequently contain the readings of the Byzantine edition, especially as they were written either in Constantinople itself, or in some Greek province: and we have equal reason to expect a coincidence with the Slavonian or Russian version, and the quotations of Chrysostom and Theophylact. At the same time, I have observed many readings that were usual, not only in the West of Europe, but also in Egypt; and several remarkable, though dubious readings, have been confirmed by the authority of the Moscow manuscripts.

manuscripts. Not one of them has the spurious passage, 1 John v. 7. If I were in possession of a regular and accurate catalogue of them, I should be able to communicate more information, as I find it difficult to collect, at present, the detached remarks which I have made on different papers.

Since high antiquity cannot be ascribed to these manuscripts, and they belong to an edition, in which difficult passages were frequently removed by critical conjecture, I would not venture to apply their readings with the same certainty as those of more ancient manuscripts, whenever the question relates to points, that are obscure and perplexed. Our editions of the Greek Testament have *και παντων τα δεσμα ανεθη*, Acts xvi. 26. Now this appears incredible, for if the bands of all the prisoners had been loosed, setting aside the improbability that this effect should have been produced by an earthquake, they would not have remained quietly in prison, the doors being opened, as we cannot suppose that they were all innocent, like Paul and Silas. Here the two Moscow manuscripts, d and l, have *και παντα τα δεσμα αυτην*, which may be applied to Paul and Silas only. But this is perhaps only a modern correction, made to avoid a difficulty, and not to be admitted without the authority of a more ancient evidence²³⁰.

185. Norimbergensis, an Evangelistarium, preserved in the city library at Nuremberg, supposed to be 700 years old, and whose readings are said to have a great conformity with those of the Cantabrigiensis, Stephani η, Basileensis γ, and Leicestrensis. A description of it is given in the Altdorf Literary Museum for the year 1778. Vol. I. part 4th.

186. The three following manuscripts belong to New College, in Oxford; extracts from which were first given in the London Polyglot, and these were afterwards revised by Mill. Before the time of Wetstein, and even in the first volume of his edition, we find very confused accounts of them. For instance, Mill mentions in his index only two, N. 1, and N. 2, and describes these

two only, § 1388 and 1389, yet he writes, § 1423, in collegio novo tres codices, evangelia recentis scripturæ, Actus Apostolici et epistolæ catholicæ manus vetustioris; itemque acta et epistolæ Paulinæ et catholicæ. His Codex, N. 1, must, according to his description, contain only the Gospels, yet he frequently quotes it in the Acts of the Apostles. It appears then that he has committed several mistakes of memory³¹. Wetstein, in his second volume, p. 453, gives a more clear account of them, by which I shall abide, as he probably paid all possible attention to a subject, in which he attempted to correct not only the faults of his predecessors, but his own. He saw these manuscripts in 1715, but it does not appear that he deemed them worthy of a collation.

This manuscript, noted 58 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the London Polyglot, and the editions of Fell and Mill, N. 1, or Nov. 1, is a very modern manuscript of the four Gospels, written since the invention of printing, and seems to be related to the Montfortianus and Lincolniensis, which are likewise modern.

187. N. 1, as noted in the London Polyglot, in Mill, Nov. 2, or N. 2, and 43 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul³². It has a reading which is very remarkable, whether it be genuine or spurious, Heb. vi. 2. *Βαπτισμῶν διαδοχῆς*. If it be spurious, it is at least an ingenious conjecture. A similar correction, or scholion, is undoubtedly *ἐπιστομῶν* for *διαπομῶν*, Ephes. ii. 3. which is found in no other manuscript. These examples are a proof of the ingenuity of the copyist, but they are no commendation of the readings of this manuscript considered as evidence.

188. N. 2, as noted in the Polyglot and Mill's Index, but in Mill's Various Readings, noted N. 1, and 36 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles.

The extracts from these three manuscripts are probably as confused as the description that has been given of
of

of them, and it were to be wished that they were collated anew ²³³.

189. Parrhasii, noted 108 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the Gospels, of which Montfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 308, and Trechow in his *Tentamen*, p. 22, have given an account. It has received this name from its former proprietor, Aulus Janus Parrhasius, who died in 1533, and left it to Antonius Seripandus, the father of Cardinal Hieronymus Seripandus: afterwards it came into the library belonging to the monastery of Johannes de Carbonaria, in Naples, whence it was sent as a present to the Emperor Charles VI. and is now in the Imperial library at Vienna, where it is called *Neapolitanus 1*, or *Auctarii bibliothecæ Vindobonensis 1*. I know not why Wetstein has given it a place in his catalogue, as he has quoted no extracts from it, but I cannot reject it from the present list, as it is found in Wetstein's *Prolegomena*. Treschow has made extracts from the Gospel of St. Matthew, from which it appears that this manuscript harmonizes with the Latin version ²³⁴.

190. *Dominici Passionei*, N° lxxii. noted G in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the Acts of the Apostles, beginning with ch. viii. 10. the catholic epistles, and those of St. Paul, as far as Heb. xiii. 10. Montfaucon refers it to the ninth, Blanchini to the eighth, or even to the seventh century. The last mentioned critic has given several readings from it, which Wetstein has inserted in his collection ²³⁵.

191. *Per. or Perronianus* ²³⁶, noted 91 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, which Montfaucon supposed to have been written in the tenth century. He communicated the extracts which were inserted by Mill.

192. *Pet. 1*, or *Petavianus primus*, noted 44 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 38, contains the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. Wetstein places it in the thirteenth century; but Mill, whose judgment on this subject is not equal to that of Wetstein, makes it two or three centuries more

ancient.

ancient. It belonged formerly to Paulus Petavius²⁷, from whose heirs it was purchased by Queen Christina, and presented to Isaac Vossius, whence it came with the rest of his manuscripts into the University library at Leyden, where it is noted 77. It was first collated, together with the two following manuscripts, by Claude Sarrau, whose extracts were inserted in Fell's edition. But this editor was in possession of more complete extracts than those which were printed in his New Testament; these more complete extracts were used by Mill, who collated also the manuscript from Acts x. 26. to the end of the epistles. Wetstein procured another copy of Sarrau's extracts, and made himself a new collation in April 1731.

193. Pet. 2, or Petavianus secundus, noted 45 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 39, in the fourth 11, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation: but it has the following chasms, 1 Cór. iii. 16—x. 13. the whole epistle of St. James, except the four last verses, 3 John 9 to the end, and the epistle of St. Jude. Sarrau's extracts from this and the following manuscript, were used in the editions of Fell, Mill, and Wetstein, in the manner above described.

194. Pet. 3, noted 46 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 40, in the fourth 12, is likewise a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation. It was purchased by Queen Christina, and after her death it came with the rest of her books into the Vatican library. Wetstein contends that this is the same manuscript as that which was frequently quoted by Johannes Gagnæus, and which was kept in his time at St. Denys; and that Bengel therefore was guilty of a mistake, in quoting the Petavianus 3, and the Dionysianus Gagnæi, as two different manuscripts. One of the most striking instances of a scholion obtruded on the text, is found Acts i. 12. where this manuscript, as an explanation of *καὶ ἔλατ' αὐτὸν*, inserts *τοῦτον οὐ το διὰ τὸ διασημα, οὐδὲν δύνατον Ἰσραὴλ περιπατεῖν ἐν καὶ ἔλατ' αὐτὸν*, but I am ignorant whether the words, of which these are an explanation, are omitted or not²⁸. 1 Cor. xi. 25. *οὐρανὸς αὐτὸν πίνει* is left out in
this

this manuscript, an omission observable in no other than the suspected Leicestrensis. It is the only one which omits *τράγων*, Heb. ix. 19. a word which has occasioned considerable difficulty to the commentators, because Moses makes no allusion to goats; but the omission is ratified by the authority of the Syriac and the Arabic. In the Curæ in Actus Apostolorum, Syriacos § xi. I have taken notice of several other examples where it coincides with the Syriac in remarkable readings. The singular reading *το παραπτωμα*, Rom. v. 18. is peculiar to the Petavianus 3, the Augiensis, and the Boernerianus. It is one of the few that have *εγκακεμεν*, 2 Cor. iv. 1. which I noticed at the end of the 14th section of the 4th chapter. It omits the suspicious passage *μηδεν τοιστον τηρειν αυτες*, *u μη*, Acts xxi. 25. in conjunction with two manuscripts only, but the omission is supported by the authority of the Syriac, Vulgate, Coptic, and Ethiopic. In short, it harmonizes with evidence of great authority and antiquity, though it is not wholly free from blemishes.

195. Ravii, or Berolinensis, noted 110 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., but not numbered in the following parts, is a manuscript of the whole New Testament. It belonged in the last century to Professor Rave of Upsal, who said that he brought it with him from the East, and that he gave for it 200 rix-dollars. From the hands of Rave it came, I know not by what means, into the Electoral library in Berlin. Saubertus speaks of it in the year 1672, as follows: Manuscriptum Nov. Test. pervetustum membranaceum, literis uncialibus exaratum, quod 200 imperialibus emtum ex Oriente attulit, et uti fama fert, Serenissimi Electoris Brandenburgici illustri bibliothecæ consecravit Johannes Ravius. This is probably an erratum for Christianus Ravius; though it is written in this manner not only by Saubert, but, as I was informed by Pappelbaum, in a letter, dated Jan. 21, 1787, in the subscription of the manuscript itself, consecravit Johannes Ravius Prof. Ups.^a Whether by consecravit

^a John Rave was never Professor in Upsal, but Christian Rave. See Jöcher's Dictionary of learned men.

consecravit is to be understood, that he sold it for 200 dollars, as Dr. Semler supposes, or gave it as a present to the generous and pious Elector, in the hope of being more amply rewarded, is a question which I will not examine at present. Saubert collated this manuscript in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and printed the extracts in his *Variae lectiones textus Græci Evangelii S. Matthæi. Helmstadii, 1672.* Mill attempted in vain to procure this book¹, we must therefore not expect to find in his edition, the readings of the Codex Ravianus. Wetstein has generally thought them unworthy of notice, as he considered the whole manuscript as a gross imposture: but in Bengelii *Apparatus Criticus*, we find those which Bengel selected as worthy of notice; it being well known, that it was the practice of this critic to insert those readings only, which appeared to him of the most importance.

This manuscript, whether it be entitled to respect or to contempt, is yet of some consequence in critical and dogmatical theology, because it is the second of the two manuscripts which have 1 John v. 7. And whether it be genuine or spurious, yet after the serious controversy which has been conducted relative to that text, it deserves a more impartial examination than has been hitherto bestowed on it, because it contains one half of the sum total of the evidence in favour of that passage. A fac simile of its characters, representing 1 John v. 7. may be seen in the copper-plate prefixed to Goeze's *Defence of the Complutensian Bible*, Hamburg 1766, and another representing Matth. ii. 1. in the third plate of Treschow's *Tentamen*. They are not uncial letters, but nearly though not exactly the same with those of the Complutensian Bible²³⁹.

Saubert entitles it, *Manuscriptum pervetustum*, a name which is likewise given it by most of the advocates for the passage above-mentioned; some ascribing to it an antiquity of 500 years, others going so far as to make it a 1000 years old. But the very learned and sagacious La Croze, who being Librarian in Berlin, had this

¹ See § 1405 of his *Prolegomena*.

this manuscript frequently in his hands, and was able to examine the subject with the utmost precision, maintains that it is the work of an impostor, written long after the invention of printing, even so late as the seventeenth century, and copied from the Complutensian Bible. He relates, that even the errors of the press are copied in the manuscript, and that the imposition betrays itself by the chalk, which is still visible on the parchment, and the pale ink^b, which was purposely chosen to give it an air of antiquity. This was written by a man who was no enemy to the doctrine of the Trinity; he expresses himself in the same manner in his letters to Bengel and Wetstein, to which these critics appeal; likewise in his letter to Achard, which is the first in the collection, entitled *Thesaurus epistolicus La Crozianus*; also in his letter to Emlyn, which is printed in Semler's collection of Criticisms, relative to passages in Scripture alleged in proof of doctrines, Part I. p. 312⁴⁴; and lastly, in a letter to a friend of David Martin, which letter Martin printed. Martin, though by no means a profound critic, advanced arguments in favour of this manuscript in his *Verité du Texte*, 1 Jean v. 7. which deserves examination. Missy answered them in the *Journal Britannique* 1753, Mai et Juin, and Semler likewise condemned this manuscript in his *Collection of criticisms*, published in 1764; but Goeze supported it in his *Defence of the Complutensian Bible*. The history of this controversy I related more at large in the third edition of this Introduction, where I mentioned the arguments advanced on both sides of the question, but I omit them at present, not only because they take up too much room, but because the question is now decided⁴⁵. It cannot be denied, that La Croze and de Missy introduced so much satire and ridicule in their replies to Martin, that they diminished the confidence which the public would otherwise have placed in their assertions; and though they contended that the errata of the Complu-

^b Atramentum pallidum de industria adhibitum, ut nimirum antiquitatem feliciter mentiretur. *Thes. epist. tom. 111, p. 2.*

Complutensian Bible were copied in this manuscript, they produced no examples in proof; we had therefore very insufficient documents for a decision on this subject, the only extracts, which had been given, being those of Saubert from the Gospel of St. Matthew, and even in these we could place no perfect confidence. In the third edition, therefore, I expressed my doubts on this manuscript, but added, 'there is a mode of determining, from the very characters of the manuscript, whether it be genuine or not, a mode on which no man has thought, in consequence of the warmth which both parties have displayed, in relation to the controverted passage, 1 John v. 7. Namely, it is necessary to examine, whether the characters are uniformly the same throughout, or whether they are stiff in the beginning, and more current toward the end. In the latter case, we may conclude that a modern impostor attempted to imitate the types of the Complutum edition.'

This examination has been made by Pappelbaum, and his Inquiry into the Codex Ravianus²⁴³, published at Berlin in 1785, has put an end to the controversy, by proving beyond a doubt, that the whole is an imposture, and that the manuscript is a mere copy of the Complutensian Bible. He has carefully collated several books of the New Testament, and produced many examples where they coincide, even in the utmost minutiae of the errors of the press²⁴³. He relates also, that the hand is not uniformly the same throughout; that in the beginning of the manuscript, the resemblance of its letters to those of the Complutum Bible is greater, than towards the end, where the copyist appears to have written in greater haste; that in the first part they not only are stiff and formal, but likewise smaller, so that the number of lines in each page, which at the commencement amounted to twenty-four, is reduced towards the close even to twenty-one. Pappelbaum has observed at the same time, that a very striking difference is sometimes visible between the two texts; but these deviations arose not from accident, but from design, and were made with a view of concealing the

the imposture, for they are not to be discovered in scattered passages throughout the whole work, but only in some few single places, where error is heaped on error, as Rev. vi. 7, 8. for instance, in which two verses alone are not less than six various readings. Griesbach has treated of this manuscript in his *Symbolæ*, p. clxxx—cxcii. where he observes that the impostor has taken almost all his various readings from the margin of Stephens's edition, with exception to thirteen, which are evident errata.

More may be seen on this subject in the *New Orient. Bibl.* Vol. I. p. 1—20. where I have reviewed Pappelbaum's work. It is true that this manuscript has found a new advocate in Mr. Travis, in his *Letters to Gibbon*, published in 1785, but he is a most partial advocate, having never seen the manuscript itself, and having no further knowledge of the subject, than the intelligence, which he received from Berlin, of which he printed only so much as best suited his own purpose. See the *New Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 152—156.

Enough, and more than enough, has been here said of a manuscript, that is a mere imposture²⁴⁴. Let it be considered in future as having no critical existence, and never quoted in support of 1 John v. 7.

196—220.⁴ The following manuscripts are entitled *Codices Regii*, agreeably to the usage of the French language, because they are preserved in the royal library in Paris, whence they are sometimes called *Parisienses*. Many of them were used by Stephens, in his edition of the New Testament, and these are quoted under the titles *Sthephani ζ*, *Stephani β*, &c. Of these I shall take no notice in the description of the *Codices Stephanici*, because I include them here under the *Codices Regii*. These latter, that the reader may more easily find them in other works, I will arrange according to the numbers, by which they were noted in the royal library in the time of Wetstein, and by which he himself has noted them. But Wetstein, though he has himself examined them, has in some cases simply followed Le Long, as he acknowledges

acknowledges p. 40. of the first edition of his *Prolegomena*, published in 1730. At present, they are noted in the royal library by different numbers, which I will likewise add, as they were communicated to me by Mr. Fleischer, a Norwegian, and formerly one of my pupils, to whom I am indebted for a more accurate description of these manuscripts¹. He commenced his literary travels, of which the libraries in Paris were a principal object, at the very time when I was engaged in the publication of the second edition of this Introduction. I sent him therefore the first sheets that were printed off, with a proposal of many questions relative to the *Codices Regii*; his answers I could communicate at that time only in the preface, but they are here arranged under each separate article.

196. Regius 1869^m, noted 19 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains, according to Wetstein, the four Gospels. He appeals to Simon, who examined this manuscript, for the story of the adulteress in the eighth chapter of St. John: but this is related by Simon, in the thirteenth chapter of his *Histoire critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament*, from which it appears that the manuscript is a *catena patrum* on the four Gospels⁴⁵. No further extracts have been made from it, wherefore it is no otherwise entitled to a place in this catalogue, than

¹ The following is an extract of his letter, dated Dec. 16th, 1764.
 'The manuscripts are arranged not according to the ancient numbers, but according to those which are given them in the printed catalogue: but there is in the library a written catalogue, in which the new numbers have been added. There is no manuscript, in which we find not two or more ancient numbers, according to the different arrangements, which have taken place at different times. This is the reason that several manuscripts have the same number, which subsequent librarians have endeavoured to distinguish, by the addition of the cyphers 1. 2. 3. &c. instead of denoting them by a totally new number. The same number has been likewise given to several of these manuscripts, through the forgetfulness of the person who noted them: these again are distinguished by the addition of the cyphers 1. 2. &c.'

^m This is the only ancient number which Fleischer was unable to find; I know not therefore by what number it is at present noted.

than as Wetstein has taken it into his own, and denoted it by a number. The same may be said of many other Codices Regii, which Wetstein has admitted into his catalogue for no other reason, than because Simon has quoted them for John viii. But he would have acted more properly, if he had not numbered those which he quotes in only a single instance, and he would have been the more justifiable, as he has not numbered in his Prolegomena the Codices Regii 1884 and 2863, though he has quoted them on the same occasion, p. 148²⁴⁶. I shall say nothing more then, of such manuscripts, than that Simon quotes them for John viii. from which it is to be understood, that they have been no further examined.

197. Regius 1881, at present 54, noted 16 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a Greek-Latin^a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the fourteenth century. Its Latin text is the Vulgate. Wetstein collated it in 1715.

198. Regius 1883, noted 20 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, with a catena patrum, which Simon quotes John viii. It is noted at present 188²⁴⁷.

199. Regius 1886, at present 219, noted 16 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 12, in the fourth 4, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation²⁴⁹. The epistle to the Hebrews is placed between the epistle to the Thessalonians and that to Timothy. Some critics have referred this manuscript to the tenth century, but Wetstein, who collated it in 1715, supposes it to be more modern.

200. Regius 2241, noted 18 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. Wetstein describes it as a quatuor Evangelia continens, and he says it is one of those which Simon quotes John viii. But neither in the thirteenth chapter

^a Fleisher relates that there are many chasms in the Latin version, for instance Mark xi. 14. The whole Gospel of St. Luke is wanting, except the three first verses, and ch. v. 21, 22, 23. In the Gospel of St. John it goes no further than ch. xii. 17. The Greek text is likewise defective, from Mark xvi. 14. to the end of that Gospel²⁴⁷.

chapter of Simon, nor among Wetstein's various readings to John viii. have I been able to discover a Codex Regius with this number, nor is it mentioned by Le Long. Perhaps it is a mistake for 2441, which Le Long, p. 180. describes ²⁵⁰ as containing the Gospel of St. John, with a catēna patrum*.

201. Regius 2242, at present 49, Stephani Codex ζ, noted 8 in the second part [†] of Wetstein's N. T., contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation. Wetstein remarks, that Stephens could not have collated the Acts of the Apostles, as he has never quoted in that book his Codex ζ.

I shall spare my readers probably some trouble, by taking notice of a mistake, which has exposed me to much difficulty and doubt relative to this manuscript, of which I am unable however to give a complete solution. I had formerly described it as one manuscript, relying on the authority of Mill and Le Long, from whom Wetstein has generally taken the numbers, by which the Codices Regii are noted in the royal library. Le Long says, in his *Bibliotheca sacra* ²⁵², Tom. I, p. 178. *Quatuor Evangelia, epistolæ Pauli, et canonicæ*[‡], Græce: codex membranaceus, quo usus est Stephanus, quemque

* The following is the answer which Fleischer gave to my Query. 'Codex 2241 is noted at present 47. At the beginning is stuck a paper, on which the old number is written: where we find 2241, but it is easy to discover that 2242 was the original number, unless we suppose that an erratum had taken place. It contains the four Gospels, the Acts, and the catholic epistles, and all the epistles of St. Paul, in the usual order. The three last verses of the epistle to the Romans are wanting. Then follow two Synaxaria, and last of all the book of Revelation ²⁵¹. I have twice examined the whole manuscript, in order to be more certain. The manuscript, quoted by Le Long as Codex 2441, which at present is noted 209, contains only several ancient commentaries of St. John.'

† In the third part it is not noted.

‡ In the *Journal des Sçavans* for 1720, p. 650, Le Long enumerates among the catholic epistles, only those of St. James, St. Peter, and the first of St. John. It appears therefore that the second and third epistles of St. John, with that of St. Jude, are wanting.

quemque litera ζ notavit. Bibl. Reg. 2242. But Wetstein divides Stephens's seventh manuscript into two, to one of which he says the number 2241 belongs, to the other 2242. For in his first part he says, codex Stephani ζ, Regius 2242 Evangelia continet, and, in his second part, Stephani ζ, Regius 2241, continet Acta, epistolas canonicas et Paulinas. Acta tamen a Stephano collato non sunt. Whether Wetstein or Le Long is mistaken, I am unable to determine, but Wetstein, in the edition of his *Prolegomena* prefixed to his Greek Testament, contradicts what he had said in the first edition of them, where he writes, p. 39. Codex Regius 2242 continet Evangelia, epistolas Pauli, Jacobi, Petri, et Johannis primam (therefore not all the catholic epistles) Stephano est ζ. Unde vero Millius compererit etiam Acta Apostolorum ut perhibet in eodem codice comprehensa esse, cum apud ipsum Stephanum nullum ejus rei sit indicium, fateor me ignorare. I requested Fleischer therefore to examine this subject himself, and the answer which he gave me is the following: Codex 2242, in which the number is very differently written at the beginning, at present noted 49, contains the *Canones evangeliorum*, and the *epistola Eusebii ad Carpianum*, to which are added the four Gospels. On the outside of the volume is written *εὐαγγέλιον α*, and in several places the letter H, with a crown over it. An error therefore has been committed by those who have described this manuscript, both in respect to the number by which it is noted, and likewise in respect to its contents⁵³.

202. Regius 2243, at present 51, Küster's Paris. 2, and noted M in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, which was given by the Abbé François de Camps⁵⁴. A fac simile of its characters may be seen in Blanchini *Evangeliarum quadruplex*, P. I. in the fifth plate, annexed to page 492. Several remarks are made in it, both in Russian and Arabic, which shew that it was during some time in the East. Montfaucon places it in the tenth century, Le Long in the ninth. In the *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*,

§ xi. I have remarked the coincidence of its readings with those of the Syriac version. Küster has added extracts from it to Mill's edition.

203. Regius 2244^{*}, at present^{*} 50, Küster's Paris. 6, noted 13 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, which, though not more ancient probably than the thirteenth century, is of very great importance. It has the following chasms, Matth. i. 1—ii. 21. xxvi. 33—53. xxvii. 26—xxviii. 10. Mark i. 2. to the end of the chapter, and John xxi. 2. to the end of the Gospel. It has been most accurately described by Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ*, p. cliv—clxiv. whose account I shall follow, both in this and the following manuscript²⁵⁶. Küster gave extracts of this manuscript, which Wetstein borrowed from him, but according to Griesbach they are very incomplete, for he discovered in those parts which he collated, not less than 600 readings omitted by Küster, and inserted them in his *New Testament*, and *Symbolæ criticæ*. Properly speaking, Griesbach collated only three chapters, Matth. xiii. xiv. xv. the rest, as he says himself, only cursorily, and many passages, from the end of St. Luke's Gospel throughout the remaining part of the manuscript, he totally neglected. At the same time he expresses a wish, to which I give my hearty assent, that the whole manuscript might be completely and exactly collated. It is in my opinion of great importance, because it is frequently in favour of readings, which are supported by the fewest manuscripts, and are yet entitled to the preference: for instance $\kappa\tau\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\theta\iota$, Luke xxi. 19. Wetstein has observed, that it frequently coincides with the *Leicestrensis*, and I remember to have found among his various readings, the numbers 13 and 69 so often together, that by an association of ideas, the one naturally excites the other. I will

^{*} The reader must not suppose that the number 2244, which occurs twice, is a mistake, for the same number is found in two manuscripts, which are distinguished by the addition of the cyphers 1. 2. as I was informed by Fleischer, whose account is confirmed by that of Griesbach²⁵⁶.

^{*} Not 55, as I had written by mistake in the third edition.

will mention only one instance, Mark xv. 36. where they both agree in a reading, which seems to be only an uncertain conjecture. Griesbach has confirmed this agreement by many examples, but he has likewise produced instances in which they vary. He found also that this manuscript harmonizes in a very eminent manner with the quotations of Origen, which he has accurately collated: he refers it therefore to the Alexandrine edition, though he says that it has a certain mixture of the Western. To the arguments alleged by Griesbach respecting its edition, may be added the following, which is very decisive: it is the only manuscript which has the addition *καὶ προεδραμὲν ἀψαρδαὶ αὐτῆς*, John xx. 16. which is expressed in the New Syriac, or Philoxenian version, that was published at Alexandria.

204. Regius 2244 *, at present 55, noted 17 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, with a Latin version, and was written in the fifteenth century. That it has a Latin version, is asserted by Le Long, p. 180, but the silence of Wetstein on this subject made it a matter of doubt²⁷, till Griesbach had examined the manuscript, who relates that the Latin text was written earlier than the Greek, and that they frequently differ from each other. Here then the Greek text cannot have been corrupted from the Latin. Wetstein examined this manuscript, but Griesbach says, *passim tantum inspexerat*: this latter critic has given more extracts from it, but has not regularly collated the whole manuscript, though he is of opinion that it deserves a new collation. It is one of those, to which the edition of Colinaeus has a great resemblance. According to Wetstein, it was written by Jerom of Sparta, who was during some time Greek Professor in Paris, and the preceptor of Reuchlin and Budæus. It is true that Griesbach could discover no account of Jerom as the transcriber, yet the relation of Wetstein may very possibly be true.

205. Regius

* See Note (*).

205. Regius 2248, at present 56, noted 51 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the catholic epistles, those of St. Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and the book of Revelation¹, written by Jeroni of Sparta, quoted by Simon for 1 John v. 7. as an evidence against that passage.

206. Regius 2860, at present 68, noted² 21 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, and is quoted by Simon on the story of the adulteress, John viii.

207. Regius 2861³, at present 62, Stephani π , noted L in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels, with the following chasms, Matth. iv, 21—v, 14. xxviii. 17. to the end of the Gospel. Mark x, 17—30. xv, 10—20. John xxi, 15. to the end. Mill says, that it must contain likewise the Acts, or at least some of the last chapters, because Stephens quotes his Codex π five times in this book. Yet it is certain that this book is not contained in the manuscript, as appears from the evidence both of Fleischer and Less^{4,5}, and the quotations, to which Mill alludes, were mere errata in the edition of Stephens. Beside those writers, which have given a general account of the manuscripts of the New Testament, the reader will find an excellent account of this in particular, drawn up by Dr. Less, and inserted in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. IX. p. 144—147. Griesbach has given a still more accurate account of it in his Symbolæ, p. lxi—cxli. of which I have given an abstract in the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 24—29⁶.

Simon believed this to be the most ancient of all the Codices Regii, and Wetstein went so far as to suppose, that it was one of those which were collated by Thomas of

¹ This account is given by Le Long. p. 181. It is true that Wetstein makes no mention of the Revelation, but this book is really contained in the manuscript, though, according to Fleischer's account, the eight last verses are wanting²⁰⁰. The same may be said of the three last verses of the epistle to the Romans. See ch. vi, sect. 10. of this Introduction.

² The figure 2361, in the Journal des Sçavans 1720, must be an erratum, for it appears from Fleischer's account, that the manuscript noted 2361 contains only the writings of Chrysostom.

of Heraclea, in the seventh century, for the New Syriac version. But that this conjecture is wholly without foundation, appears from Ridley's Dissertation on the Syriac versions.¹⁶¹ But however great the antiquity, to which this manuscript may lay claim, yet Mill entertained a very indifferent opinion of the accuracy of its text, and Wetstein contended that it latinized. Now I have frequently found it to coincide with the old Latin versions, in opposition to the Greek text, and also with the Syriac version, of which I have given examples in the *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § xi. p. 187. But I have observed *, on the other hand, an example of coincidence with the Coptic version, Luke xxiv. 17. in an evident correction of the text, which is found in no other manuscript: and Luke xxiii. 42. it has, in conjunction with the Coptic and the Vulgate, *εις την βασιλειαν σου*, instead of *εν τη βασιλεια σου*. To this may be added, that Griesbach has found no manuscript that harmonizes in a greater degree with the Alexandrine edition, and especially with the readings of Origen. Hence it follows, that this manuscript cannot have been altered from the Latin. It appears rather to contain a rhapsody of readings, unless we have recourse to the hypothesis, that it contains a very great number of ancient readings, which we find scattered in different manuscripts, and different versions. Griesbach, who has examined it the most accurately, conjectures that the copyist made use of several manuscripts, and that he sometimes corrected the readings of one, from those of another. See his *Symbolæ*, p. lxx. To enable the reader to judge for himself, I will subjoin a few of its characteristic readings.

Matth. xxii. 16. it has *λεγοντας* for *λεγοντες*, which seems to be an evident grammatical correction: but it is likewise found in the Codex Colbertinus 6043.

Mark ix. 8. it is the only manuscript that has *αγγελων* for *διδωρων*, which is undoubtedly a false, though very ancient Alexandrine reading. I call it Alexandrine,

* Ch. vi. sect. 13.

because

because it is found not only in the Coptic version, but in the new Syriac ¹⁶², which was published at Alexandria, and corrected from Alexandrine manuscripts.

Luke iii. 1. it has a very remarkable reading. The common text is *Φιλιππος δε τα αδελφαι αυτου τετραρχησεντος της Ιτουραιας και Τραχωνιτιδος χωρας, και Λυσανιου της Αβιληνης τετραρχησεντος*, where the last *τετραρχησεντος* appears to me to be spurious, for Lysanias was no longer alive at that time, and the city, which was formerly called after his name, Abila Lysaniæ, and afterwards *οικος Ζηνοδωρου*, belonged to Philip. See Josephi Antiquit. xv. 10. 1. xvii. 11. 4. I would therefore explain the passage, 'While Philip was Tetrarch of Ituræa, Trachonitis, and the Abilene of Lysanias ¹⁶¹.' The suspicious word *τετραρχησεντος*, at the end of the sentence, is omitted in this manuscript alone, and, what is a singular circumstance, we find the two first letters ΤΕ, but not the following ¹⁶⁴, as if the transcriber had begun to write the word, but had desisted, in consequence of having found in another manuscript, that the word was omitted. Luke x. 42. it has a reading which is most probably genuine, though supported by the authority of only a few manuscripts ¹⁶⁵, *ολιγων δε εστι χρεια, η ενος*, which cannot be termed a latinizing reading, as it is found in Origen, in the Syriac, and in the Coptic versions, and the whole passage is omitted in several of the old Latin versions. Luke xi. 2—4. it is one of the few, in which the Lord's Prayer is written without the interpolation from St. Matthew's Gospel ¹⁶⁶. Luke xi. 41. it is the only manuscript that has *οντα* for *ενοντα*, but I have observed it in the Syriac, and some of the old Latin versions ¹⁶⁷. Luke xxiii. 45. it is the only one of those manuscripts, which contain the four Gospels complete (for in the Lectionaria this reading is very frequent) where we find *τε ηλις εκλειπεντος*, a reading which is undoubtedly false, though so ancient as to have been quoted by Origen ¹⁶⁸. Luke xxiii. 42. it has, in conjunction with the Coptic and the Vulgate, *εις την βασιλειαν σε*, which is undoubtedly a correction, but not necessarily from the Latin.

John

John i. 18. it is one of those two manuscripts which alone have *μονογενὴς θεός*, a reading of some importance, and confirmed by the quotations of the most ancient fathers, as well as by the Syriac and the Coptic versions ¹⁶⁹. John iii. 2. it is the only manuscript that has *δειπνᾶ γινόμενα*, 'while the supper was preparing.' My reasons for preferring this reading will be given in my notes to St. John's Gospel: it is a reading, which throws a light on a whole passage, which most commentators have found obscure.

Wetstein observes, that the transcriber has displayed an '*ingenium luxurians*,' that is, he has ventured very bold conjectures. Dr. Less observes, that he could discover no marks of it in this manuscript, but that the copyist appears to have been extremely ignorant. Now I believe that both critics are in the right: for the writer of this manuscript, who has been guilty of numberless orthographical errors, which Less has observed, and Griesbach, p. lxxviii, lxxix. has confirmed by very convincing examples, might have copied from a more ancient manuscript, in which these bold conjectures had been already made.

If the transcriber made use of several manuscripts, from which he selected readings, it follows that either he himself, nor the writer of one of the more ancient manuscripts, was a man of learning. Now Wetstein has supported his charge by not a single example, and Griesbach relates, p. lxxv—lxxviii. that he could discover none. I have observed indeed critical conjectures, which I cannot always approve, but no proofs of a '*luxurians ingenium*.' In my opinion, therefore, it is one of our most valuable manuscripts.

Stephens was the first who collated it, but he printed only a part of his extracts. Beza published, from the written papers of Stephens, forty readings which that critic had left unprinted, among which the following long interpolation deserves attention. Mark xvi. 8. after *εφοβητο γὰρ*, it has *πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Πέτρου συντομῶς ἐξηγγέλλαν, μετὰ δὲ τὰντα, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησὺς*

απο ανατολης και αχρι δυσειως εξαπειλει δι αυτων το ιερον και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα της αιωνις σωτηριας. But Stephens is excusable, because this addition is carefully separated from the text. Wetstein collated it in 1715 more carefully than Stephens, yet he himself says that his collation was only cursory, and according to Griesbach he has produced readings, which are not in the manuscript. Wetstein was at that time only twenty-two years old. Griesbach has collated it more correctly, amended the faults of his predecessor, and added above a thousand readings. Whoever quotes this manuscript therefore in future, must quote not from Wetstein, but from Griesbach, who has given in his *Symbolæ* a very complete and accurate collection of its various readings.

208. Regius 2862, at present 83, Küster's Paris. 3, and noted 9 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the year 1168, by a transcriber whose name was Solomon.

Küster has printed extracts of this manuscript, from which Wetstein concluded that the manuscript was the same as Stephani β . If this be true, there must be an erratum in the edition of Stephens 1 Cor. xv. 44. where the Codex β is quoted for the reading *εστι σωμα ψυχικον*, for our manuscript has not that epistle; and this supposition is the more credible, as the above-mentioned reading is quoted by Wetstein from Stephani Codex α . On the other hand, it is difficult to explain why Wetstein quotes the Codex α , as he had never seen it; and after all, the erratum is perhaps in his edition.

209. Regius 2865, at present 91, Küster's Paris. 1. noted 10 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, of which extracts are found in Küster's edition. Griesbach²⁷⁰ refers it to the thirteenth, or fourteenth century. It came undoubtedly from Greece, for it appears from the subscription, that Dorotheus, natione Græcus, archiepiscopus Metellinensis, who was present at the synod held at Florence in 1439, with a view of uniting the Greek and Latin churches, presented it to the canons of that city²⁷¹.

Küster's

Küster's collation is not accurate, as Griesbach has shewn by several examples, and he is of opinion that it deserves to be collated anew.

210. Another Regius 2865², at present 85, Küster's Paris. 5, noted 12 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in Griesbach 119. It is also a manuscript of the four Gospels. Küster made incomplete, but accurate extracts from it, and added them to Mill's edition. But Wetstein has created great confusion in regard to this manuscript, into which he was led by certain extracts, which de Missy had made from a Codex Victorinus, supposed to be the same with Stephani Codex *12*. Now our Codex Regius 2865, and the Codex Victorinus, are two totally distinct manuscripts, though their readings frequently coincide, which induced Wetstein to suppose them one and the same; he united therefore into one mass, the readings quoted by Stephens from his Codex *12*, those quoted by Küster from his Paris. 5, and the extracts of de Missy, as if they proceeded from one manuscript, which he has noted Codex 12, of which he has related a long history, where Griesbach²⁷³ says there are as many errors as lines: and not contented with this confusion, he has added readings, which are found neither in the above-mentioned manuscripts, nor in any other, with which we are acquainted. Whenever Wetstein therefore quotes his Codex 12, the evidence must be considered as of no value.

From this perplexity we have been delivered by Griesbach, who has accurately collated both the manuscript in question, and the Victorinus (which I shall describe under the title Codex Stephani *12*) has described them in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. cxliv—clii. and given extracts from them in his New Testament, on which we may depend. Wetstein contends, that Colinæus used this manuscript for his edition: now it certainly coincides
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² In the Parisian library are two manuscripts with the same number, but they are distinguished by the addition of the smaller numbers 1 and 2. Le Long quotes the first 2865¹, the second 2865².²⁷⁴

in many readings with the Victorinus, and both of them very frequently with the edition of Colinaeus, but which of the two were used by that editor, or whether he used both, it is difficult at present to determine. They are noted in Griesbach 119 and 120. The former, which is the manuscript in question, he refers to the twelfth century.

211. Regius 2866, at present 71, according to Fleischer, but 72 according to Griesbach ²⁷⁴, Stephani Codex ϵ , noted 7 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels.

212. Regius 2867, at present 84, Stephani Codex γ , noted 4 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum. Fleischer says, 'on the outside of the volume is a crowned F. In many places incisions have been made in the leaves. In the Gospel of St. John, the first chapter is defective as far as the 13th verse, *οὐκ ἐκ θεληματος σαρκος*.'

213. Regius 2868, at present 64, Küster's Paris. 8, noted 15 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a very neat copy of the Gospels, which Simon supposes was written for the use of a Greek church. See his *Hist. du Texte du N.T.* ch. xiii. Extracts from it were given by Küster.

214. Regius 2869, at present 237, Stephani Codex ι , noted 12 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 10, in the fourth 2, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation ²⁷⁵. This account is given by Wetstein, on whom we may depend, as he has used the manuscript himself, and collated it more accurately than Stephens. Fleischer also says expressly, 'it contains all the catholic, and all the epistles of St. Paul, in the usual order; last of all the Revelation of St. John ²⁷⁶.' Mill had no further knowledge of it, than what he could derive from the few extracts of Stephens, whence he conjectures, § 1175. that it was very defective, because he found it seldom quoted. It seems that Stephens used it principally in the Revelation, as he had very few manuscripts of that book.

215. Regius

215. Regius 2870⁷, at present 102, Stephani Codex δ , noted 9 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 7, is a manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles; to which the charge of latinizing has been laid. Mill supposed that it was likewise defective, for which he had no other reason, than because Stephens in many places had given no quotations from it. But Fleischer gives the following account: 'I know not why this manuscript has been supposed to be mutilated, for I have found in it no chasms, or vacant places'⁷⁷. It is neatly, and not too closely written. The epistle to the Hebrews is placed between the second to the Thessalonians, and the first to Timothy.

216. Regius 2871, at present 106, Stephani Codex δ , noted 5 in the first, second, and third parts of Wetstein's N. T., contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation. According to Fleischer's account, the epistle to the Hebrews is placed between the second to the Thessalonians, and the first to Timothy, after which follow the Gospels⁷⁸.

217. Regius 2872, at present 103, noted 11 in the third part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the Acts, and the catholic epistles, collated by Wetstein, Fleischer says, that it has likewise all the epistles of St. Paul⁷⁹, but that in the Acts of the Apostles, there is a chasm in the second chapter from ϵ η λ ι \omicron ς v. 20, to σ τ ι κ α τ ϵ λ ϵ ι ϕ ς η , v. 31.

218. Regius 3424, at present 119⁸, Küster's Paris. 4, noted 11 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, supposed to have been written in the eleventh century. Extracts were given from it by Küster.

219. Regius 3424, at present 70, Küster's Paris. 7, noted 14 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a very neat copy of the Gospels⁸¹, supposed by Wetstein to have

⁷⁷ The fig. 2878 in the Journal des Sçavans, Juin 1720, p. 650, is an erratum.

⁷⁸ According to Fleischer: but Griesbach expresses himself in a dubious manner, 'nunc 119, nisi forte nunc sit 121 Matthæum, et Marcum, et 122 Lucam cum Johanne sistens'⁸⁰.

have been written in the eleventh century. Others have referred it to the tenth, and even to the ninth century.

220. Regius 3425, at present 112, Stephani 4, noted 6 in the first, second, and third parts of Wetstein's N. T., contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation. The two last chapters of the epistle to Titus, and the first half of that to Philemon, as far as *εἰς σπλάγχνα προσλαβὲς*, ver. 12. are wanting.

221. Reuchlini, or Capnioneus, noted 1 in the fourth part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of importance in biblical criticism, contains the book of Revelation, but it is not known where it is preserved at present. At least Bengel and Wetstein have sought for it in vain, both in Durlach and in other places, where remains of Reuchlin's library might be supposed to exist. The best description of this manuscript, as far as could be gathered from Reuchlin's accounts, is in Bengel's *Fundamenta criseos apocalyptica*, sect. 17^a.

Erasmus relates in his defence *adversus Stunicam*, that he used only one single manuscript of the Revelation for his edition of the New Testament. He has highly extolled its antiquity, and has even described it as *tantæ vetustatis, ut apostolorum ætate scriptum videri possit*, notwithstanding it contained an exposition of the Revelation written in the fifth, and, according to others, so late as the ninth century, by Andrew of Cæsarea. As Erasmus, in the three first editions of his New Testament, had no other Greek text of the Revelation, (for he used not the Complutensian Bible before the fourth) we may discover from his three first editions in a great measure the readings of the Codex Reuchlinianus; and with this view Bengel has extracted their readings in the book of Revelation. But it must be observed at the same time, that no absolute conclusion can be drawn from these three editions to the Codex Reuchlinianus, which could have only one reading in each text, whereas in the editions of Erasmus we find variety even in the Revelation; a proof that Erasmus applied either his

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* P. 495. of the New Edition of the Apparatus Criticus.

own conjectures, or consulted other sources in particular readings. Besides, Erasmus himself acknowledges that Reuchlin's manuscript had several chasms, and that the last leaf in particular was wanting. In these cases he made a virtue of necessity, and translated the Latin into Greek.

Another manuscript, which likewise derives its name from Reuchlin, I have described above, N° 38, under the title Basil. B. VI. 27.

222. Rhodiensis, noted 50 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 52, is a copy of the epistles from the island of Rhodes; it is said to have been principally used in the edition of the Complutensian Bible, and is often quoted by Stunica as a very ancient and venerable manuscript, but by Erasmus it was supposed to latinize. We have no complete extracts from it, but merely what Stunica occasionally quotes; who mentions that this is the manuscript which the Complutensian Bible chiefly follows. Some critics therefore have rashly concluded, from the readings of the *Biblia Complutensia* to those of the *Codex Rhodiensis*, especially in the controversy relative to 1 John v. 7. an inference which is inadmissible. Unfortunately this manuscript is no where to be discovered; and though it has been supposed to be still in the library of Alcala, yet it would be in vain to search there, as Professor Moldenbawer relates that the manuscripts used for the Complutensian Bible are no longer in existence. More will be said on this subject, in the description of that edition.

223. Roe 1, noted 49 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript brought from Turkey by Sir Thomas Roe, in 1628, and presented to the Bodleian library in Oxford. Extracts were made from it by Mill.

224. Roe 2, brought at the same time by Sir Thomas Roe, and preserved in the Bodleian library, noted 47 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the epistles of St. Paul. It agrees with the Syriac and the Coptic ²²⁵ in the omission of *epst*, Heb. xii. 18. an omission observed likewise in the Codices Alex. and Ephremi.

See

See N° 65. I have found other examples, in which it agrees with only a few, but important manuscripts in the support of an unusual reading.

225. Rutgersii, noted 99 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, quoted by Heinsius, in his *Exercitationes Sacræ* ²²³, from which Wetstein has borrowed his extracts.

226. Sangermanensis, in Mill Ger. an abbreviation for Germanensis, by others called Corbeiensis, noted E in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, from which Mill procured extracts ²²⁴. A fac simile of its characters may be seen in Blanchini *Evangeliarum quadruplex*, P. I. in the last of the plates annexed to p. 533. Wetstein asserts, with some probability, that it is a copy of the Claromontanus, the text and corrections of which are here transcribed together, in such a manner as frequently to produce mere nonsense. But he has properly quoted the readings of this manuscript, though we must take care not to consider the Claromontanus and Sangermanensis as distinct evidence. The accurate description which Dr. Less has given of this manuscript, may be seen in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. IX. p. 148—151. Though Wetstein's conjectures appear to him extremely probable, yet he has made the following not unimportant objection. Rom. xii. 11. the Claromontanus has $\text{KAIP}\Omega$, but the Sangermanensis $\text{K}\Omega$, which is an abbreviation for $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and in the latter dno; whence he concludes that the latter is not a copy of the former alone. His whole description is worthy of attention ²²⁵. It is evident also, from Sabatier's Bible, that the Latin texts of the two manuscripts are often different.

227. Scaligeri, noted in the first part of Wetstein's N. T. *Evangelistarium* 6, in the second and third lectionarium 1, is preserved in the University library in Leyden, and contains lessons from the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Psalms, in Greek and Arabic, but it is imperfect. Wetstein, who collated it in 1731, has observed that its readings are allied to those of the Coptic version ²²⁶.

228. Seide-

228. Seidelianus, noted 48 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 42, and in the fourth 13, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation. Westermann, who collated it, and communicated the extracts to Küster, estimated its antiquity, though I know not on what grounds, at 700 years. Wetstein observes, that this collation is inaccurate, and that the Revelation is the only book on which he appears to have bestowed much diligence. Bengel procured from Westermann and Schmidlin a new and considerable collection of readings of this manuscript, which he inserted in his edition of the New Testament^b; but Wetstein has made little use of these additions, as appears from 2 Pet. ii. 2. This manuscript, with several others, was brought from the East by Andrew Erasmus Seidel. Two of them will be described in the sequel under the title *Codices Wolfiani*^c.

229. The five following *Codices Seldeni* are preserved in the Bodleian library in Oxford, and were collated by Mill^{ad}.

Seldeni 1, noted 53 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a very neatly written manuscript of the four Gospels, and was supposed by Mill to be 400 years old.

230. *Seldeni 2*, noted 54 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in 1338. It is the only MS. which has *αηης* for *δαριουδης*, Mark v. 18. a reading found in the margin of the New Syriac version, and taken from Alexandrine manuscripts.

231. *Seldeni 3*, noted 55 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a more modern, but very neatly written manuscript of the four Gospels.

232. *Seldeni 4*, an ancient, but mutilated *Evangelistarium*, noted in Wetstein's N. T. *Evangelistarium* 21.

233. *Sel-*

^b See the last edition of his *Apparatus Criticus*. P. IV. n. ix. § 98. p. 739. where, speaking in defence of his N. T. he says, *codicis Seideliani lectiones bene multas, apud Küsterum haud obvias manu rel. Westermanni, et Jo. Christophori Schmidlini V. D. M. nunc apud Boeblingenses Superintendentia specialis, qui Francofurti ad Viadrum commoratus est, in acceptis refero.*

^c There is one, which contains the Gospel of St. John, but it has never been collated. See Bengel's *Apparatus Criticus*, p. 636.

233. Seldeni 5, likewise an ancient, but defective manuscript, noted in Weststein's N. T. Evangelistarium 22.

234, 235, 236, 237. Stephani Codices, from β to ι . This name is given to the manuscripts, which were used in Robert Stephens's edition of the Greek Testament: he did not collate them himself, but his son Henry Stephens, who was at that time too young, too impatient, and too little experienced in criticism, for an undertaking of that nature. It appears, from the preface of Robert Stephens, that they were used in order to rectify the text of the two first editions, printed in 1546 and 1549; but the readings themselves were first printed in the inner margin of the beautiful edition published in 1550, though it is evident, from the inspection of the margin, that it cannot contain all the readings of so many collated manuscripts. It is certain, that in those Codices Stephani which have been collated anew, many readings have been discovered that are not in the margin of Stephens's Greek Testament; but this is not wholly to be ascribed to the carelessness of Henry Stephens, because all his extracts were not printed, Beza having found among his papers a great many readings that are not in the margin of Stephens's edition. Another imperfection is the numerous errata, especially in the letters which denote the manuscripts, many of which were occasioned by the hurry of setting the press, the compositor having frequently taken from the box of types, which either preceded or followed that, from which he ought to have taken, putting for instance instead of δ either γ or ι . In consequence of this inaccuracy, manuscripts are often quoted for books which are not contained in them, and Mill has been frequently led into error, when he has relied on the readings of Stephens.

There is an important error of the press, relative to 1 John v. 7. which has given rise to a controversy, that is not confined to that text, but has influence on our knowledge of the Codices Stephani in general. Through undpardonable carelessness, the semicircle is there falsely set, so that it has the appearance as if the seven
manuscripts

manuscripts quoted by Stephens, δ, ε, ζ, θ, ι, ια, ιγ, which were all the manuscripts he had of the first epistle of St. John, omitted merely the words *εν τῷ πνεύμῳ*, yet the whole passage from *εν τῷ πνεύμῳ* to *εν τῇ γῇ* is wanting in them all. Le Long having attested in a letter to Martin, printed in the *Journal des Sçavans* Juin 1720, that in these manuscripts, which are still preserved in the royal library in Paris, the whole of the following passage, *εν τῷ πνεύμῳ, ο πατήρ, ο λόγος, και το πνευμα αγιον, και ετοι οι τρεις εν εσι.* *Και τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυραντες εν τῇ γῇ*, is wanting, Martin, in the second part of his *Verité du texte*, 1 Jean v. 7. démontrée par des preuves qui sont au dessus de toute exception, ch. 4, 5, 6. denied that these were the manuscripts, which had been used by Stephens, though generally supposed so. He has likewise taken great pains to convince his readers that Stephens had more than seven manuscripts of the first epistle of St. John; but if we admit what Martin says to be true, it follows that the manuscripts of Stephens were very different from the description which has been given of them by Mill, Le Long, and Wetstein¹⁸⁸.

This controversy renders it necessary to quote from Stephens's preface to the edition of 1550, the account which he himself has given of them, though it is very imperfect. *Superioribus diebus Novum Testamentum cum vetustissimis sexdecim scriptis* exemplaribus*

* From the expression *scriptis exemplaribus*, Martin attempted to prove that Stephens had sixteen manuscripts beside the Complutensian Bible, not merely fifteen, as is generally supposed. Now it cannot be denied that, if we abide by this expression alone, the inference deduced by Martin is very natural; but as Stephens explains himself soon after more clearly, it is certain that his *Codex α* signifies the Complutensian Bible, and that he had only sixteen copies, inclusive of that Bible; an inaccurate expression therefore cannot be used as an argument in favour of an assertion which contradicts itself. The Greek words of Stephens are *παλαιωτατοις ινκαιδικα αντιγραφοις*, which he has too literally expressed in Latin by *scriptis exemplaribus*; but this is not the only instance, where he has betrayed inaccuracy and precipitation, of which we find evident marks in much more important subjects, both in the preface, and among the various readings.

exemplaribus quanta maxima potuimus cura et diligentia collatum minore forma excudimus. Idem nunc iterum et tertio cum iisdem collatum majoribus etiam Regiis typis excusum tibi offerimus. . . . in margine interiori varias codicum lectiones addidimus, quarum unicuique numeri Græci nota subjuncta est, quæ nomen ^d exemplaris unde sumta est indicet, aut exemplarium nomina, cum plures sunt numeri. His namque placuit, primo, secundo, ad sextum decimum usque, nomina imponere: ut primo ^e Complutensem editionem intelligas, quæ olim ad antiquissima exemplaria fuit excusa, cui certe cum nostris mirus erat in plurimis consensus ^f. Secundo exemplar vetustissimum in Italia ab amicis collatum. Tertio, quarto, quinto, sexto, septimo, octavo, decimo, et quinto decimo, ea quæ ex bibliotheca Regis ^g habuimus. Cætera sunt ea, quæ undique corrogare licuit.

Now

^d As Martin grounded a former argument upon an inaccurate expression of Stephens, it is necessary to observe, in the present instance, that nomen cannot be taken in that sense, which would be ascribed to it by a careful writer. For it is natural to suppose, from this passage, that Stephens had given to each manuscript a particular name; but this is far from being true, since their whole titles consist merely in the Greek numbers by which he noted them, and his Latin is here again a too literal translation of what he had expressed better in Greek, *τῶν βιβλίων ὀνόματα σημαίνει*.

^e The words primo, secundo, &c. are again the effect of hurry and carelessness, as he ought to have written primum, secundum, or α, β. His meaning is that α denotes the Complutensian Bible, β the manuscript collated in Italy, &c. which he has more clearly expressed in Greek. Το δὲ α βιβλίον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Σπανίᾳ τυπωθεὶς κατὰ τὴν ἀντιγραφὰν τῆς ἀρχαιστάτης καὶ ἀκριβεστάτης, ὅπως τοὶ ἡμετέριοι κατὰ πολλὰ συμφωνοῦν εὐρεθῶσι. Το δὲ β' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀντιβληθεὶς φίλων. Το δὲ γ', δ', ε', ζ', η', θ', ι', ιι', τὰ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κρατίτου ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Ερρίκου μεγαλοπρεπεστάτης βιβλιοθήκης λαβθέντα ἀντιγραφεὶς ἐστὶ.

^f The reader will here observe that more is expressed in the Latin than in the Greek, which is to be attributed to the same cause, as the impropriety of the other translations.

^g The name Henrici is expressed in the Greek; but its omission in the Latin has furnished Martin with an opportunity of objecting

Now this is a very inaccurate and imperfect description; for he has omitted to mention where nearly the half of his manuscripts were preserved, and with regard to the *Codices Regii*, he has given no mark of distinction, by which a subsequent critic could again discover or ascertain them in the royal library, with any precision. I will not mention the inexcusable fault, that no notice was taken of the antiquity of any one of these manuscripts, since the editor has not even related the books, which they contain. It seems as if the learned Robert Stephens degenerated in this instance to a mere printer, whom pecuniary motives induced to have his edition ready as soon as possible, and who directing his chief attention to the beauty of the types, and the neatness of the impression, neglected the accuracy of a critic, not expecting so severe an examination before the tribunal of the modern literati. Through hurry the manuscripts were badly described, and the description still worse translated into Latin; through hurry only a part of the readings were printed in the margin, and the most important omitted; and owing to the same haste, the errata in the numbers were corrected with so much carelessness, as would have exposed another printer to the charge only of neglect, but Robert Stephens to that of want of fidelity, as he particularly boasts of the correctness of his impressions.

It appears from the preceding accounts,

a) That Stephens collated only sixteen *Codices*, or at least that he has given no extracts from more than sixteen.

b) His *Codex α* is the *Biblia Complutensia*.

c) Therefore properly speaking, he had only fifteen written copies, and Martin was mistaken in augmenting their number to sixteen. For since the *Complutensian Bible* is noted *Codex α*, he must have reckoned as far as seventeen, if he had sixteen copies, besides that Bible; but he has neither mentioned in his preface, nor any where quoted among the various readings a *Codex ζ*,
or

to Le Long, that he quoted manuscripts given by Henry II. whereas those of Stephens must have been given by Francis I.

or 17. Martin appeals ^h to Beza, who in the preface to his edition of the New Testament, printed in 1582, 1589, and 1598, speaks of seventeen Codices Stephani, whence he argues that Stephens must have had sixteen written copies, beside the Complutensian Bible. But Beza, who had in the two preceding editions spoken of twenty-five Codices Stephani, and gives a very careless and false account of them ⁱ, can hardly be admitted as an authentic interpreter of the words of Stephens.

d) The above-mentioned Codices Stephani were used for the text of the two first editions, printed in 1546 and 1549.

e) Eight of these manuscripts, namely 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15. were in the royal library in Paris.

Now these eight manuscripts have been sought there, and discovered by Le Long. His manner of proceeding he has described in a letter to Martin, which is printed in the *Journal des Sçavans*, Juin 1720, p. 463. He selected, from the readings of each manuscript quoted by Stephens, four, which were peculiar to each respective manuscript: he then sought these characteristic readings among the manuscripts, which had been in the library from the time of Henry II. and consequently might have been used by Robert Stephens. These were easily distinguished by the H with a crown over it; they were eleven in number, eight of which were discovered to be the Codices Stephani, as the characteristic readings above-mentioned were found in them, and in no other manuscript in the whole library. This was an easy and sure method, as it was necessary to examine only eleven manuscripts; but if we had to search among all the known manuscripts, it would be difficult to ascertain them, even if the data amounted to an hundred lectiones singulares ²⁸⁹.

Though Le Long expressed himself with the utmost clearness and precision, yet he was misunderstood by Martin, whose adversaries were guilty of no injustice, in
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^h La Verité du Texte, 1 Jean v. 7. démontrée, Tom. II. ch. iv. p. 147.

ⁱ See Wetstein's Prolegomena to the first volume of his Greek Testament, p. 148.

asserting that he had a very weak understanding. For he fancied in his *Verité du texte*, 1 Jean v. 7. démontrée, p. 182—190. that the Codices Stephani were marked in the royal library with the letters γ , δ , ϵ , &c. and by these means were discovered by Le Long: he conjectured also that these marks were made by an impostor. It never occurred to him, that, if the eight manuscripts meant by Le Long were not those which were used by Stephens, the ancient Codices Stephani must have been stolen or removed from the royal library, because no other manuscripts of Henry II. are now discoverable, which could possibly have been used by Stephens²⁹⁹.

But Martin made other objections to Le Long's discovery. He says that Stephens's manuscripts were not from the library of Henry II. but Francis I. because they were used for the first edition, which was published in 1546, during the life of Francis. Now this objection is of no weight, if, during the reign of Henry, the manuscripts of the royal library were marked with a crowned H, whether they were purchased by him, or by Francis I. On this head Le Long should have expressed himself more clearly, as it relates to a point of history that is not easy to be explained, except by one who is resident in Paris. I requested therefore Fleischer, during his stay in that city to examine the subject more minutely, who, in a letter dated December 16, 1764, wrote as follows: 'I have observed that the Codex 2867, or Stephani Codex γ , is marked not with a crowned H, but with a crowned F. It is at the same time to be remarked, that a crowned H on a manuscript is no proof that it was not in the royal library in the time of Francis I. For the manuscripts, as well as the printed books, are bound anew, as soon as the old binding is worn out, and on the new binding is marked the name of the king, who reigned at that time. And at this very day a crowned L is very frequently impressed on ancient books, whenever they are new bound.'

His second objection, p. 182. that Le Long found in

the royal library the fifteen manuscripts of Stephens marked with the letters, β , γ , δ , ϵ , &c. though only eight had been borrowed from it, is to be ascribed to the above-mentioned mistake, Martin having imagined, that these Greek characters were on the manuscripts themselves. But whoever reads with impartiality, the *Journal des Sçavans*, p. 650, will perceive that Le Long speaks only of eight manuscripts, which he discovered in the royal library, and that the letters β , γ , &c. as far as ϵ , are simply those adopted by Stephens, and that they have no reference to the royal library²⁹¹.

I pass over the objection, that in the margin of Stephens's Greek Testament it frequently happens, that a manuscript is quoted in favour of a reading, which is not found in the manuscript produced by Le Long as the very same. For these quotations are to be ascribed to the error of the press, of which there is a remarkable instance 1 John v. 7, where a mark of omission, falsely set, furnished Martin with an opportunity of objecting to Le Long, that the manuscripts which he had discovered could not be the same as those of Stephens, because they omit more, than is marked in Stephens's text. But Le Long himself, through an inaccuracy in his description, supplied Martin with a pretext of making an important objection, though the latter, by an additional mistake, has ruined two-thirds of his own argument. He says, that according to Le Long's account, none of the eight manuscripts in the royal library, contain the Revelation, whereas Stephens has quoted in this book the Codices 12, 13, and 14. Now the first and last of these three manuscripts have no relation to the present inquiry, for Le Long never pretended that they were in the royal library. But his imperfect description of the second, which, according to his account, contains sept épîtres de St. Paul, qui commencent par la première aux Corinthiens, leads naturally to the supposition, that the Codex 14 has not the Revelation, whereas Stephens very frequently quotes it in that book. It appears, however,

from the more accurate examination of Wetstein; that the Revelation is really contained in the manuscript in question. See N° 214, where I have given a description of it.

The most extraordinary objection of Martin, and that which most favours of partiality, is the following: "Among the manuscripts produced by Le Long as the very same which Stephens had used, there is not one that has the text 1 John v. 7. But as this text is found in all Stephens's editions; and in the preface to the first which was printed in 1546, he testifies himself, that he set not a single letter that was not warranted by the most and best manuscripts^k, we must conclude, either that these were not the manuscripts, which were used by Stephens, or that Stephens acted not like an honest man^l." Now the latter will not appear extraordinary to any one who knows, that he was burnt in effigy at Paris for a breach of honesty, though Martin has styled him, *un homme d'une reputation, d'honneur, et de probité*. But Stephens, if he had never been guilty of theft, might, in a hastily-written preface, have asserted a falshood, because, like a hundred other literati, he recollected not, at the time, that he did transgress the bounds of truth. This at least is certain, that in places, where he had less temptation to interpolate, than in the celebrated passage above-mentioned, he has inserted words in the text, which are warranted by no manuscript. We may even produce him as evidence against himself; Rev. vii. 5, 6, 7, 8. both in the first and third editions of his Greek Testament, (I make no mention of the second, because I have it not in my possession)

^k *Ex iis ita hunc nostrum (codicem) recensuimus, ut nullam omnino literam secus esse pateremur, quamplures iique meliores libri tanquam testes comprobarent.*

^l Ou R. Estienne a eu des manuscrits, dans lesquels il a trouvé le texte de St. Jean, qu'il a mis dans quatre éditions consecutives, ou il n'en a eu point; s'il n'en a point eu, Estienne a été un fourbe, un homme digne du dernier mepris, un infâme, p. 156.

sion) he has inserted in all these verses, *εσφραγισμῖνοι* after *ιβ' χιλιάδες*, though in the margin of the edition of 1550 he himself testifies, that the word *εσφραγισμῖνοι* was contained in none of his manuscripts, from *φύλης γενεῆς*, v. 5. to the end. He expresses himself as follows, *ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς γέγραπται τὸ 'Εσφραγισμῖνοι' ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀντιγραφοῖς*. Nor is it found in the Complutensian Bible, his Codex *a*, and yet he presumed to obtrude it on the text. A man who acts in this manner, would surely make no scruple to interpolate 1 John v. 7. which is actually in the Complutensian Bible, though he found it in none of his manuscripts: especially as the omission of this passage had brought so much persecution upon Erasmus; and Stephens, as being a bookseller, of course avoided whatever might prevent the sale of his publication. The conclusion therefore is wholly ungrounded, that the manuscripts produced by Le Long, were not the same as those which had been used by Stephens, because they contain not 1 John v. 7. and the argument of Martin is not far removed from a *petitio principii*.

As a knowledge of the Codices Stephani is of real importance, the edition of his Greek Testament of 1550, is in the hands of few, and Martin's objections have never been examined with sufficient coolness, I thought it a duty, which I owed the reader, to represent the real state of this controversy. Men of real learning have been guilty of mistakes in regard to these manuscripts, and those, who are not in possession of Stephens's editions, might otherwise be led into error by Martin's arguments, to which it is unbecoming a critic to reply with mere ridicule.

We may assert therefore, that the eight manuscripts quoted by Stephens, as borrowed from the royal library in Paris, are still preserved there; and that they are the same as the following, which I have above described under the Codices Regii, namely:

Codex

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| Codex γ | - | - | - | - | - | - | N° 212 |
| δ | - | - | - | - | - | - | 216 |
| ϵ | - | - | - | - | - | - | 220 |
| ζ | - | - | - | - | - | - | 211 |
| η | - | - | - | - | - | - | 201 |
| θ | - | - | - | - | - | - | 207 |
| ι | - | - | - | - | - | - | 215 |
| κ | - | - | - | - | - | - | 214 |

Of the remaining codices Stephani, we have the good fortune to have discovered the following :

α , according to Stephens's own account, denotes not a written codex, but the Complutensian Bible.

β is probably the Codex Cantabrigiensis, described above, N° 59.

γ , according to Wetstein, is the Coislinianus 200, described N° 77.

δ , according to Wetstein, is the Codex Regius 2862, described N° 208.

ϵ , according to Wetstein, is the Codex Regius 2865, described N° 210, but, according to Griesbach, it is the Codex 774, in the Library of Saint Victor, which I shall describe N° 236. I am of the same opinion with Griesbach.

With respect to the two last, we have no reason to be perplexed at the question which Martin proposed to Le Long ; " How is it possible that manuscripts could be found in the royal library which Stephens did not enumerate among the eight ? " For, though they are at present in the royal library, they might at that time have been in the hands of private persons : the Codex 2862, was formerly the property of Petrus Stella, of whom Stephens probably borrowed it ; and the Codex 2865, was deposited in the royal library so late as the present century, having been before in the possession of Tellier.

I have affixed no number to the preceding manuscripts, because they have been already enumerated and described. But I shall number the four following, because three of them remain undiscovered, and therefore

undescribed, and the fourth, which is the Codex δ , was not known till discovered by Griesbach.

234. Stephani α , noted 10, in the second part of Wetstein's N. T. in the third 8, contained, undoubtedly, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, for in these books it is quoted by Stephens nearly 400 times, as we are assured by Mill. Whether it contained more books of the New Testament, I am unable to determine. Mill supposed, that it had likewise a fragment of St. Matthew's Gospel, and a leaf of St. John's Gospel, because Stephens has quoted it, Matth. x. 8. 10. xii. 32. John ii. 17. but in no other passage of the four Gospels. Wetstein, on the contrary, denies that it contained any such fragments, and the question can be determined with no certainty, till the manuscript itself be discovered, for these four quotations are very possibly errata, and different manuscripts may be meant where we find α in the margin of his Greek Testament^a. On the other hand, it is possible that the Codex α , contained the four Gospels complete, and that the fewness of the extracts is to be ascribed either to the negligence of the collation, or the neglect to print the whole of the extracts which the younger Stephens had made, of which we find an instance in the manuscript described N° 207.

Stephens has once quoted this manuscript in the Revelation, for the reading $\piροσχυρησαν$ τῷ θηρῷ, in the dative, ch. xiii. 4. but I would rather subscribe to Mill's opinion, and believe this to be an error of the press, than conclude with Martin, that the manuscript contained the Revelation, and therefore the whole of the New Testament, which is found complete in very few manuscripts. Estius and Mill were of opinion, that this manuscript latinized, and Wetstein supposed it to be

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^a This is very probably the case John ii. 17. where Stephens quotes the following manuscripts, γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , η , α , β , ν , for $\alpha\alpha\phi\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$; but as this reading is in the Complutensian Bible, he ought to have quoted Codex α , and it is highly probable that α is an error either of the writer or the printer, for α . The three other readings of this passage are likewise found in the Complutensian Bible, for which Stephens has quoted α , as well as α .

one of those which Colinaeus used for his edition of the Greek Testament.

As Wetstein has neither collated, nor even seen this manuscript, it is extraordinary that he should quote it, 1 Cor. xv. 44. where Stephens has no reference to this, but quotes his Codex β . Is this an error of the press, arising from Wetstein's inattention, in addition to what proceeded from the neglect of Stephens? If this be true, how inaccurate are two critics, who so much boasted of correctness, and how great is the necessity of new editions.

235. Stephani γ , noted 11 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 9, contains the Acts and the Epistles, in which Le Long, in the above-quoted passage of the Journal de Scavans, supposes, that the third of St. John and that of St. Jude are wanting. But as he neither did, nor could find this manuscript in the royal library, since Stephens quotes it as not being a Codex Regius, the conjecture is founded merely on the circumstance, that Stephens has never quoted his Codex γ in those two epistles. Mill has remarked, that in the Acts it harmonizes seldom, but in the epistles frequently, with the Vulgate.

236. Stephani δ , in the library of St. Victor Codex 774, noted 12 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., though he is very confused in regard to this manuscript, and in Griesbach Codex 120. The last-mentioned critic, who has described it in his Symbolæ, p. cl—clii. and refers it to the thirteenth century, is the first who has given a clear account of it. It contained originally the four Gospels, but the leaves, on which that of St. Mark was written, are lost, and there remains only the picture of the Evangelist, immediately after which follows the Gospel of St. Luke, without a picture of that Evangelist. The first leaf of St. John's Gospel is also wanting. These are evident tokens of its being Stephani Codex δ , not to mention the similarity of the readings, for Stephens has never quoted his δ in the Gospel of St. Mark. Mill conjectures that it contained likewise a

leaf of the Acts, and also of 2 Pet. 1. because Stephens, Acts x. 6. quotes γ , γ , which is perhaps an erratum, for γ , δ , and 2 Pet. i. 4. again quotes δ . In the first, Mill has undoubtedly ventured a false conjecture, and the second must be an error of the press, because Griesbach could discover no such fragment in this manuscript, though he found in it some leaves of an Evangelium, p. 73—80, and 89—109. Wetstein found in De Missy's library, extracts from this manuscript, under the title Victorianus, which he very unfortunately united into one mass, not only with Küster's extracts from his Parisinus 5, described above N° 210, supposing them to be one and the same, but also with extracts from another manuscript, so that the readings quoted in Wetstein's edition, from the Codex 12, are of no value. Griesbach has given very accurate extracts from it, under the title Codex 120. It harmonizes with the Regius 2244, described above N° 204, with the Regius 2865, described N° 210, and with the edition of Colinaeus.

237. Stephani ϵ , noted 3 in the fourth part of Wetstein's N. T. All that we can affirm with certainty of this manuscript is, that it contained the book of Revelation, in which Stephens very frequently quotes it as far as the middle of the book, and a chapter or two further: but toward the end, these frequent references cease, for after ch. xvii. 8. where he has quoted $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \omega\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon\iota\nu$, as far as ch. xx. 3, it is not once mentioned, and from this verse, where $\epsilon\delta\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ is quoted for $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$, no notice is taken of it to the end of the book. These omissions may be ascribed either to chasms in the manuscript, or to the neglect of the editor. Le Long has very falsely described this manuscript, having attributed to it les Evangiles de St. Luc, et de St. Jean; but he makes no mention of the Revelation, which gave his adversary Martin, for whom he attempted to solve difficulties, an opportunity of raising new objections.

Whether this manuscript, which is quoted Luke xxii. 30, 67. 2 Cor. xii. 11, 1 Tim. iii. 3. contained the whole of the New Testament, and whether the infrequency of
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the quotations is to be ascribed to the neglect of Stephens; whether it contained only single leaves of St. Luke's Gospel, and the Epistles; or lastly, whether these three quotations are mere errata, can never be determined till we have discovered the manuscript itself.

The long and tedious description, that has here been given of the Codices Stephani, which to many readers will appear superfluous, though others will consider it as indispensably necessary, might have been avoided, if Stephens himself had taken the pains, to give an accurate description of his manuscripts. Instead of doubt, we should then have certainty, and the numerous controversies would have been avoided, relative to the readings of these manuscripts; which, in reference to the single text 1 John v. 7. have filled as many sheets, as compose his large and splendid edition of the Greek Testament. These are inconveniencies to which posterity is unavoidably exposed, when a critic, through hurry or neglect, leaves his labours incomplete.

238—242. Codices Thomæ Heracleensis. I have mentioned above, ch. vii. sect. 11. that Thomas of Heraclea, in the beginning of the sixth century²⁹¹, published a new and corrected edition of the second Syriac version, which is commonly called the Philoxenian. For that purpose he made use of several Greek manuscripts, preserved at that time in the monastery of St. Antony, at Alexandria, and added their readings to the Syriac text. A complete description of them may be seen in Ridley's *Dissertatio de Syriacarum. N. T. versionum indole atque usu*, sect. 11. and 13. He has added a copper-plate representing the Syriac text with the Greek readings.

It appears from this dissertation, that Thomas, according to his own subscription²⁹², collated for the Gospels two, or as it stands in other copies of this edition, three manuscripts. In the Acts of the Apostles and the catholic epistles, he had only one manuscript: in the epistles of St. Paul, at least two, as appears from the marginal note to Phil. iii. 18. but whether the number

was confined to two only, Ridley is unable to determine, because the latter part of the epistle to the Hebrews, and with it the subscription of the editor, is wanting. They amount, therefore, on the whole, at least to five²⁹¹. This same edition was again collated by Barsalibæus, in the twelfth century, with four manuscripts²⁹², but they belong not to the present chapter, because they were probably Syriac.

As the four Gospels of this version have appeared in print, for which we are indebted to Professor White, I am able to describe them more particularly, which I ought not to neglect, as it may spare my readers some trouble in the use of this publication. Most of the Greek words, which are written in the margin, are not various readings, but express only in Greek characters the word translated or adopted in the Syriac, whether a proper name or an appellative, which appeared of importance to the translator or the editor, who was extremely partial to the Greek. These Greek words are sometimes in Ridley's manuscript very unorthographically written, the most frequent errors being such as arise from the Itacism; in other manuscripts are found still greater errors, the copyists, though acquainted with Syriac, being ignorant of Greek*. The few following examples may serve as a specimen of these Greek notes, John i. 42. to *ἰωάννης* in the margin *τον μισιαν*, v. 43. to *ἰωάν, κηφας*. ii. 6. to *ἰωάν, υδριαί*, and to *ἰδω ανα μετρητας*. v. 8. *αρχιτρικλινῃ*. 17. *εμπορευ*. iii. 1. *νικοδημος* and *αρχον*²⁹⁶.

The various readings, on the contrary, are generally expressed in Syriac, but they have not always reference to the collated Greek manuscripts, but sometimes denote²⁹⁷,

1. The reading of the old Syriac version, though at the same time it might be the intention of the editor to signify, that it was also the reading of one of the Greek Alexandrine

* See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. p. 164—168, and Vol. XVII. p. 126—133²⁹⁸.

Alexandrine manuscripts. For instance John i. 18. ܐܠܠܗܐ, unigenitus deus, a reading which might have stood in the MSS. used by Thomas, though I will not positively affirm it ²⁹⁸. Ch. iii. 5. after ܐܡܢ ܗܘܐ, respondit Jesus, is added the marginal reading ܐܡܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ, et dixit ei ²⁹⁹. iv. 47. is the marginal reading ܐܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ proximus erat, which is in the text of the Peshito, the reading of the text of the Philoxenian being ܐܡܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ futurus erat. In this last example, the reading only of the old Syriac version could be meant, as it is difficult to comprehend how ܡܡܠܠܝܬ, the Greek reading, could be otherwise expressed. In collecting, therefore, readings from the Syriac marginal notes of the Philoxenian version, we must not always conclude that they were taken from the collated Greek manuscripts.

2. Some peculiarity in the New Syriac version, or an explanation of some apparent difficulty. For instance, an explanatory note is frequently added where ܐܡܢ vita, is used. John i. 4. the text of the Phil. version is ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢܐ ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢ, in eo vita erat, on which we find the two following marginal notes, ܙܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܐܡܢ, and ܙܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܐܡܢ, by which the editor intended to signify, that ܐܡܢ is expressed in Greek by ܙܘܢ (ζῶν) in the singular, and that the plural is ܙܘܢܐ (ζῶναι), that no one might imagine that the Ribbui, the sign of the plural over ܐܡܢ was meant to convey any emphasis, or religious mystery. In like manner, ch. iii. 16. 36. we find again the note ܕܥܝܢܐ, singulis est. Ch. i. 52. to ܕܥܠܐ ad, which is in the text of the Philoxenian, as well as in the old Syriac, is added the marginal reading ܕܥܠܐ super, because ܥܦܐ is in the Greek. Ch. iii. 32 in the text is ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢ where the pronoun feminine is used neutrally, but in the margin is ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢ, where the pronoun masculine is used, which is nothing more than a different translation of the same Greek expression ο ὑψανς, it being absolutely impossible in this instance, that the readings ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢ, and ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢ, could ever have existed.

As Thomas of Heraclea lived between the years 518 and 533 ³⁰⁰, the manuscripts which he used, even if he did

did not endeavour to procure those which were at that time the most ancient, must have surpassed in antiquity the oldest that are now extant, such as the Alexandrine, the Ephrem, and the Cambridge manuscript: but if he selected such as were at that time two or three hundred years old, none of our manuscripts can be put in competition with them. It is true that this high antiquity is no absolute security against false and spurious readings, of which examples may be seen among the extracts which have been made from them: but Wetstein laid to them a charge of a different nature, and contended, that they were interpolated from the Latin, a charge which is wholly incredible, for who could have thus altered Greek manuscripts in the monastery of St. Antony in Alexandria, where Latin was unknown, and where the church of Rome exerted no authority³⁰¹? The Coptic, not the Latin, is the version with which the greatest coincidence might be expected, and this is confirmed by actual experience, but no inference therefore can be drawn to their disparagement, since the Coptic version, being made from Egyptian copies of the Greek Testament, must necessarily agree with Alexandrine manuscripts. Wetstein goes even a step further, and discovers in the present age, in the libraries of Europe, all those manuscripts which Thomas collated at Alexandria, in the sixth century³⁰². But, unfortunately, he has discovered a greater number than Thomas actually used, who collated only two, or at the utmost three manuscripts of the Gospels, whereas Wetstein has assigned to him not less than four, the Alexandrinus, Cantabrigiensis, Ephrem, and Stephani³⁰³.

As the present chapter relates to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and those which were used by Thomas were superior in point of antiquity to any that are now remaining, it is necessary to give a specimen of their readings, which I will not select from detached passages, but to avoid all appearance of partiality, will examine four whole chapters of St. John's Gospel³⁰⁴.

Ch. i.

Ch. 1. 28. for **ܠܚܕܐ** is in the margin **ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ**, to which is added in Greek *ἢ Βηθαβαρα, ἢ Βηανια*. Now this marginal Syriac reading, which is written in Ridley's manuscript, appears to be an erratum for **ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ**, is the well known alteration of Origen, who corrected *Βηανια* to *Βηθαβαρα*, which is found in all our present editions¹⁰⁵. And it is probable that this reading was soon adopted in the Greek manuscripts of Alexandria, though Bethania is the reading both of the old Latin, and of the Vulgate. It may be here remarked, that *Βηθαβαρα* and *Βηανια*, for *Βηθαβαρα* and *Βηανια*, is Syriac pronunciation, for the Syrians pronounced **ܠܚܕܐ**, as if it were written **ܠܚܕܐ**¹⁰⁶. V. 39. for **ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ**, quod dicitur, is the marginal reading **ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ**, quod est, that is, *ο λειπεται*, a reading which is found in no Greek manuscript, nor even in the Latin. V. 40. for **ܠܚܕܐ**, et venerunt, is in the margin **ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ**, venerunt igitur, that is, *ηλθον* *et*, the reading of many Greek manuscripts, and of the Coptic version. It is true that the Latin Codex Vercellensis has likewise this reading, but it cannot be said to be a latinizing reading, as it is not only wanting in other Latin manuscripts, but is found in the Moscow manuscript noted r.

Ch. li. 1. to the words expressive of Cana in Galilee, is added in the margin the following passage, **ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ**, **ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ**, et vinum non habebant quia defecit vinum convivii, which in that place is unsuitable to the context; and in smaller Syriac characters is a note from a later hand, signifying that this addition is found in other copies of the Philoxenian version¹⁰⁷, but in no Greek manuscript. Wetstein says, that it is contained in Latin manuscripts, but it may be asked in which¹⁰⁸? The Ethiopic version has at the end of the verse a similar addition¹⁰⁹. V. 8. **ܠܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ**, ipsi autem tulerunt, agreeably to the reading of the Coptic version, and of several Greek manuscripts, which have *οι δε ηνεγκαν*, but this reading is neither in the Vulgate, nor in the old Latin. To the Greek MSS. quoted by Wetstein, may be added two Moscow manuscripts, which
no

no one will suspect of having been corrupted from the Latin V. 11. is $\alpha\lambda\lambda\sigma\iota\ \mu\sigma\iota$, sic crediderunt, for $\alpha\lambda\lambda\sigma\sigma\iota$, et crediderunt, but $\kappa\tau\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ is in no Greek manuscript. Ver. 15. to $\mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$, flagellum, is added the marginal reading μ , quasi; agreeably to the text of the Vulgate, and of several important Greek manuscripts, which have $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \omega\varsigma\ \phi\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, but it cannot be termed a latinizing reading, because it is found in Origen.

Ch. iii. 6. $\mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota\ \mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$, which would be expressed in Greek $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\epsilon\ \upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, the reading of no Greek manuscript now extant. V. 8. $\alpha\upsilon\tau\ \mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota\ \mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$, aut quo vadat, agreeably to the old and new Latin versions, and the Codex Alexandrinus, which has $\eta\ \pi\epsilon\ \upsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$. This is the first example in favour of Wetstein's accusation. V. 11. is a reading which Wetstein has inverted, ascribing to the margin, what is really in the text; in the latter is $\mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota\ \mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$, that is, $\alpha\ \omicron\iota\delta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, which is found in no Greek manuscript, in the former is $\mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$, to denote that it ought to be $\omicron\ \omicron\iota\delta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, the reading of all our manuscripts and editions. After ver. 36. is added in the margin $\mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota\ \mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota\ \mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$; $\Delta\omicron\sigma$, which would be expressed in Greek by $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\omicron\delta\eta\ \omicron\ \iota\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$, which being found in no manuscript, or version, is evidently a scholion, and was probably intended as such.

Ch. iv. 1. in the margin is $\mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$, Dominus, for $\psi\epsilon\iota$, Jesus, in the text: the former is the common reading of the Greek manuscripts, which have $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, but the latter is both in the old and the new Latin version. V. 23. $\mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota\ \mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$, that is, $\epsilon\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, a reading which has no other evidence in its favour, and which Wetstein has omitted. V. 25. $\mu\ \psi\epsilon\iota$, that is, $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, for which Wetstein quotes six manuscripts, and among them the Codex Stephani η , but though he particularly suspected this manuscript, the reading in question could not have been taken from the Latin, because it is found in the Coptic version³¹⁰, and in two Moscow manuscripts quoted by Matthäi, whereas the Codex Brixiensis is the only Latin manuscript, in which it has been discovered. V. 43. $\alpha\upsilon\iota\omicron$, that is, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ ³¹¹, the reading of

of the Coptic¹¹, and of the old Syriac, from which the Philoxenian had deviated in having ܠܕܐ. V. 45. ܐܡܪ ܕܡܪܝܢ, qui viderant omnia quæ fecerat, which corresponds to the common Greek reading, whereas the text itself of the Philoxenian version has here no word expressive of *varra*.

It is evident from these examples, first, that the manuscripts collated by Thomas had not been altered from the Latin version; secondly, that they were allied to the Coptic version; thirdly, that they were not the four manuscripts, on which Wetstein's conjecture fell, none of which have so many deviations in these few chapters¹²; and fourthly, that one of the manuscripts collated by Thomas, had probably readings of little value.

For the first extracts, that were given of these marginal readings of the Philoxenian version, we are indebted to Wetstein, who quotes them under the title. *Versio Syriaca in margine*. He took a journey to England in 1746, in order to collate the manuscript of Ridley, on which he bestowed only fourteen days. It were to be wished that he had employed the interval, which he had confined within too narrow limits, in faithfully transcribing all the readings which had been collated by Thomas; but he appears to have been too sanguine, and too partial to his favourite system. He complains, that after having expected to find the extracts of three or four manuscripts, whose antiquity exceeded a thousand years, which might confirm the genuine readings of the Greek Testament, he met with the mortifying disappointment of discovering only the readings of the Itala, or, which he supposed to be the same thing, those of the Codd. Alex. Cant. Ephr. and Stephani.¹³

That

¹³ As it may appear incredible that a critic should write in this manner, I will subjoin Wetstein's own words, taken from p. 112 of his *Prolegomena*. Erectus fui in spem uno intuitu videndi tres aut quatuor codices Græcos mille annorum ætatem superantes, atque geminam lectionem asserturos. Quid invenerim paucis exponam.—Dico autem non potest quam vehementer perculsus, atque ex magna spe deturbatus fuerim, cum viderem plerasque omnes istas variantes lectiones ex versione Itala, hoc est, ut puto, ex ipsis quos supra descripsi, codicibus A. C. D. et L. esse petitas.

That his extracts are neither complete, nor accurate, appears from the preceding examples, taken from the four first chapters of St. John.

With respect to the Evangelists, we can at present have recourse to the source itself, since Professor White has published Ridley's manuscript, with all the various readings that are written in the margin. And those who wish to have complete information, must have recourse to this work, as extracts have hitherto been given from it in no critical edition of the Greek Testament³¹⁴. But Ridley's manuscript of the Philoxenian version contains not all the various readings of the Greek manuscripts, which were collated by Thomas, as appears from the Roman manuscripts examined by Adler, who found in one of them³¹⁵, Matth. xx. 28. the well known addition in the ninth section of the sixth chapter accompanied with the following important remark: 'In the ancient copies, (viz. of the Syriac) this is usually found only in the fifty-third chapter of St. Luke, but in the Greek MSS. it is in this place also, for which reason it is here added.' More examples of various readings, contained only in the Roman manuscripts may be seen in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVIII. p. 175—178³¹⁶. In short, this is a subject in which we are still in a state of infancy³¹⁷.

243. Tigurinus, noted 56 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the epistles of St. Paul, written by Zwingli in 1516, for his own private exercise in the Greek language. Wetstein supposes that it was copied from the first edition of Erasmus. If this opinion be true, I know not why he has quoted the Cod. 56 among the other manuscripts of the Greek Testament: on the other hand, if the opinion be erroneous, it is extraordinary that he has so seldom quoted it³¹⁸.

244. Trin. thus abbreviated and quoted by Mill, is a manuscript belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge³¹⁹: in the third part of Wetstein's N. T. it is *Lectio-narium* 3, with the contents of which I am no further acquainted, than that Mill has given extracts from it in the first epistle of St. Peter, and first epistle of St. John.

245. Trit.

245. Trit. or Trithemii, noted 96 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the Gospel of St. John, written by the celebrated Abbot Trithemius¹²⁰, and at present preserved in the Bodleian. The first extracts from this manuscript were printed in the London Polyglot, whence they have been transmitted into other collections. Griesbach has again collated the third and fourth chapters of St. John: but he relates that it is not free from orthographical errors.

246. Fragmentum Tubingense, noted 98 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., but he gives no account either of its contents, or its collation. Now Bengel quotes Fragmentum vetustissimum in bibliotheca academiæ Tubingensis on John i. 40. 42. [yet Wetstein, in his list of errata, p. 219. says, Tubingense] lege Turicense, sive Tigurinum canticorum Luc. i. et ii. psalterio literis uncialibus scripto adjectorum. This is mere conjecture. At present we have more certain accounts of it, from the following work, written by Professor Reuss, Description of several manuscripts in the University library of Tübingen, 1778¹²¹. It is nothing more than a single quarto leaf of thick vellum, written on both sides, which a book-binder had placed before the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, and mutilated it in cutting the leaves of the volume. It contains only John i. 38—50. and even in these few verses are chasms, occasioned by the fault of the book-binder.

247—249. The three following manuscripts were originally in Uffenbach's library¹²², but they are differently numbered by Bengel and Wetstein.

Uffenbachianus 1, as noted in the library itself, and as quoted by Bengel, but Wetstein names it Uffenbachianus 2, and notes it in his second part Cod. 53: it is a fragment of the epistle to the Hebrews, consisting only of two leaves, which Bengel styles, 'pervetus,' and Wetstein refers to the eleventh century. In the second volume of the *Commercium epistolicum Uffenbachianum*, frequent mention is made of this manuscript, both by Uffenbach and Maius, who suppose it to be

still more ancient. It has a chasm from ch. iv. 3. to xii. 20. and I am not certain whether the three first chapters are complete. It has been collated by Bengel and Wetstein. This is the only manuscript which has *χρης θη*, Heb. ii. 9. a reading which was common even in the time of Origen, and which makes a total alteration in the sense. This circumstance makes it of importance.

Uffenbachianus 2, as noted by Bengel, but named by Wetstein Uffenbachianus 1; it is noted in the second part of his Greek Testament Cod. 52, in the third 45, in the fourth 16; and contains the catholic epistles, the Revelation of St. John, the epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles. This manuscript has been likewise collated both by Bengel and Wetstein, and the former has observed that it harmonizes with the Covel. 2, described N° 106. Wetstein calls it *Codex admodum interpolatus*. It is the only manuscript which has *περὶ υμων*, Ephes. vi. 22. which affords an excellent meaning, if the preceding verb be divided, namely *γινωτε* into *γινωτε*, and we read *ὡς γινωτε περὶ υμων*¹³³.

Uffenbachianus 3, noted 101 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a very modern manuscript of the Gospel of St. John, which Bengel supposed to have been copied from a Basel edition, and has therefore seldom quoted. The extracts, which were made from it by Maius, have been communicated by Professor Schultz, and printed in the second volume of the *Orient. Bibl.* N° 34. It appears also from the account which he has given of it, that it was written by one Nicolaus, a monk of the monastery of Hirsau, in the year 1500¹³⁴.

249. *Bibliothecæ S. Victoris Parisiis*, num. 774, noted by Griesbach Cod. 120, has been described above, N° 236, under the title *Cod. Stephani* 2¹³⁵.

250. *Usseri* 1, noted 63 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the four Gospels. In the Oxford edition of Bishop Fell, are found extracts from this manuscript in St. Luke and St. John, but Mill has inserted in his edition extracts from all the four Gospels, which he had procured from Richard Bulkely.

251. *Usserii*

251. *Usserii* 2, noted in the London Polyglot Em. and in the first part of *Wetstein's* N. T. Cod. 64, is a neat copy of the four Gospels. Extracts were first given from it in the London Polyglot, where it was noted Em. as making probably the first part of a manuscript belonging to Emanuel College, which I have described above, N° 61. More complete extracts were communicated to Mill by *Bulkely* ³²⁶.

252. *Codices Laurentii Vallæ*, noted 82 in the first part of *Wetstein's* N. T., in the second 51, in the third 44, in the fourth 5.

Laurentius Valla ³²⁷ has written remarks on the Latin New Testament, in which he generally censures the Latin version, and observes that this, or that reading, is different in the Greek. This work, which for the time when it was written, as criticism was at that time in its infancy, has great merit, was discovered in a library by *Erasmus*, who under the patronage of *Christopher Fischer*, prothonotary to the Pope, published it in 1505, under the following title, *Laurentii Vallensis viri tam græcæ quam latinæ linguæ peritissimi in latinam N. T. interpretationem ex collatione Græcorum exemplarium adnotationes apprimæ utiles*. The opinion of *Valla* is at present of little importance: he engaged in a branch of literature which was entirely new, and of which he perceived not the full extent: he imagined therefore that what he found in a few Greek manuscripts, was contained in all, and, if the Latin was different, that it should be condemned without a further hearing. Not all the censures, which are in *Mill's* Prolegomena, § 1086, 1087, appear to be grounded, and I would rather retain ³²⁸ *Matth. v. 22.* with *Valla*, than reject it in conformity to *Mill* ³²⁸. But without entering further into this inquiry, let us examine matters of fact, and consider the readings, which he actually found in his manuscripts.

These he has no where circumstantially described, but agreeably to the usual practice of the learned, when criticism was in its childhood, proceeds immediately to

collate the Latin text, with manuscripts unknown to his readers. We are ignorant therefore of the number which he used, of the books which they contained, of the age in which they were written, of the library where he found them, and of the place where they have been since preserved. It is therefore not impossible that we often quote Valla for a reading, which we had before quoted from another manuscript, and produce therefore the same evidence twice, under different names. He collated, and quoted, not only Greek, but Latin manuscripts. As it is probable that they are still extant, and that a part of them at least has been consulted, and quoted under different names, a further description would be unnecessary, had not the controversy, relative to the celebrated passage, 1 John v. 7. occasioned a more minute examination of various manuscripts, and among them those of Laurentius Valla, which have afforded subject of dispute, in regard to their number and contents.

Valla himself says on Matth. xxvii. 12. *tres codices Latinos, et totidem Græcos habeo, cum hæc compono, et nonnunquam alios codices consulo.* Now we have no reason to suppose that these included more than the Gospels, of which he had three Greek manuscripts in his possession, but they hardly included the whole New Testament. Nor is this account contradicted by what he writes on John vii. 29. '*quærebant eum apprehendere.*' *Septem Græca exemplaria legi, quorum in singulis ita scriptum est, 'ego scio eum, quia ab ipso sum et ille me misit. Quærebant igitur eum apprehendere.'* *Cætera verba absunt, neque a Græcis exemplaribus tantum, sed etiam a plerisque latinorum.* For though Valla had only three copies of the Gospels in his own possession, he might on this passage have consulted seven, in which the clause, '*et si dixero, quia nescio eum, ero similis vobis mendax,*' which is added in several Latin manuscripts, was not contained. Wetstein therefore had no reason to assert that Valla wrote, '*græca,*' by mistake for '*latina exemplaria,*' since Valla clearly distinguishes the Latin from the seven Greek manuscripts;

nor on the other hand was Martin, with other advocates for 1 John v. 7. justified in contending that these seven Greek manuscripts comprehended the whole of the New Testament. The number of manuscripts which Valla used of the first epistle of St. John, is not to be determined by the number of those which he had of the Gospels : the conclusions therefore of both Emlyn and Martin were ungrounded.

Though the manuscripts of Valla are not known to us by name, it is highly probable that many of them have been again collated in modern times. There is no reason therefore to suppose that they contained readings, that are found in no manuscript with which we are at present acquainted, and least of all that they had the celebrated passage in the first epistle of St. John, which in so many manuscripts has been sought in vain. But the advocates for this passage have contended, that it could not have been wanting in Valla's manuscripts, because he has not remarked its absence from the Greek : a very precarious inference, since it might either have been wanting in the Latin copy, with which he made the collation, or he might studiously have avoided a remark on so delicate and controverted a subject, which is the more credible, as on other accounts he had been greatly exposed to persecution. This at least is certain, that from this silence alone we can draw no positive conclusion. This circumstance it would have been unnecessary to mention, if the name of Valla had not been so frequently introduced in the controversy relative to the above-mentioned passage.

As it is probable that the Codices Vallæ have not only been quoted in later ages under different titles, but that they contain the same readings with the Codices Barberini, and other collections of that nature, they are at present of little importance, except in the book of Revelation, of which the number of manuscripts is so few, that the extracts of Valla are a useful accession.

253. Vaticanus, noted B in the three first parts of Wetstein's N. T. Though there are many manuscripts

of the New Testament in the Vatican, several of which are described in Blanchini *Evangeliarium quadruplex*, yet that which is noted in the Vatican library 1209, and from which the Septuagint was printed in the year 1587, by order of Sixtus V. is called in general *Codex Vaticanus*, without any further mark of distinction.

This manuscript contained originally the whole Greek Bible, including both the Old and New Testament, and in this respect, as well as in regard to its antiquity, it resembles none so much as the *Codex Alexandrinus*, but no two manuscripts are more dissimilar in their readings, at least in the Old Testament¹⁹. After the Gospels, which are placed in the usual order, come the Acts of the Apostles, which are immediately followed by the seven catholic epistles: this must be particularly noted, because some have contended that the second epistle of St. Peter, with the second and third of St. John, were wanting. Professor Hwiid, in a letter dated Rome, April 12, 1781, assured me that he had seen them with his own eyes, that the second epistle of St. Peter is placed fol. 1434, the second of St. John fol. 1442, the third fol. 1443: then follow the epistles of St. Paul, but not in the usual order. For the epistle to the Hebrews is placed immediately after those to the Thessalonians; and it is not improbable, that in the more ancient manuscript, from which the *Cod. Vat.* was copied; this epistle was even placed before that to the Ephesians, and immediately after the epistle to the Galatians²⁰. For the epistles of St. Paul are divided into 93 sections, by figures written in the margin with red ink; but the epistle to the Galatians ends with 59, and that to the Ephesians begins with 70; the epistle to the Hebrews, on the contrary, begins 60, and ends with 69²⁰. With the words *αμην τῷ Θεῷ*, Heb. ix. 14. the manuscript ceases, the remaining leaves being lost. There is wanting therefore not only the latter part of this epistle, but the epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, with the Revelation of St. John: but this

¹⁹ Probably because the epistle to the Hebrews, as well as the epistle to the Galatians, relates to the abolition of the Mosaic law.

this last book, as well as the latter part of the epistle to the Hebrews, has been supplied by a modern hand in the 15th century¹¹¹. In many places the faded letters have been also retouched by a modern, but careful hand; and when the person, who made these amendments, who appears to have been a man of learning, found a reading in his own manuscript, which differed from that of the Codex Vaticanus, he has noted it in the margin, and has generally left the text itself untouched, though in some few examples he has ventured to erase¹¹². Beside Mill and Wetstein, to whose Prolegomena I at all times tacitly refer, the reader may consult Pfaff de variis N. T. lectionibus, cap. iii. p. 53; Hichtel's Exercitatio critica de antiquitate et præstantia codicis Romani præ Alexandrino, Jenæ 1734; and particularly the valuable accounts which have been given us by Professor Birch, which he has communicated as an eye-witness, and accurate collator of this manuscript, and which I have printed in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. N° 351. He has given still further accounts, in his Description of Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament¹¹³, published at Copenhagen in 1785, but as this work is unintelligible to those readers who are unacquainted with Danish, I hope he will deliver the same accounts in Latin, in his Prolegomena to the Greek Testament¹¹⁴. To this learned critic must be added Blanchini, who likewise speaks as a sagacious and faithful eye-witness, and has given extracts from the manuscript, and a fac simile of its characters, in the Evangelium quadruplex, P. I. p. 493—496¹¹⁵. Wetstein had not seen this publication when he printed his Prolegomena, he could therefore derive no advantage from this valuable work. If the reader thinks it worth the while to peruse a confutation of the falsehoods advanced by the celebrated, but ignorant vaunter, Amelotte, who asserted that the Codex Vaticanus contained 1 John v. 7. he may consult the letters which De Missy, published in the Journal Britannique for the latter part of the year 1752, and the beginning of 1753.

It is certain that this manuscript is of very high antiquity,

antiquity, though it has been disputed which of the two is in this respect entitled to the preference, the Vaticanus, or Alexandrinus. As I have never seen it, I am unable to take upon me the office of a judge; but they who have seen, and examined the Vatican manuscript, ascribe to it a greater antiquity than to the Alexandrine. The characters of both manuscripts resemble each other, except that in the Cod. Alex. they are more elegantly formed³³⁶. In the preface to the Roman edition of the Septuagint, printed in 1587, the editors even at that time ascribed to the Vatican manuscript an antiquity of 1200 years: they referred it therefore to the fourth century, a period to which the advocates for its great rival refer the Codex Alexandrinus. The arguments, which have been advanced by Hichtel, though they are not convincing, are the following:

a) 'The great similarity of its characters to those on the monument or pillar of Hippolytus', which as he died in the third century, must have been erected in that age.'

How great this resemblance is, I am unable to determine. Hichtel has not represented it to the eye, but appeals to Emanuel Schelstraten, who again has left no written evidence on this subject, and all that we know of it is from Burnet's letters, from which it appears, that Schelstraten compared the letters of the Vatican manuscript, with those on the monument of Hippolytus, and declared that they greatly resembled each other. But if we admit that the similarity is as great as is contended, the criterion is insufficient to determine the particular century, and shews only in general that the manuscript is very ancient³³⁷.

b) 'The Gospels are not divided in reference to the canons of Eusebins, but simply by red figures, written in the margin. The epistles of St. Paul are written
without

³³⁶ The inscription of this monument may be seen in Gruteri corpus inscriptionum, fol. 140. 141. but as it is printed in common Greek characters, and is not a fac-simile of the original, we are unable to judge of the degree of resemblance between the characters themselves.

without any separation, in one continued series, and are divided into 93 sections. The epistle to the Hebrews is placed before those which are called *epistolæ pastorales*, an arrangement usual in the time of Eusebius, that is, in the fourth century. Vid. Epiphan. *Hæres.* 42.

Now this arrangement might have been retained by a later copyist, who preserved the order which he found in the ancient manuscript, from which he transcribed³⁸; for the figures, which are found in the epistle to the Hebrews, cannot be ascribed to the writer of the Vatican manuscript, but have been taken from the more ancient copy, the numbers of which were followed, though the arrangement of the epistles themselves was neglected^a. After all, this argument of Hichtel applies rather to the country, or the edition of the manuscript, than to the period in which it was written.

More moderate, and perhaps more accurate, are the sentiments of that great judge of antiquity Montfaucon, who in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, p. 3. refers the Cod. Vat. to the fifth, or sixth century, and adds that, though he had seen other manuscripts of equal antiquity, he had found none at the same time so complete, Blanchini is of the same opinion, for he has written over the *fac simile*, '*scriptus videtur ineunte sæculo quinto*:' and to this opinion we are warranted, by the formation of the letters to assent.

So far in regard to the antiquity of this manuscript. With respect to its internal excellence³⁹, I prefer it to the Codex Alexandrinus, and shall continue to do so, till I am convinced that this preference is unjust. The
text

^a The opinion which Hichtel advances, § 20. that at least some of the Gospels, or epistles in the Vatican MS. were copied immediately from the Autographs, or the originals themselves, will be hardly received by any one, who is acquainted with the subject. It is evident from the numbers written in the margin, which in the epistle to the Hebrews correspond not to the arrangement of the epistles themselves, that the Cod. Vat. is a copy of a more ancient manuscript, which contained not single Gospels, or epistles, but the whole canon divided into sections. It could therefore have been no autograph.

text of the Septuagint is undoubtedly much purer in the Vatican, than in the Alexandrine manuscript, and in the New Testament, charges which have been justly laid to the latter ¹⁴⁰, have never been proved against the former. It is true that accusations have not been wanting: Mill and Grabe contended that it latinized, but this has never been confirmed by any solid argument, for its agreement in many readings with the old Latin versions, is no proof of its having been corrupted from them.

Wetstein has brought several arguments against the purity of the Cod. Vaticanus. He appeals to Erasmus, who condemns many of its readings as latinizing. But the bare assertion of Erasmus, without proof, is not to be admitted, especially as he lived in an age when criticism was in its infancy, and has too frequently determined in favour of those readings, which are found only in the most modern manuscripts. But what Erasmus has said of a latinizing Vatican manuscript, is improperly applied to the manuscript in question*, unless

Erasmus

* Erasmus, in the preface to his last edition of the Greek Testament, has a passage, which is generally supposed to relate to the Codex Vaticanus. He first asserts that a manuscript preserved in the Vatican, and written in capital letters, has been altered from the Latin after the Florentine council, which was held in order to form a junction between the Greek and Latin churches: but he speaks of it merely from hearsay, saying '*talis adhuc dicitur adservari in bibliotheca pontifica majusculis descriptis literis.*' Now it does not appear from these words alone that he meant that Vatican manuscript in particular, which is the subject of our present inquiry, though a parallel passage, quoted in the third section of this chapter, makes it not improbable that he had it at least in view. On the other hand, unless he was grossly mistaken, he could not mean the Codex Vaticanus: if it be asked what manuscript he meant, if he meant not this, I am unable to answer the question, and Blanchini, in the note to P. I. p. 495. says the very same. Afterwards, Erasmus opposes to that, which he had before mentioned, another Vatican manuscript, saying '*quod si nos urgent autoritate Vaticanæ bibliothecæ, Codex, quem secutus est in N. T. Franciscus Cardinalis quondam Toletanus non modo fuit ejusdem bibliothecæ verum etiam a Leone X. missus est, ut hoc veluti bonæ fidei exemplar imitarentur. Atqui is pene per omnia consentit cum mea editione.*' If then this manuscript is the same as that which Leo X. sent to Alcalá, and Erasmus has given favourable accounts of its readings, it cannot be said to be a latinizing manuscript.

Erasmus imagined that it was written after the Florentine council, which if he really supposed, he was guilty of a gross mistake¹⁴¹. Wetstein appeals also to an assertion of Bentley, who was in possession of extracts from the Codex Vaticanus¹⁴², and who frequently declared to his friends, that it agreed in almost all respects with the Codex Alexandrinus. If Bentley meant this of the reading of the Vatican MS. it is a very extraordinary assertion, because it is well known that the Cod. Alex. materially differs from most other manuscripts, and that in the Old Testament at least, the readings of the Vatican are diametrically opposite to those of the Alexandrine. But perhaps Bentley meant nothing more, than what must be striking to every man, that no two manuscripts are so similar to each other in antiquity, characters, and contents. But though in those respects so similar, yet in regard to their readings, they may be as discordant in the New Testament, as in the Old¹⁴³. Lastly, he appeals to Matth. v. 22. and 1 John iv. 3. in which places the Cod. Vat., in conjunction with the Vulgate, omits *ουκ* and *χρῖσιν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθота*. With respect to the first, and most plausible of these examples, I readily admit, that the omission of *ουκ* is a fault: but if it be alleged as a proof of corruption from the Latin, it must have proceeded not from the old Latin, but from the corrected Vulgate of Jerom, for before his time many, or, as I would engage to prove, most of the Latin manuscripts had 'sine causa.' But a manuscript of such high antiquity will be hardly suspected of having been altered from the Vulgate. Besides, is it not possible that the writer of this manuscript might have omitted *ουκ*, even though he had never seen the Latin version? If it was written in the beginning of the fifth century, the writer was a contemporary of Jerom: and the same severe principles of morality, which induced the learned father to expunge *ουκ*, and to declare: *omnis iræ occasio tollitur: radendum est ergo 'sine causa' quia ira veri justitiæ Dei non operatur*: a morality which in that age was widely propagated in the Christian world, might have

have likewise induced our transcriber to make the same omission. It seems as if the very mention of this manuscript, of which Bentley had refused to communicate his extracts, excited Wetstein's indignation, of which we need no other proof, than what he says himself, p. 24. of his *Prolegomena*, that he had requested these extracts, not in the hope of discovering in them genuine readings, but merely with the view of demonstrating that the manuscript itself was of no value. If this is not to condemn unheard, and through pure prejudice, I know not what deserves the name ¹⁴⁴.

According to the account given by Hichtel, § 24. the letters of this manuscript are in many places faded, and have been retouched by a modern hand, which probably in some cases has been productive of error. Le Long, p. 160. of his *Bibliotheca sacra* ¹⁴⁵, says, on the evidence of Renaudot, *hic codex, in quo multa reperiuntur manu recentiori emendata, non est adeo antiquus, nec bonæ notæ, cum erratum sæpe sit ab antiquario, ut ad me scripsit testis oculatus E. R. qui eum inspexit et diligenter examinavit.* Blanchini, who quotes this passage, answers, p. 593, 594. the objections which Le Long had made to its antiquity, but that the manuscript has been corrected by a modern hand, he seems to confirm by his very silence, and since Wetstein has confirmed the account by two other witnesses, one of which was Schœpflin, it is no longer to be doubted ¹⁴⁶. In the use therefore of extracts from the Cod. Vat. it is necessary to make an accurate distinction between the readings of the first, and those of the second hand.

It is generally supposed that this manuscript was used by the editors of the Complutensian Bible, and even that this edition was almost entirely taken from it. This opinion is grounded partly on several passages in the prefaces to the Complutensian Bible, in which the editors boast of having received from the apostolic library of Pope Leo X. very ancient and valuable manuscripts*, which

* In the preface to the N. T. they say, '*illud lectorum non lateat non quævis exemplaria impressioni huic archetypa fuisse, sed antiquissima*

which had afforded them great assistance^{*}; partly on some expressions of Erasmus, which are so construed as if the Pope had commanded the editors of this edition to follow one of the best Vatican MSS. in particular. From these data Mill has formed a complete history of the proceedings of the Complutensian editors, in which he ascribes to them, as matter of fact, what, in his opinion, they might or should have performed: and on the supposition that they chiefly followed the Codex Vaticanus, he has selected a hundred readings, which he believed to have been immediately taken from it, though I will not positively affirm that he means this manuscript in particular, since the account, which he has given in his *Prolegomena*, § 1090, is not perfectly clear; and no man will take the pains to follow him in this inquiry, because he produces on mere conjecture, and without the least evidence, four or five hundred readings as taken from a manuscript which he had never seen.

It is not impossible that the Cod. Vat. was in the number of those which were sent to Alcala by Leo X. and even that which was particularly recommended by him: this however is certain, that the Complutensian Bible very frequently differs from it, and therefore that we cannot conclude from the readings of the one to those of the other[†]. I relate this on the authority of Blanchini, whose words I will subjoin in a note[‡]; and, as far as relates to the Septuagint, every man can determine for himself, by comparing the Roman and Complutensian editions. The latter I have frequently found more correct than the former.

The

quissima emendatissimaque, ac tantæ præterea vetustatis, ut fidem eis abrogare nefas videatur: quæ sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster Leo X. pontifex maximus huic instituto favere cupiens ex apostolica bibliothecaeducta misit ad Reverendissimum Dominum Cardinalem Hispaniæ. More passages may be seen in Wetstein.

^{*} Qui nobis in hoc negotio maximo fuerunt adjumento, as Cardinal Ximenes expresses himself in the Prologue addressed to Leo X.

[†] Falluntur qui putant ad solum exemplar ex bibliotheca Vaticana suppeditatum a Leone X. suam editionem exprimendum curasse Ximenezium cum ab ipsa sæpissime, facta a nobis collatione, deflectat.

Evangeliarium Quadruplex, P. I. p. 495.

The Vatican manuscript has been collated more than once. Lucas of Bruges, in his edition of the four Gospels, has inserted the extracts which were made by Werner of Nimeguen: it has been likewise quoted by Antonius Agellius and Johannes Maldonatus; and what Wetstein could select, from these and other publications, may be seen among his various readings. The most complete extracts were those which Bentley procured; and as Wetstein could not obtain them, it were to be wished that the whole collection were published¹⁴⁸. Professor Birch has again collated it in 1781, and discovered very important readings, which had been overlooked by his predecessors, and the complete extracts which he has made from it we are to expect in the Copenhagen edition of the Greek Testament. It has been mentioned above, that the Abbé Spoletti designed to publish an exact impression of this manuscript, that he delivered for that purpose a memorial to the Pope, but that the inquisition, to which the proposal was referred, refused its assent. Later accounts ascribe the refusal to Reggio, the present Prefect of the Vatican; but, whatever be the cause, it seems that we have little hope of seeing this manuscript in print, unless the Pope interposes his authority, and appoints a committee of learned men to superintend the publication.

254. Vaticanus 165, noted 58 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the epistles; but Wetstein, though he has numbered, does not quote it.

255. Palatino-Vaticanus, n. 171, noted 25 in the fourth part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the whole New Testament, written in the beginning of the 14th century. Amelotte, in the French translation of the New Testament, has quoted several of its readings, as far as relates to the book of Revelation; and these have been copied by Wetstein.

Beside those which have been here described, there are many manuscripts of the Greek Testament preserved in the Vatican. Those which were collated by Caryophilus have been already described under the title *Codices Barberini*,

Barberini, though our accounts of them are so imperfect, that we are unable to ascertain from what particular manuscript each particular reading was selected. Further information, in regard to the Vatican manuscripts, I am at present unable to communicate; but if this edition of my Introduction had been deferred two years longer, I should have been able to derive assistance from the expected Copenhagen edition of the Greek Testament¹⁴⁹.

256—271. Velesiani XVI, noted Cod. 111, in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., but in the three other parts Wetstein has not numbered them, because he held them to be unworthy of quotation.

Petrus Faxard, Marquis of Velez, collated sixteen manuscripts, eight of which were borrowed from the library of the King of Spain, and wrote from them various readings in his copy of the Greek Testament, but without mentioning what manuscripts in particular, or even how many in general were in favour of each quoted reading. This collection fell into the hands of Mariana, who found their coincidence with the Vulgate so remarkable, that they excited his suspicion, of which an account may be seen in Wetstein. In short, Mariana speaks of them in so doubtful and unfavourable a manner, that Wetstein is unjust in supposing that he was guilty of an imposture*. Mariana gave the collection to de la Cerda, who printed them in the ninety-first chapter of his *Adversaria sacra*. From this work they have been copied by the editors of the London Polyglot by Amelotte, Fell, Mill, and Bengel. Wetstein has numbered them in his catalogue, but not quoted them.

The Velesian readings agree in almost all cases with the Vulgate, and of those examples, which differ from the printed text of the Vulgate, many are found in Latin manuscripts, as my late father has shewn in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*,

* Dubito utrum Mariana male fidei, an imperitiae potius postulandus sit.

colligendis*, who has quoted passages for that purpose, from a manuscript of the Latin Bible, which belonged to Dr. Ludwig. They have even manifest errata, which can be ascribed only to the Latin: for instance Luke x. 30. *αναβλεπων*, instead of *υπολαβων* the reading of all other Greek manuscripts. Here it is evident that 'suscipiens,' the reading of the Vulgate, had been falsely written in some Latin manuscript 'suspiciens,' and that some person, who corrected the Greek from the Latin, altered, in consequence of this erratum, *υπολαβων* to *αναβλεπων*. In the collection of Veleian readings alone we find *πολιν* for *οικουμένην*, Acts xvii. 6. which again must be ascribed to the Latin. The old Latin MSS. had in general 'orbem terrarum,' several 'orbem' alone, which in the modern Vulgate has been falsely written 'urbem,' and hence arose the Veleian reading *πολιν*.

Hence it follows that Velez made use of Greek manuscripts that had been altered from the Latin³⁵⁰. But it is a very extraordinary circumstance, that all his sixteen manuscripts should latizine in so great a degree: it has been therefore supposed that he selected those readings which coincide with the Vulgate, and omitted all those which differed from it. The conjecture is not improbable, though it seems to be weakened by what my father has related in the eighty-seventh paragraph of the above-mentioned dissertation, that some of the Veleian readings are found neither in the printed Vulgate, nor in any manuscripts of the Latin Bible hitherto examined. When he collected these examples, he had not seen the *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, for both publications appeared in the same year; it might have been therefore conjectured that they would be found in the manuscripts published by Blanchini. But on a careful examination, I have found that several of the Veleian readings, which my father could discover neither in the printed Vulgate, nor in any Latin manuscript, are likewise wanting in the *Evangeliarium*

* § 87—90. in which the Veleian readings are accurately examined, and to which those readers must have recourse who would investigate this subject.

Evāngeliarium quadruplex. Matth. vi. 8. Velez has *εχετε* for *ιχετε*, but the Vulgate, and all the other Latin versions, 'quid opus sit,' in the present tense: Matth. x. 3. Velez has *Κανναιος* for *Λεββαιος*, but the Latin versions have either 'Lebbeus,' or entirely omit the name of the Apostle: Cannæus is found in none. It is true that they have Cananæus, or Chananæus, but this corresponds to *Καναανιτης*, not to *Λεββαιος*. Matth. xvi. 3. a Velesian manuscript omits *και πρωι, σημερον χειμων, πυρραζει* *γαρ στυγναζων ο βρανος*, an omission observable neither in the Vulgate, nor in any old Latin version: ver. 6. a Veles. MS. omits *αυτοις*, which is found in the Vulgate, and in all Blanchini's manuscripts. Matth. xviii. 23. a Veles. MS. omits *αυτη* after *δελων* likewise, in opposition to the Vulgate, and the MSS. of Blanchini: and Matth. xix. 9. has *μη* for *ει μη*, whereas the Latin versions have either 'nisi,' or 'excepta,' (causa adulterii). To avoid prolixity, I mention no more examples, and I confess that the matter is still doubtful.

Wetstein, who was at all times too much inclined to suspect an imposture, contends that Velez collated not Greek, but Latin manuscripts, a circumstance which was either unknown to Mariana, or which he has concealed. Further, that Mariana, who found these readings noted in the margin of the third edition of Stephens, in the preface to which mention is made of sixteen collated Greek manuscripts, falsely ascribed to Velez, what has reference only to Stephens.

Now the several parts of the accusation correspond to each other very imperfectly: and it is impossible that Mariana could mistake the printed preface of Stephens, for the hand-writing of Velez. All the proofs that are alleged by Wetstein, in support of his conjecture, amount to nothing more, than that the Velesian manuscripts had been altered from the Latin, not that they were themselves Latin; and his first argument, which is drawn from the bad Greek observable in these readings, proves rather against Wetstein himself, as it is more reasonable to ascribe this bad Greek to an ignorant transcriber of

the middle ages, than to the Marquis of Velez. All objection duly weighed, I am of opinion that Velez actually used Greek manuscripts, that some of them had been in many places altered from the Latin, and that though he did not propose to select merely such readings as confirmed the text of the Vulgate, yet he preferred in general those which corresponded to it³⁵¹.

272. Vignerii, noted 104 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, formerly in the possession of Vignier, and collated by Bigot. His extracts were inserted by Wetstein in his Greek Testament.

273. Vindobonensis 2, noted N in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains fragments of the book of Genesis, and the Gospel of St. Luke, but of the latter only chapter xxiv. 13—21. and 39—49³⁵². Wetstein placed it in his catalogue merely on account of a single reading, which Lambecius had quoted from it, and which Wetstein held for a manifest erratum^b; but this is not so obvious, for the reading is very defensible. This reading is *ῥαδις ἑκατον ἑξήκοντα*, Luke xxiv. 13. and it is certain that Emmaus was not sixty, but an hundred and sixty stadia from Jerusalem, though there was another town of the same name, which lay nearer. In my History of the Resurrection, p. 225—231, I have treated this subject more at large³⁵³: the reading is very ancient, though it is not genuine, but, as I believe, a correction of Origen³⁵⁵, of which more examples will be given chap. x. sect. 3. In Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex, P. I. p. 501, some account is given of this manuscript, and a fac simile of its characters³⁵⁶. Treschow, who refers this fragment to the seventh century, has printed the whole of it in his Tentamen descriptionis codicum Vindobonensium, p. 124—127³⁵⁷.

274. Via-

^b His words are, v. 13. pro *ῥαδις ἑξήκοντα* scriptum est *ῥαδις ἑκατον ἑξήκοντα*, quem manifestum errorem etiam ille ipse, cujus manu codex exaratus est, agnovit, ideoque singulis vocis *ἑκατον* literis singula superne imposuit argentea puncta, ut significaret totam illam vocem delendam esse. But how did Wetstein know that these points were added by the copyist³⁵⁷?

274. Vindobonensis 28, in Mill Vien. for Viennensis, and in Mastricht's Greek Testament Cæs. for Cæsareus, noted 76 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the second 49, in the third 43, contains the whole New Testament, except the Revelation. It is not, as Mill relates, written with uncial, but with small Greek letters, of which a fac simile is given in the first plate annexed to Treschow's Tentamen. Those who refer this manuscript to the tenth century, ascribe to it the utmost antiquity that can be admitted, and it is more than Treschow allows. Gerhard of Mastricht collated this manuscript in 1690, during the time that he resided as minister at the court of Vienna. Mill, who procured extracts from it without the knowledge of Mastricht, ascribes them to his countryman Ashe, but these are much less complete than those, which were afterwards inserted in Mastricht's own edition, and thence transferred to the edition of Wetstein³⁵⁸. Treschow, though he has not collated this manuscript, has yet observed a reading, that was overlooked by Mastricht; his collation therefore was not perfectly exact³⁵⁹.

275. Vindobonensis 29, (not 22, as in Wetstein) noted 77 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from the library of King Johannes Corvinus. Wetstein quotes it on Matth. vi. 13. and for that reason has assigned it a place in his catalogue. Treschow has described it in his Tentamen, p. 27—32, and given extracts of its readings in the Gospel of St. Matthew. According to his description, it has been corrected by four different hands, exclusive of the first, one of which has erased the whole verse John v. 32. except *ἄλλος ἐστίν*, and substituted *μαρτυρῶν περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἐστίν*. A sixth has written in the margin on Matth. vi. 13, the following Latin note in Gothic characters, "Nota bene, ' quia tuum est regnum, &c.' desiderari in multis codicibus³⁶⁰."

276. Vindobonensis 1, noted 57 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in Treschow Lambecii 1, contains the whole Greek Bible: but it is defective from Rev.

xx. 7. to the end ³⁶¹. It was brought by Busbeck from Constantinople. Wetstein quotes it Matth. vi. 13. but I am not certain whether he has ever quoted it in the epistles ³⁶². It is written by four different hands, of which the same that wrote the Pentateuch wrote also the New Testament. Treschow has given a fac simile of all four, described the manuscript p. 57—61, and added extracts from the epistle to the Romans ^c. He is of opinion that it latinizes, on which subject the reader may consult my *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. VI. p. 18 ³⁶⁴.

These were all the Codices Vindobonenses, which I was able to describe in the second edition, and two even of these hardly deserved a place in a catalogue of collated manuscripts. The following have been collated by Mr. Tréschow, who, as well as Mr. Fleischer, was a native of Norway, and formerly one of my pupils. After he had finished his studies, he quitted Göttingen, and entered on a literary and critical journey, the result of which he communicated to the world in his *Tentamen descriptionis codicum veterum aliquot Græcorum Novi Fœderis manuscriptorum, qui in bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi asservantur*, published at Copenhagen in 1773: so excellent a work, that every one who reads it must wish that the author would devote himself entirely to literature, and not remain simple minister of a congregation; and that, instead of confining himself in Copenhagen, he would spend his time, in imitation of Wetstein, in critical wanderings. The wish will hardly be fulfilled, but the pleasure, which I have derived from two such excellent pupils as Treschow and Fleischer, who resemble each other not only as being natives of the same country, but as being possessed of an equal share of learning, is already great; and as I am able to enrich this Introduction with the fruit of their labours,

my

^c As an amendment to what I have written chap. vi. sect. 10. relative to the position of the three verses Rom. xvi. 25—27. it may be noted from Treschow, that they are wanting in this manuscript, both at the end of the fourteenth, and at the end of the sixteenth chapter ³⁶².

my readers will pardon me when I express the satisfaction which I feel.

277. *Vindobonensis Lambecii* 34, is a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, and was in the beginning of the sixteenth century the property of Arsenius, Archbishop of Malvasia in the Morea. Treschow describes the manuscript as very ancient, but this seems not to be confirmed by the characters, of which he has given a fac simile. It has corrections of different kinds, and it is probable that several of them are critical conjectures of a former proprietor. See the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. VI. p. 19—21³⁶⁵. Professor Hwiid has described it still more accurately, and has given the most minute extracts from it in the Acts of the Apostles, in his *Libellus criticus de indole codicis Lambecii XXXIV.* Havniæ 1785. It has a great resemblance to the Moscow manuscript l.

278. *Vindobonensis Lambecii* 35, contains the Acts and the Epistles, and was written, according to Treschow, in the twelfth century. Its readings are not important. Many of them I have found in the Complutum edition, even where it is not quoted by Wetstein. It belongs therefore to that class of manuscripts, which were principally used by the Spanish editors. And this edition is of such importance, that it is useful to know the manuscripts which are allied to those from which it was chiefly taken, whether we discover them in Spain, Vienna, or in Copenhagen³⁶⁶.

279. *Vindobonensis Lambecii* 36, contains the same books as the preceding, and appears to have been written in the eleventh, or twelfth century³⁶⁷.

280. *Vindobonensis Lambecii* 37, contains likewise the same books. Treschow has taken from it only fourteen various readings³⁶⁸.

The other Vienna manuscripts, which Treschow has described, but not collated, belong not to the present catalogue³⁶⁹.

281. *Wakiani Codices*, are so called as having formerly belonged to Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury,

who bequeathed them to the library of Christ Church in Oxford ³⁷⁰.

That which is noted 73 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, is supposed to be 700 years old, and was a present from Mauro Cordato, Prince of Wallachia. Wetstein procured extracts of it from John Walker.

282. Wakianus, noted 74 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from mount Athos, extracts of which were communicated to Wetstein by the same person.

283. Wakii 1, noted 26 in the fourth part of Wetstein's N. T., contains, beside other matters, which are foreign to our present purpose, the Revelation of St. John. It was collated by Caspar Wetstein, and Walker refers it to the eleventh century.

284. Wakii 2, noted 27 in the fourth part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the catholic epistles, (with exception to the epistle of St. James, and the first of St. Peter) the Revelation of St. John, all the epistles of St. Paul, and the Gospels as far as Luke vi. 42. This manuscript was likewise collated in the book of Revelation, by Caspar Wetstein, for J. Wetstein's edition of the Greek Testament.

285. Wheelerianus 1, noted 68 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from the East by George Wheeler ³⁷¹, and collated by Mill. It has a very remarkable reading John xix. 34. *ηνοιξε* for *εβουξε*, in which it coincides only with the Vulgate and the New Syriac ³⁷².

286. Wheelerianus 2, noted 95 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., contains the Gospel of St. Luke, beginning with chap. xi. 2. and the Gospel of St. John, in which two leaves are wanting. It was collated by Mill.

287. Wheelerianus 3, noted *Lectionarium* 3 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is an evangelistarium, which was brought from the East, and collated by Mill. It is supposed to be 750 years old.

288. West-

288. Westmonasteriensis 935, noted 25 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 20, a manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles, preserved in his Majesty's library. It was collated by Wetstein in 1716³⁷³.

289. Winchelseanus, noted 106 in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the tenth century, and the property of Lord Winchelsea. It was collated by Jackson⁴, whose extracts Wetstein inserted in his Greek Testament. A remarkable circumstance is related by Wetstein relative to this manuscript, that an Arabic interpretation of the word *παρῆναι* is added Matth. xxvii. 62. and that its readings agree with those of the Syriac version. I have made the same observation in regard to several other manuscripts, but here we find even the cause of this agreement: for it appears from the Arabic interpretation, that the manuscript belonged to an Arabic Christian; and to the Christians of the East the Syriac version was formerly what the Vulgate is at present in the church of Rome. I have also discovered examples of agreement between this manuscript and the New Syriac version: for instance Mark xii. 20. *de* for *ay*³⁷⁵. It has in general remarkable readings, which are found either in no other manuscript, or only in a few, but those of good authority, of which the omission of *αὐτοῦ*, Matth. xxvii. 60. is an instance. One of its readings appears to be the result of a correction, made to avoid an apparent difficulty. The common text, John xviii. 15. *is καὶ ὁ ἄλλος μαθητὴς*, which is literally 'and the other disciple:' but some have supposed this to be impossible, and for that reason Erasmus and Bengel have omitted the article, in order that the meaning might be 'and another disciple.' The same omission is observed in this manuscript, as also in the Codd. Alexandrinus and Cantabrigiensis.

290. Wolfii

⁴ Jackson's extracts came afterwards into the hands of de Missy, in the catalogue of whose library they were numbered 1616. By whom they were purchased at de Missy's sale, or where they are preserved at present, I know not³⁷⁴.

290. Wolfii A, noted G in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, with the following chasms: Matth. i, 1—vi, 6. vii, 25—viii, 9. viii, 23—ix, 2. xxviii, 18—Mark i, 13. Mark i, 32—ii, 4. xiv, 19—25. Luke i, 1—13. v, 4—vii, 3. viii, 46—ix, 5. xi, 27—41. xxiv, 41. to the end of St. Luke's Gospel: John xvii, 5—19. xix, 4—27. It is at present in the British Museum, where it is noted Harleianus 5684. Wolf published the extracts of this manuscript in the third volume of his *Anecdota*, but Griesbach, on collating Matth. vi, 6—ix, 18. found that several readings had been overlooked. See his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. lxiv—lxvi.

291. Wolfii B, noted H in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, with the following chasms: Matth. i, 1—xv, 30. xxv, 3—xxvi, 3. Mark xv, 44—xvi, 14. Luke v, 18—33. vi, 8—23. x, 2—19. John ix, 30—x, 25. xviii, 2—25. xx, 12—25.

The two last-mentioned manuscripts were brought from the East by Erasmus Seidel, after whose death they were purchased by La Croze*, and presented to J. C. Wolf of Hamburgh. The latter collated them, and published their extracts in the third volume of his *Anecdota sacra et profana*, in the preface to which work he has given a description of them, and refers them both to the eighth century. Wetstein inserted the extracts in his collection of various readings, omitting however those which he held to be errata, for instance *κατελογησεν* for *βαπτολογησεν*, Matth. vi. 7.

292. Wolfii, or Jacobi Fabri Daventriensis, noted go in the first part of Wetstein's N. T., in the third 47^f, contains the following books of the New Testament, in
this

* Wolf does not mention la Croze by name in the preface to his *Anecdota*, but describes him only as *amicus integerrimus*, &c. but that he meant la Croze is evident from the *Thesaurus epistolicus la Crozianus*, Tom. II. p. 142.

^f Wetstein has omitted it in the second part of his N. T., for which I am unable to assign a reason.

this order, John, Luke, Matthew, Mark, the epistles of St. Paul, the Acts, and the catholic epistles: the epistle of St. Jude is written twice, and from two different copies. The writer is John Faber of Daventer, who copied it in the sixteenth century, from a manuscript written in the year 1293. It was purchased⁵ by Wetstein out of Wolf's library, and collated for his Greek Testament. The ancient manuscript of 1293 was written on mount Athos, by Theodore, the same person who wrote the Codex Wadianus, described above N° 282, which is the reason that these two manuscripts very frequently agree¹⁷⁶.

FROM the preceding catalogue of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, I would recommend to my readers to make another in reference to each book of the New Testament, noting those in which each book is contained, and at the same time distinguishing such as have been only superficially examined, from those which have been carefully collated. Without a catalogue of this kind, they will be unable, on consulting Mill, or Wetstein, to judge of the proportion of the manuscripts in favour of a reading, to those which decide against it. If it be asked why I have not executed the task myself, I answer, because I am apprehensive that many might be dissatisfied with the performance, as it is often difficult to determine, whether a manuscript should be referred to the accurately, or the superficially collated¹⁷⁷.

On the last perusal of this section before it was sent to the press, the question occurred to me, whether the manuscripts written on mount Athos are similar to each other in their readings, and belong to the same edition; and what relationship they bear to the text of Theophylact, the Russian version, and the Moscow manuscripts. But for this section the inquiry would be too prolix¹⁷⁸.

⁵ If I understand rightly Wetstein's expression, *ex cujus bibliotheca hunc codicem mihi comparavi*.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT IN
THE WORKS OF ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

S E C T. I.

*The Fathers, Heretics, Enemies of the Christian Religion,
and other writers who quote the New Testament, con-
sidered as Evidence for its readings.*

THE third kind of evidence, which may be produced for or against a reading, consists in the writings of the Ancients, in which passages are quoted from the New Testament.

The first persons, to whom our attention is usually directed on examining this kind of evidence, are the ancient fathers, and to this species of readings is usually given the title of ‘Readings from the fathers,’ because recourse has been principally had to their writings. But they are not the only authors, which are used for this purpose; for orthodoxy is not considered as a necessary qualification in these cases, and we need only examine, whether the quoted authors are possessed of critical knowledge, and alter not the New Testament merely on theological conjecture. Even the quotations of Marcion are of importance to a collector of various readings, because many of them might be grounded not on a theological hypothesis, but on the authority of manuscripts; for it is an undoubted fact, that the heretics were in the right in many points of criticism, where the fathers accused them of wilful corruption^b. There are passages, in which Marcion is a very important evidence; for example, when he and Origen omit Luke xi. 2—4. *ἡμῶν . . . ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις . . . γενήσεται τὸ θελημα σου ὡς ἐν κρανῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . ἀλλὰ ρυσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν*, Origen is a surety to us, that this omission is not to be ascribed to Marcion’s

^b See chap. vi. sect. 12.

Marcion's heresy, and Marcion's evidence informs us that the passage was wanting in copies of the Greek Testament in the second century. It may be observed in general that orthodoxy, and heterodoxy, have little or no connexion with matters of criticism, because the question relates not to articles of faith, but to facts, that is, to the readings that did or did not exist in the manuscripts of any particular age: and if the evidence of all but the orthodox fathers is to be rejected, we shall have very few substantial witnesses remaining. For though the catholic church speaks of a very great number of orthodox fathers, yet very few will be found, if examined by our own creed, who were free from error.

Even the adversaries of the Christian religion are quoted as evidence for a reading of the Greek Testament. When Porphyry accused the Evangelist of falsely ascribing to Isaiah the words, 'I send my messenger before thee,' he must have undoubtedly found, in his copy of the Greek or Syriac Testament, Mark i. 1. *ὡς γέγραπται ἐν Ησαϊα τῷ προφῆτῃ*. I have purposely chosen this example, because Porphyry's testimony is here of great consequence: for without it the suspicion might arise, that this erroneous¹ reading had been transferred from one of the Latin versions¹, into those six Greek manuscripts in which it is found, since five of them are generally supposed to latinize². But as this passage was an object of Porphyry's ridicule in the third century, it must have stood in Greek manuscripts, before the Latin version can be supposed to have had any influence on either the Greek, or Syriac Testament.

Knittel has recommended¹ the use of ancient diplomas, in which passages are quoted from the New Testament, in

¹ The Cod. Vercellensis, published by Blanchini, has, *Sicut scriptum est in Eseciam prophetam*, the Veronensis, *sicut scriptum est in Esecia propheta*, the Brixianus, *sicut scriptum est in Esaia propheta*.

² Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis, Basileensis, Colbertinus 2844, and Montfortianus.

¹ In one of the treatises annexed to his edition of a fragment of Ulpilas.

in the same manner as we use the ancient fathers. There is something in this thought, which at first sight recommends it; but I believe that if the proposal were put in execution, it would be attended with little advantage to sacred criticism, and would afford only an opportunity to men of industry of producing something, to which the epithet of critical might be applied. A diploma, as far as relates to passages of the Bible, which are occasionally quoted, is not entitled to the same degree of credit, as it is in regard to the matter, which is its immediate object. It is not probable that the composer consulted the Bible for the passage, or the sentence which he introduced; and in my opinion at least, an ancient father is an infinitely more important evidence, than the writer of a deed, that relates to a matter of property, or commerce. But, admitting this opinion to be unjust, we should still derive from documents of this kind very little advantage, because those, of which we are in possession, were written in the West of Europe, and composed not in Greek, but in Latin. Even these ascend no higher than the middle ages, and can be applied to no other purpose, than to determine the text of the Vulgate in those centuries. But if a critic intended to exert the same diligence on the text of the Vulgate, as on that of the Greek Testament, he would rather have recourse to the great number of Latin manuscripts preserved in different libraries, than adopt a plan, which is attended with so much difficulty².

S E C T. II.

Rules to be observed in making extracts from the Writings of the Fathers.

THE rules which I shall give in this section apply immediately to the ancient fathers; but with proper restrictions they are likewise applicable to the heretics, and enemies of Christianity, who have quoted the
New

New Testament, and even, if we follow the advice of Knittel, to the ancient diplomas.

It must be remarked in the first place, that the question relates not to the opinion, but to the evidence of the fathers. We have to inquire, not what reading they preferred, but what they actually found in the manuscripts which they used. For we are able to judge of the goodness of a reading as well as they, but the manuscripts of which they were in possession were much more ancient than any that are now extant.

To illustrate what I have above said by an example. Some of the most eminent critics have disputed, whether *αἰν*, Matth. v. 22. be genuine or not, that is, whether Christ asserted that every man who was angry with his brother, or those only who were angry without a cause, were liable to condemnation. Erasmus, Mill, Bengel, and Pfaff reject *αἰν*, but Wetstein seems inclined to retain it¹. It is found in most of the Greek manuscripts, and in some of the old Latin versions published by Blanchini, namely, the Vercellensis, Veronensis, Corbeiensis, and Brixianus. It is true that this reading is omitted in the Forojulensis, but that manuscript contains properly the late Vulgate of Jerom, as I have shewn in the note to chap. vii. sect. 22. Now in this instance, even in the opinion of those who reject *αἰν*, the whole depends on the accounts of Jerom and Augustin. The former in his note to Matth. v. 22. says, in quibusdam codicibus additur *sine causa*. It appears then from this evidence, that *sine causa* was found at that time in several manuscripts, and therefore that it is not an addition of later ages. With respect to the reason why it was omitted in the Vulgate, which is not a matter of evidence, but of opinion, he expresses himself in the following manner. *Cæterum in veris definita sententia est, et ira penitus tollitur, dicente scripturâ, qui irascitur fratri suo. Si enim jubemur verberanti alteram præbere maxillam, et inimicos nostros amare, et orare pro persequentibus, omnis iræ occasio tollitur. Radendum est ergo sine causa, quia ira viri justitiam Dei non operatur.* But this

this opinion is ungrounded, for critical questions relative to what Christ actually asserted, or not, must not be determined by any system of morality which we ourselves may happen to have adopted, and least of all by principles so severe and extravagant as those of Jerom. The passage in St. James has no reference to the present inquiry, for that relates to the displeasure expressed by mortals at the commands of the Deity, which in all cases is worthy of censure: but, that anger in general is a crime is certainly not true, though it would be foreign to the present purpose to endeavour to prove that assertion. Nor is it irreconcilable with the principle, that we ought to love our enemies, though Jerom opposes the one to the other: for even Christ himself has been guilty of sin, if anger in general is to be included under that denomination. It appears indeed that several manuscripts, even in the age of Jerom, omitted *sine causa*; but when he applies to them the title of *veri*, it is evident that he has no other motive for so doing, than that the omission corresponded to his system of morality. It is likewise evident from the whole connexion, that these were Latin manuscripts: and it is remarkable that the very man, who on all other occasions attempted to correct the Latin version from the Greek original, appeals not in this instance, where he takes a decided part, to Greek manuscripts. This very circumstance affords sufficient ground to conclude, that he had found no Greek manuscript in which *nam* was omitted. If considered therefore as an evidence, he tacitly contradicts what he asserts as a matter of opinion.

Let us hear, however, what he says upon this subject on another occasion. In speaking of this passage of St. Matthew, in his note to Ephes. iv. 31. he again rejects *sine causa*, merely on theological grounds, without appealing to Greek manuscripts: *nam ad illud evangelii, quicumque irascitur fratri suo sine causa, reus erit iudicio, frustra est additum sine causa, quia nec cum causa irasci nobis conceditur manifestissime apostolo nunc dicente, amaritudo, et furor, et ire tollatur a vobis.* It is true,

that in his second book against the Pelagians^a, he speaks as an evidence more than in the preceding quotations, for he asserts that most manuscripts, that is, as I understand, Latin manuscripts, omit *sine causa*. His words are, in eodem evangelio legimus, *qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa, reus erit iudicio*. Licet in plerisque codicibus antiquis *sine causa* additum non sit, ut scilicet ne cum causa quidem debeamus irasci. But it seems as if the zeal, which he exerted in confuting the heretics, prevented him from examining the words with the same accuracy, as he displays in his exposition of the Bible. This at least is certain, that most of the manuscripts of the old Latin version, which Blanchini was able to discover, have *sine causa*, and Jerom himself, though he censures the reading, quotes these words as a part of the common text.

Another evidence on this subject is Augustine, who in his Tractationes, Lib. I. 19., writes as follows, *codices Græci non habent sine causa, sicut hic positum est, quamvis idem ipse sit sensus*. Here it is evident that Augustine acknowledges tacitly, that *sine causa* was the common reading of the Latin version: and when he appeals to Greek manuscripts, we cannot suppose that he actually had recourse to them in proof of his assertion, but must conclude, that he interpreted what Jerom had said of manuscripts in general, as applying to Greek manuscripts in particular. The only inference therefore to be deduced from what he says on this subject is, that he has discovered no manuscript of the Latin version, in which *sine causa* was omitted.

In the following chapter I shall take notice of the critical conjectures of the ancient fathers: but whenever they cease to appear in the character of simple witnesses, the readings which they propose are of no more authority than those recommended by modern critics. And, if these readings were found in printed editions, and even in Greek manuscripts, yet if we were certain, that they were not contained in the most ancient manuscripts,

^a Vol. IV. p. 513, of Martiany's edition.

scripts, but were merely the result of conjecture, we should have solid grounds for rejecting them. And it is a certain fact, that several readings in our common printed text are nothing more, than alterations made by Origen, whose authority was so great in the Christian church, that emendations, which he proposed, though, as he himself acknowledged, they were supported by the evidence of no manuscript, were very generally received.

But wherever we are certain that the quotations of the fathers were actually taken from manuscripts, they are of very great importance in deciding on the authenticity of a reading, and are in general to be preferred to any manuscript of the Greek Testament now extant, the oldest of which, no man would venture to place higher than the fifth century. If a father then, who lived in that age, has this or that particular reading, it is the same as if we found it in one of our most ancient manuscripts^a: and if he adds, that this was the common reading of manuscripts, which even at that time were considered as old, it is surely supported by greater authority than if it were found in the Alexandrine, or the Vatican manuscript. But should a father of the third century, Origen for instance, or even a man of less learning, have found any particular reading in his manuscript, no one could oppose to it, as an evidence of equal weight, any one single manuscript that is now remaining. To illustrate what I have said by an example: If it could be shewn, that the celebrated passage, 1 John v. 7., was quoted by a father of the third or fourth century, I should consider it as a much stronger proof of its authenticity, than if it were discovered in our most ancient manuscripts: and if it were true, that Cyprian had quoted it,

^a Bengel in his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* § xxxii. Obs. xx. Consid. VI. has the following remark,—Recentiores patres Græcis inguli fere codicibus Græcis singulis æquiparari possunt, Latini Latinis. Antiqui vero et Græci et Latini excellentem habent auctoritatem. Though I approve the greatest part of this rule, I would alter it in the following manner,—Patres Græci inde a quinto sæculo singuli fere singulis codicibus Græcis æquiparari possunt, Latini Latinis, &c⁴.

it, we should have the same authority, as if it were contained in a manuscript of the Latin version, written in the third century. Or, when I find from the testimony of Origen, which I carefully distinguish from his opinion, that *γεννησιν*, Matth. viii. 28. a reading which he himself introduced, was in none of the Greek manuscripts of his time, all of which had either *γενασιν* or *γαδαρην*, I cannot possibly consider the present reading as genuine; though it is supported by the authority of very many manuscripts. For all these were written much later than the time of Origen, and their text has been altered according to his critical conjecture: and when all the Greek manuscripts, which Origen could discover in the third century, are placed in one scale, and those, that are extant in the eighteenth century, in the other, the former must greatly overbalance the latter. Wherever I find among the testimonies in favour of a reading, the names of Clement of Alexandria, or of Origen, they excite in me a high degree of respect. In cases therefore, where only a few manuscripts, and even when no manuscript can be produced in favour of the same reading, I am not seldom induced to prefer the authority of an ancient father to that of all manuscripts written since his time. To mention only a few examples. The fifth verse of the fourth chapter of St. Matthew, in one manuscript only, namely the Cantabrigiensis¹, is placed before the fourth: the same inversion is observed in the Latin translation, and in the three fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius, who cannot be accused of a partiality for that version. It may be asked, whether their authority is not equivalent to that of all other manuscripts?—Luke xi. 2. for *ελθτω η βασιλεια σου*, Gregory of Nyssa alone has *ελθτω το αγιον πνευμα εφ' ημας*², but he quotes it, as if it was the common reading in the manuscripts of the fourth century.

* His words are η καθως ημιν υπο τη Λυκα το αυτο ρημα σαφιστερον ερμηνευεται, ο την βασιλειαν ελθων αξιον την τε πνευματος συμμαχην επερωταται. Ουτος γαρ ει τη ικεινη ευαγγελιω αντι τη, ελθτω η βασιλεια σου, ελθτω, φησι, το αγιον πνευμα εφ' ημας.

century. In Pontus at least, or in the country, in which he resided, this must have been the common reading, and it is admirably adapted to the thirteenth verse, where the Holy Ghost is mentioned so as to imply an allusion to the Spirit in the preceding part of the discourse. In the second and fourth verses of the same chapter, only a few manuscripts, in conjunction with Origen, omit the interpolation from St. Matthew in the Lord's Prayer; but then the authority of Origen, united with the nature of the subject itself, determines in favour of the omission.—Socrates relates, in his Ecclesiastical History, B. VII. 32. that he had found in ancient manuscripts *ο λυσι* for *ο μη ομολογαι*, 1 John iv. 3. and the same reading is likewise quoted by Origen⁶; but, though it is found in the Vulgate, it has hitherto been discovered in no Greek manuscript. Now as this reading is well adapted to the tenor of St. John's epistle, and to the history of the ancient heretics⁷, I am inclined to abide by the authority of Origen, and of the manuscripts of Socrates, than of those which remain in the present century.

Considered therefore from this point of view, the readings collected from the writings of the most ancient fathers, should be preferred to those which are drawn from our manuscripts of the Greek Testament. But on the other hand, there are cases in which the latter are more deserving of attention, namely, whenever doubts arise, what were the readings which an ancient father found in the manuscripts that he used? Whenever it is expressly declared, as was done by Origen in the preceding example, or whenever verbal commentaries are written upon any particular passage, no room remains for doubt: but when a passage is simply quoted either in commentaries, sermons, or polemical discourses, without an explanation being given of each word, it is often a matter of uncertainty, whether the father, who made the quotation, found in his manuscript those words precisely, as he has produced them⁷.

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⁷ Whoever separates Jesus from Christ, contends that Christ was a spirit of a higher order, which united itself with Jesus at his baptism, and departed from him before the time of his death.

It must be likewise observed, that the writings of the fathers themselves may have been sometimes altered, either by copyists or by editors, so as to make these quotations from the New Testament tally with those, to which the copyists, or editors themselves, were accustomed, or to which they gave the preference. In applying therefore the writings of the fathers to the criticism of the New Testament, we must particularly endeavour to procure correct editions of their works. The Venetian edition of Theophylact, for instance, is very inaccurate, and therefore of very little value in sacred criticism: but should any one be disposed to make use of it for this purpose, he would do well to read and examine the remarks in the Gottingen Review for the year 1762, p. 1059—1063.

Another remark, which is necessary to be made, is the following. The fathers quote sometimes not a whole passage, but only some few words of it, which relate in particular to the subject in question, and with these they intermix their own words: or they quote paraphrastically, so as to give the sense, which they ascribe to the words, instead of the words themselves: or they quote from memory, not so much attending to the words as to the sense. I will mention in the note some few examples, in which there is a suspicion of this kind, that renders the quotations less certain than they otherwise would be¹.

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¹ In the following passage, *Matth. xxiii. 15.* καὶ ὅταν γινῆται, πορεύονται υἱοὶ γυναικὸς διπλοῦται ὄμω, the word ὄμω has afforded difficulty to many of the commentators, and Heumann wished entirely to reject it, in support of which he appealed to the evidence of Justin Martyr. It is true that Justin omits it, as appears from the Cologne edition of 1686, p. 350, but he quotes the passage in so free a manner, that we can hardly deduce any solid reference from what he has omitted. His words are, 'Of those indeed (namely the proselytes to the Jewish religion) Christ also testifieth; but ye are, as he saith, doubly children of hell: οὗτοι δὲ διπλοῦται υἱοὶ γυναικὸς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ γινώσκει'.

In the second homily of the Pseudo-Clement, § 51, p. 640, is a various reading, not noted by Wetstein; μὴ ἡδὺτις τὰ ἀλάδη τῶν γραφῶν

It is true that charges of this kind have been somewhat carried too far, and the readings which are drawn from the writings of the fathers, less estimated than they deserve. Critics, even of eminence, are not agreed in their sentiments on this subject, some considering the quotations of the fathers as accurately taken from their manuscripts of the Greek Testament, while others believe them to be inaccurate and made merely from memory⁹. There arose a controversy in Italy, about forty years ago, which gave rise to a work on this subject, in which the opinions of the learned in general are delivered so fully, as to make it unnecessary for me to fill a page with names and quotations. The cause of this literary dispute was the following quotation, made by Tertullian from John i. 13. *qui non ex sanguine, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo natus est*, where the

for *μη ιδετε τις γραφας*, Mark xii. 24. Now I do not believe that Clement found this reading in his Greek manuscripts, and am persuaded that the person, who fabricated the Clementine homilies, imagined there was a kind of emphasis in the plural *γραφας*, as expressive of two kinds of writings, spurious and genuine, of which according to his account, the Pentateuch consisted. This exposition he introduced into the quotation, and wrote *τα αληθη των γραφων*, 'the true parts of scripture.' The whole passage is as follows, *Ει υι των γραφων α μιν εισιν αληθη, α δι ψευδη, ευλογως ο διδασκαλος ημων ελεγε, γινωσκει τραπηζεται δοκιμοι, ως τωι υι ταις γραφας τινωι μιν δοκιμωι οντων λογωι, τινωι δι κισδηλων. Και τοις απο των ψευδων γραφων πλανωμενοις οικειωι της πλανης εξεφανι την αιτιαν, ληρωι δια τουτο πλανασθι, μη ιδετε τα αληθη των γραφων. η ισακιν αγνοειτε και την δυναμιν του Θου.*

Another remarkable instance is the following: Cyril of Alexandria, in his tenth book against Julian, p. 328, quotes Rom. ix. 3—5, to prove that St. Paul had called Christ God: but he has omitted many words, which never could have been wanting in any manuscript of the Greek Testament, and therefore the quotation of Cyril cannot constitute a various reading. The omitted words I will insert in parenthesis. *Ηυχουμεν γαρ αυτοις (εγω), φασιν, αναθημα υιω απο (του) χριсту, υπερ των αδελφων μου, των συγγενων (μου) κατα σαρκα: οιτινες εισιν Ισραηλιται, υι η υιοθεσια (και η δοξα) και η νομοθεσια: και η διαθεκη, (και η λατρεία), υι οι πατερες, και εξ υι το κατα σαρκι χριτος, - ε υι ου: παντας διος ευλογητος εις της αιωνας. Αμην.* Here are ten words omitted, beside those which are altered, or transposed.

the verb being in the singular makes the whole sentence refer, not to those who are born again, but to Christ. Now, as several of the fathers quote in this manner, Castus Innocens Ansaldus, a learned monk; concluded that these words must have actually stood in one of the old Latin versions. The opinion was not ungrounded, for Blanchini found this very reading in the Voronensian manuscript, which he afterwards published in his *Evangeliarium quadruplex*. But Petrus Barzanus of Brescia published a letter in answer to Ansaldus, in which he contended that the fathers quoted negligently and merely from memory, that Tertullian had here made a mistake for that very reason, and that the error had crept from his writings into manuscripts of the Latin version, of which that of Verona was an instance. To this Ansaldus replied, in the following work: *Casti Innocentis Ansaldi, ordinis prædicatorum, de authenticis sacrarum scripturarum apud SS. patres lectionibus libri duo, Veronæ 1746*, in which he has displayed very solid sense, an impartial love of truth, and a knowledge of what has been written on this subject even by protestant critics, to whose writings he ascribes their due value. But, as in most controversies, he carries the matter too far, and, like other authors of the Romish church, is too partial an advocate for the authority of the fathers, which he thinks it imprudent to diminish: an opinion which in other churches is now laid aside.

To set the matter in a clear light, it is necessary to make a distinction between those passages, which the fathers expressly declare, that they have taken literally from manuscripts, and those which they quote without any such assurance. Of the former we can entertain no doubt, since no man, without solid proofs, would accuse the fathers of having been purposely guilty of falsehood. The only case, in which a suspicion might arise, is when they are quoted in polemical writings; for in these the fathers sometimes make use of a finesse, which in plain terms would be called a deviation from

the truth, though Jerom defends in a very plausible manner this mode of arguing: but a suspicion of this kind must not often be entertained. The question then, which I am to answer, relates to the second kind of quotations.

If we judge from the practice of writers in general, and without ever having read the works of the fathers, it is unreasonable to suppose that they have never quoted either paraphrastically or from memory. For no author would willingly impose upon himself so severe a rule; and if this accuracy is sometimes observed, we cannot expect it in all cases from so great a variety of writers, who lived in different ages, and in different countries. Whatever Ansaldus may assert to the contrary, it is certain that the Apostles and Evangelists themselves have not always preserved the words of the Septuagint, but that they have substituted in some cases synonymous expressions, especially in the speeches recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and that they have sometimes quoted from mere memory. Why then shall we expect from the fathers a greater degree of accuracy, than was observed by the writers of the New Testament? Nay it is a certain fact, that they have committed very gross mistakes of memory, examples of which are given by Dallæus in his treatise *De usu Patrum*, l. 2. c. 3. And if they have been guilty of error in respect to the subjects themselves, if Epiphanius has quoted the words 'touch me not,' as used by Christ to his mother, we may naturally suppose that they have sometimes deviated from the words, which stood in their manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

But on the other hand it is certain, that they have not quoted so frequently from memory, as some critics have conjectured; and many supposed mistakes of memory, especially in the Latin fathers, have been found to be nothing more than various readings, which actually exist in ancient manuscripts, as appears from the publications of Blanchini and Sabatier.

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We are not therefore to reject the quotation of a father, because it differs from the common text, but must first examine whether it cannot be discovered in manuscripts of the New Testament; and to enable those, who have access to manuscripts, to make this comparison with as much ease as possible, we should endeavour to procure the most accurate and copious extracts from the writings of the fathers. If a reading then, which had the appearance of being an error of memory, is actually discovered in manuscripts, we may without hesitation put it down in the list of various readings: its antiquity will be determined by the age, in which the father, who quoted it, lived; and the manuscripts, which contain it, will afford a secondary evidence of its age and authenticity.

But we must not judge of the writings of all the fathers, nor of all the writings of the same father in the same manner. They may be divided into three different classes. 1, Commentaries, to which may be referred also those discourses which were written as expositions of parts of the Bible. 2, Works of edification. 3, Polemical writings. In the first it is evident, that the book which is expounded is not quoted from memory, but that the author in writing his commentary, had lying before him a manuscript of the Greek Testament. But with respect to the polemical writings of the fathers, those who are acquainted with their mode of disputation, and know that their principal object is sometimes to confound their adversaries, rather than to support the truth, will refer the quotations, which appear in these productions, to the lowest class. If a father was acquainted with more than one reading to a passage, he would certainly quote that which best suited his purpose, and with which he could most easily confute his opponents. It is therefore not sufficient to know what reading he quotes, but we must likewise consider where he quotes it: and those therefore, who collect various readings from the writings of the ancient fathers, would do well to point

out the book, chapter, edition, and page, in order to enable the reader to form a proper judgment.

Lastly, it is necessary to make an accurate distinction between a quotation properly so called, and a passage of scripture introduced and applied as a part of a discourse. For if a writer, in treating any known doctrine of the Bible, uses the words of scripture, he is at liberty to add to, or subtract from, to contract or dilate them in a manner, that is best adapted to the tenor of his discourse. But even such passages are not unworthy of notice, for, if they are different in different manuscripts, and any one of these latter coincides with the former, the coincidence is not to be considered as a matter of chance. But when no manuscript corroborates the reading in such a passage, it is entitled to no voice, in deciding on the text of the Greek Testament.

S E C T. III.

Division of the Fathers, according to the languages, in which they wrote.

IN collecting readings from the works of the fathers, an accurate distinction must be made between those who wrote in Greek, and those who wrote in another language. Properly speaking, the former only are to be considered, when we select readings for the Greek Testament, and the latter immediately relate to the text of the version, from which they are quoted, unless particular mention be made of the Greek, or the writer, like Jerom, made a practice of correcting the translation of his country from the original.

I will begin with the Syrian fathers, because in treating of them I shall be less exposed to the danger of contradiction, since in general only men of learning and judgment have written on that subject. It has been doubted whether Ephrem the Syrian understood those languages, in which the Bible was written: my own
opinion

opinion is, that he did not¹¹; this, at least is certain, that in his Syriac commentaries he quotes the Bible from the Syriac version, in the same manner as Luther's translation is quoted in German commentaries, except in some particular cases, where the original is particularly mentioned. I am much better acquainted with his writings on the Old Testament, than with those on the New, and I have there observed that he frequently deviates from the common Syriac text, which might be corrected from his quotations, though at other times his readings appear to be less accurate than those of the Polyglot. In some few places he alludes to the original, but observations of that kind may perhaps be ascribed to others, rather than to Ephrem himself. I speak at present of his Syriac works: with respect to his Greek writings, I shall make some observations in the sequel. The writings of the most learned Syrian fathers, before his time, are no longer extant.

The Latin fathers have acted in the same manner as the Syrian, and have quoted the Bible according to their own version¹², the later fathers have quoted the Vulgate, whereas the most ancient have used one of those versions, that existed before the time of Jerom. And in the same manner, as the old Latin versions differ from each other, we find a difference in the quotations of the same passage in the writings of different fathers. Tertullian, for instance, quotes a different text from that which appears to have been in use either in Rome, or in Milan. Even Jerom, who made it his particular business to correct the Latin translation from the original, is to be understood in general either of the common version, or his own corrected edition, whenever he declares not the contrary. Those, who are accustomed to the writings of the Latin fathers, expect to find no other quotations, than such as are taken from the Latin version, and Ansaldus, the zealous advocate for the readings of the fathers, has not attempted to prove any thing further.

¹¹ Knittel, in his *New Criticism* on 1 John v. 7. p. 335—348, is of a different opinion.

farther. The superscription to the sixth chapter of his first book is, Sanctos patres non solum in commentariis ad biblia, sed et in polemicis lucubrationibus, in homiliis, et ubicunque se scripturas citare dicunt: atque ostendunt, textibus seu versionibus ac editionibus adhaeruisse suis. Men conversant with the works of the fathers can hardly be of a different opinion, and the members of the church of Rome, who are in general better acquainted with them than we Protestants, seem in general to take this doctrine for granted. But by many members of our church this doctrine is thought extraordinary, not indeed by men of real learning, but by those who without sufficient knowledge presume to enter the lists of sacred criticism. This is particularly the case in the controversy relative to 1 John v. 7. the advocates for which passage seemed dissatisfied with the answer of their opponents, that its being quoted by the Latin fathers proved nothing more, than that it existed at that time in the Latin version. They ask, by what means we can be certain that the Latin fathers quoted from the Latin version? Now this is a very extraordinary question, especially when proposed by persons, who do not pretend to have a knowledge of the fathers, and the only answer to be given is, that those who doubt the fact, should either study the fathers, and convince themselves by actual experience, or give credit to persons, who have more knowledge of the subject than themselves. But to make the matter comprehensible to those, who have never opened the writings of an ancient father, we need only appeal to the common practice of modern divines, who in their public sermons constantly quote the Bible from the versions of their respective countries, even though they are acquainted with the original itself. The same is true in regard to the commentaries, which are written by the clergy in their native languages; almost the only persons, who quote from the original, are University Professors, because Greek and Hebrew are generally known in those seats of learning; but even these, when they write in German, adhere to the translation of Luther.

We have no reason therefore to suppose that preachers and commentators, who lived in ages in which a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was very uncommon, would pay so little regard to the understandings of their hearers, or readers, as to quote the Bible in any other, than the usual and known translation. And when mistakes had been made in this translation, it is probable that they would have reserved all corrections and emendations, to their remarks on the text, provided they had sufficient knowledge of the original: but it is certain that most of them were ignorant of Greek, and therefore wholly unequal to the undertaking. If it be asked, by what means we discover this degree of ignorance in the Latin fathers, I answer, by the study of their writings, and of ecclesiastical history. But I would recommend to those, who are capable of proposing questions of this nature, not to waste the time and attention of the public by presuming to write on controversial Divinity.

Those fathers, whose writings we possess not in the original, but only in a translation, are to be considered in the same light, as if they quoted the New Testament from the language, that was known to their translators; from the Greek, if their works were translated into Greek; from the Latin, if translated into Latin; for it was the usual practice of translators, not to render literally the quotations of their author, but to have recourse to that edition of the Bible, which was common in their respective countries. This observation applies in particular to Irenæus, whose books *adversus hæreses* exist only in a Latin translation. In this, the quotations from the New Testament are perfectly correspondent to the old Latin version, as it stood before the time of Jerom, and to the quotations of the Latin fathers: and on comparing the few quotations, that are extant on the fragments of the Greek original, we find that they have readings different from those of the Latin text. The readings therefore which are collected from the works of Irenæus, refer immediately, not to the Greek but to the Latin; and whenever we find the name of this Greek father among the
variæ

variæ lectiones, it ought rather to be understood of his translator, than of Irenæus himself. Those passages alone are to be excepted, which are either immediately taken from the Greek fragments, or which are of such a nature as to determine from the context, what reading is found in the original. For more information on this subject, the reader may consult my late father's *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus Novi Testamenti*, § 14—18, and the *Orient. Bibl.*¹² Vol. VIII. p. 153. with respect to an opinion of Knittel on the Revelation of St. John.

The remarks, that have been made on the works of Irenæus, are likewise applicable to those of Ephrem the Syrian. He quoted from the Syriac New Testament, but his translator, instead of re-translating into Greek the Syriac text of his quotations, substituted the words of the original itself. I confess however that I never made a particular study of the Greek works of Ephrem: the judgment, which I have formed, is rather from a cursory examination, but, as Mill in his *Prolegomena*, § 800, 801. delivers the same opinion, it is probably not far removed from the truth. An accurate collation of the Syriac, and translated Greek works of Ephrem, with the Syriac version, can alone determine in what extent this rule is to be applied, and in what cases it admits of exceptions.

Mill and Wetstein¹³ have given, in their *Prolegomena*, a catalogue of those fathers, from whom they have selected various readings. They contain much valuable information, and are by no means unnecessary even to those, who are acquainted with ecclesiastical history, and the works of the fathers: for a man may be acquainted with their lives, and with their writings in general, without having a critical knowledge of their manner of quoting the New Testament. This subject is sometimes treated by the editors of the fathers, either in the preface, or in separate dissertations: for instance, in the first volume of the late Venetian edition of Theophylact, there is a very excellent treatise on the manuscripts of the Greek Testament,

Testament, used by that father, whose works are of very great importance in sacred criticism. But the limits of this Introduction permit me to say no more on the present subject, and my readers have perhaps on that account no loss, as the works of the fathers neither have, nor could have been my particular study, unless I had neglected matters, which were to me of more importance.

Before I close this section, I will propose a question to the learned, which seems worthy of their consideration, namely, in what manner those authors, who were natives of Syria, but wrote in Greek, quote the New Testament; whether they do not even in their Greek writings follow the Syriac version, to which they were accustomed from their childhood. To answer this question, many data must be collected, which I have not done; but I will mention two or three which at present occur to me. Porphyry quotes the reading *in Hraia*, Mark i. 2. which is found in the Syriac version; but in very few manuscripts, as I observed above, ch. vii. § 6. But on the other hand he quotes *xx avacaww*, John vii. 8. which is not in the Syriac version, nor in the greatest number of the Greek manuscripts, but found only in a few latinizing manuscripts, in the Vulgate, and in the Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, and Forojulianus ¹⁴.

S E C T. IV.

Of the defects observable in the extracts, which have been hitherto made from the writings of the Fathers, and the manner, in which they are to be remedied.

THE writings of the fathers present the critic, in his researches on the text of the New Testament, with matter for many fruitful inquiries, and they deserve therefore to be collated with more accuracy and diligence, than they have hitherto been.

The following is a remarkable instance of a defect of this kind, in the editions of the New Testament with various

various readings. In the passage John i. 13. which occasioned the above-mentioned controversy in Italy, relative to the critical authority of the fathers, Mill refers only to his Prolegomena, where he had observed that the Valentinians read 'natus est;' Wetstein writes that the Valentinians read *γεννηθη*, and that the Latin Codex Veronensis has the same reading. But both these critics omit a material circumstance, which is mentioned by Anselmus, and treated by him at large, Lib. II. cap. iv. that Tertullian himself adopted it as the genuine reading¹⁵, and that it is found in the works of several other fathers. Bengel has something more than Wetstein, but not all that might be said on this subject.

Another defect is, that the critics in general, not excepting Wetstein, do not always enable their readers to refer to the passages quoted from the fathers. When only the name of the father is mentioned, or the particular book specified, without notice being taken of chapter, edition, or page, it is not in the power of the reader, unless he submits to vast labour, to examine the evidence that is produced, and to pay attention to all those circumstances, by which the authority of quotations of this kind is increased, or diminished. It would be however a piece of injustice toward Wetstein, if I neglected to mention, that he in many cases has not only quoted with all this accuracy, but has even produced the words themselves: so that he might be considered as a pattern for future critics, if he had always observed the same exactness¹⁶. It has been observed, that Mill has sometimes erroneously quoted the fathers, nor will I take upon me to assert that Wetstein is never guilty of similar mistakes, though I never met with an example.

The preceding remarks must excite a wish in the minds of those who are friends to sacred criticism, that some person qualified for the task would collect into a volume all the readings, which have been selected from the different fathers, and, in order to correct mistakes and supply defects, take the trouble to read through all their writings. A work of this kind would be of great value to future Mills and

and Wetsteins, and would also be a public archive, to which every one could have recourse in cases of doubt. The materials, that must be used by a critical editor of the Greek Testament, are so numerous and extensive, that it is hardly in the power of the same person, who collates Greek manuscripts, or ancient versions, to make extracts sufficiently copious from the works of the fathers: nor is the margin of a Greek Testament capable of containing, in addition to the readings of manuscripts and versions, such ample authorities from the fathers, as I could wish to see produced. Should any one undertake the task, which I have just proposed, I would recommend to his attention the following rules:

1. To read through with attention the writings of the fathers, as well Syriac, as Greek and Latin, to note every passage that is quoted from the New Testament, and not to satisfy himself with those texts only, which the editor had noted in the margin. Ephrem the Syrian would be one of the first authors, which should draw his attention; but there are Syriac commentators of still greater importance, whose works are preserved in manuscript in the Vatican.

2. To make use of the best edition of each father, that is, not the most splendid, the most expensive, or the newest, but the most correct edition.

3. That in an Index made for that purpose he particularly note the editions which he has used, that the reader may himself be enabled to refer to the quoted author.

4. To quote not only by book, and chapter, but likewise the page.

5. To quote, whenever it is necessary, the words themselves, with those preceding and following, that the reader, without referring to the original, may judge from the connection, whether the father actually quoted the New Testament, or only borrowed from it thoughts or expressions. Also to take particular notice, whether the father expressly declares that the sentence itself is a part of scripture.

6. Not

6. Not to render this work, that will be unavoidably voluminous in itself, still more prolix, tedious, and expensive, by long and useless observations. An opinion concisely delivered, in the manner of Wetstein, might be sometimes agreeable to the reader, who, on the other hand, could not fail of being disgusted by an ostentatious display of learning, in a work which properly relates only to simple evidence, and plain facts.

7. Whenever he omits a quotation, which had been alleged by Mill or Wetstein, that he assign his reason for so doing, in order to assure the reader that an error of his predecessors, not his own negligence, was the cause of his omitting the quotation.

8. That he distinguish by some mark those quotations from the fathers, which had been noticed neither by Mill, nor Wetstein.

Whoever should undertake the task, which I have proposed, and faithfully fulfil these conditions, would not only derive instruction himself from a useful study of the fathers, and that perhaps in his leisure hours, but would merit the thanks of the church, and deserve the rank of a Mill, or a Wetstein. If it should be thought too much for one man to undertake the whole, he might confine his attention to the Greek, another to the Latin, a third to the Syriac fathers. Men of learning, who reside in the country, and who frequently neglect the laborious paths of learning, for want of an object to rouse their attention, have here a new field that lies open to their view.

The wish expressed in the preceding paragraph, which was written some years ago, had in a great measure been gratified by Dr. Griesbach, who has made very accurate extracts from the works of Origen: and it is to be hoped that the public will be presented with the result of his learned labours.

The critical conjectures of the fathers, and the alterations, which many heretics have made in the text of the New Testament, in order to render it more conformable to their own tenets, will be examined in the following chapter,

chapter, because in such cases, both fathers and heretics are not to be considered as evidence, since they conjecture, or invent, without the support of manuscripts, or any other authority.

CHAPTER X.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

SECT. I.

The question, whether critical conjecture is applicable to the New Testament, is not to be decided on theological grounds.

IT is one of the most important, and at the same time one of the most disputed points in sacred criticism, whether what is called *conjectura critica* may be applied to the New Testament? or, in other words, whether in certain cases, and under certain restrictions, provided we use all due care and caution, we may reject the readings of all the manuscripts, versions, and fathers, and merely on a probable supposition admit a reading, that is supported by no written authority? and whether, if we proceed on these principles, we have any reason to expect, that we shall ever arrive at the truth?

Many men of learning, who undoubtedly deserve a place in the list of critics, are of opinion that conjectures are as allowable at present in the New Testament, as in the Classic Authors. Yet the greatest number of our divines considered them formerly as presumptuous, if not impious; but those very persons, who are so strenuously attached to the printed text, are not aware, as Wetstein has observed in his *Prolegomena*, that a very great number of readings, which they so zealously support, are nothing more than critical conjectures, advanced either by the ancient fathers, or by the modern editors of the Greek Testament in the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These readings therefore must be immediately rejected, if critical conjecture is wholly inadmissible.

Now this question is purely critical, and if we would arrive at certainty, we must argue not on theological, but on critical grounds. The argument, which is drawn from the hypothesis, that divine providence would not permit the true reading in any text of the New Testament to be lost, seems very extraordinary, when we consider the persons who have applied it. For these very men make no scruple, in imitation of Gusset, to guess at the meaning of Hebrew words merely from the context, and thereby tacitly acknowledge that divine providence has not guarded against the necessity of conjecture in the Old Testament. Why therefore should they deny that the same liberty may be taken in the New? I confess that I am not attached to Gusset's party, though it was formerly in great repute, since a man may easily conjecture, though possessed of little knowledge: and yet I cannot deny that there are several Hebrew words, of which the meaning cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. If divine providence therefore has permitted conjecture to be necessary in determining the meaning of words in the Old Testament, it cannot be inconsistent with the same providence, that conjectures should be made on the readings of the New Testament. Besides, no man can assert, that, because the true reading of any passage is no longer to be found, it is therefore totally lost, since the number of manuscripts of the Greek Testament, (not to mention other original documents) which have been actually collated, are trifling in comparison with the whole number that have been written; and a reading, which is now supported only by probable conjecture, may hereafter be confirmed by good authority.

Nor does it diminish the certainty of our faith, that some few passages of the New Testament have certain internal marks, which discover them to be not genuine, and which render it necessary to restore the true reading
by

by critical conjecture. Our faith would then only be in danger, if the number of those passages was so very great, as to render the whole New Testament suspicious; or if the principal, and distinguishing doctrines of Christianity must be either added to, or taken from the sacred text, on no other authority than that of mere conjecture. And it must be evident to every man, that the New Testament would be a very uncertain rule of life and manners, and indeed wholly unfit to be used as a standard of religion, if it were allowable, as is the practice of several Socinians, to apply critical conjecture in order to establish the tenets of our own party. For instance, if, in order to free ourselves from a superstitious doctrine, on the supposition that the Divinity of Christ is ungrounded, we were at liberty to change, without any authority, *Θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος*, John i. 1. into *Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος*, and *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, Rom. ix. 5. into *ὢν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, the Bible would become so very uncertain, that every man might believe, or disbelieve, as best suited his own principles. Against critical conjectures of this kind, I shall in a subsequent section bring such arguments, as I think every candid and impartial Deist will acknowledge to be true. But, if we assume not to ourselves the power of altering articles of religion, and confine our emendations to mere matters of criticism, if we alter, for instance, *ἐπειρασθῆσαν*, Heb. xi. 37. to *ἐπηρωθῆσαν*, the grounds of our faith are by no means affected, nor have we reason to fear any evil consequence.

Indeed, I am apprehensive that many divines, by a too great rigour on this subject, support the cause of the enemies of our religion, who insist that the admission of critical conjecture renders faith uncertain. For, though it will appear from the following section, that critical conjecture is not absolutely necessary for the establishing of the true text of the Greek Testament, yet there are passages in the Hebrew Bible, in which we cannot well dispense with it.

S E C T. II.

Critical examination of this question.

IN this section I will set aside all dogmatical arguments, and examine the question in point in a purely critical manner.

In ancient writings, of which only one copy is extant, critical conjecture is indispensable. For it is not to be expected, that the copyist has no where made a mistake ; and the further he is removed from the age in which the author lived, the more copies in the mean time must have been taken, and of course the number of mistakes must have increased in proportion. Where there are errors therefore in this single copy, they can be corrected by no other means, than by critical conjecture. For this reason the first editors of ancient authors, at the time of the revival of learning, were obliged, where they had only a single manuscript, to make corrections in many cases according to probable conjecture : and though they have fallen sometimes into error, yet their editions would have been much less perfect, if they had not availed themselves of this liberty. Even in the present age we should act on the same principles, if we had the good fortune to discover a manuscript of those books of Livy, which are now wanting.

The necessity of critical conjecture remains the same, even where there are several manuscripts, if those manuscripts are only copies of one and the same more ancient manuscript : for those copies, with all their deviations from each other, represent to us only a single manuscript.

Both of these cases take place in regard to Tacitus, as Ernesti has shewn in the preface to that author, in the two first leaves of the sheet, that have the signature B. Critical conjecture therefore is absolutely necessary in the writings of Tacitus. Ernesti has several useful remarks on this subject, which I wish my readers would consult, because they would elucidate the subject in question.

They

They are of importance in the criticism of the New Testament, provided any part of it comes under the above description.

If we have more than a single copy of any work, and those copies are transcripts of different and distinct manuscripts, the necessity of critical conjecture decreases in proportion to the number of copies: but it does not entirely vanish, unless the number of the manuscripts is very considerable. For an erroneous reading may have been so widely propagated, as to have found admission into many transcripts: and the true reading may be discoverable in none, some having one erroneous reading, others another.

We have no reason therefore to censure the critics of the sixteenth century, if in their editions of the Greek Testament they have sometimes departed from the readings of their manuscripts, and substituted in their stead such as were agreeable to probable conjecture. Erasmus of Rotterdam, when he published his first edition of the Greek Testament, had very few manuscripts: of the Revelation, in particular, he had only one, and we cannot suppose therefore that he was in possession of all the genuine readings. Luther likewise, in his translation of the New Testament, admitted critical conjecture, rendering *Ταβία*, Acts ix. 36. by 'Tabia,' according to a supposition of Reuchlin: It is true that this conjecture was erroneous: but another alteration, which in his time was mere conjecture, or at best was only supported by the Vulgate, namely his translation of *απαραις*, 2. Pet. ii. 13. as if it were *αγαραις*, has been since confirmed by the authority of manuscripts. That Luther had actually seen manuscripts with this reading, as Saubert^a conjectures, is very improbable, when we consider that in the place where he resided, no manuscripts were preserved, and the consultation of manuscripts was foreign to Luther's plan of study. This at least is certain, that he often applied critical conjectures in the Old Testament, which have been supported by no authority whatsoever.

After

^a *Variae lectiones Matthæi*, p. 35, 36. 38.

After the publication of the editions of Erasmus, of the Complutensian edition, which was likewise taken from written copies, and that of Robert Stephens, with various readings from fifteen manuscripts, the necessity of critical conjecture was considerably diminished; and more caution was requisite in the admission of a new reading, if, as the number of manuscripts increased, it could be found in none of them. Yet the number of collated manuscripts was at that time so small, in comparison with that which we have at present, the extracts were so few, and so imperfect, and the ancient versions, if we except the Latin, were so little known, that we have no right to censure an editor of that age, for assuming to himself the right of critical conjecture. If Colinaeus^x therefore, and Beza^y, have inserted in the text of their editions, readings which they found in no manuscript, and which were supported only by critical conjecture, they were in very different circumstances from those in which we are at present: for we have not only ten times as many witnesses for or against a reading, as they had, but we have examined them with much greater accuracy; and the assertion of Wetstein, that modern critics have the same privilege as those of the sixteenth century, is not wholly agreeable to the truth^z. Nay, even that, which I should consider as allowable to Erasmus Schmid^x; who collected the materials for his Greek Testament in the beginning of the seventeenth century, though it was not published before the year 1658, would be unwarrantable in a critic, who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

For the probability, that critical conjecture alone can restore the true reading, decreases in the same proportion as our materials of criticism, or collections of various readings, increase. And since so many manuscripts, works of the fathers, and ancient versions made in distant countries, and in different periods, have been carefully collated; since also those very ancient Latin versions, that vary so considerably from each other, and

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^x See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 141.

^y *Ib.* p. 147.

^z *Ib.* p. 153.

were translated from very different Greek manuscripts, have been made known to the public, we might doubt whether critical conjecture ought not at present to be entirely rejected.

Yet the right of critical conjecture has been supported, even in the present age, by several warm, and even learned advocates. However they have not felt, and of course not answered the objection, which I have made in the preceding paragraph: they have too much attended to theological objections; or they have too hastily drawn conclusions from principles, that are applicable only to writings, of which there are but a few manuscripts, to the criticism of the New Testament, of which we have a very copious collection of various readings. The most celebrated advocate for the right of critical conjecture is Wetstein, who has delivered his sentiments on this subject, p. 854—858. of the second volume of his *Greek Testament* ^a.

All things, however, considered, I would not undertake to banish conjecture entirely from the criticism of the New Testament. I feel very strongly the weight of one of Wetstein's proofs, though he has not given it the whole force of which it is capable. He says, p. 855. however inimical the clergy have been to the use of critical conjecture, they have not been able themselves to refrain from alterations in the sacred text, which are supported by no authority; and adds, *cum ventum ad verum est, ratio moresque repugnant*. Now the practice of the ancient theologians, and fathers, which he alleges in support

^a He says, p. 855. *Quæro qua via is, cui codices alios consilere non licet, scire possit, quid aut a prima manu scriptum, aut postea immutatum sit, nisi ex ingenio, conjectura, &c.* Now it is true, that if we had only one manuscript, or one edition of the Greek Testament, that critical conjecture would be admissible; but Wetstein himself has taken care that we should not be in this situation. In this edition alone we can consult the readings of above a hundred manuscripts; and it is a matter of great doubt, whether in that case we are at liberty to alter the text from mere conjecture. All his arguments in favour of the contrary opinion, which I have not leisure at present to examine separately, are weakened at once by what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs ^a.

support of his argument, does not appear to be of great weight ; for those ancient writers were not in possession of such a collection of various readings as we are. And yet there are certain passages in the Greek Testament, in which I can hardly refrain from the use of critical conjecture, in opposition to the authority of all our written documents ; some of which passages the reader will find in my Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews ^b. If it is asked, why I would admit in those cases the right of critical conjecture, in opposition to written authority ? I answer, because the text itself, after all the pains which have been bestowed on it, still seems to be sometimes faulty, or at least to be capable of an alteration, that would be more suitable to the context, and better adapted to the design of the writer. For instance, I cannot read Rom. viii. 2. without supposing that the Apostle wrote, *ο γαρ νομος τε πνευματος ΚΑΙ της ζωης εν Χριστω Ιησου ηλευθερωσε με απο τε νομου της αμαρτιας και τε θανατου*, because the antithesis would be then complete, and a sense would be expressed that is suitable to the design of the Apostle. In short, it appears to me, that there are some few passages in the New Testament, which, in the language of criticism, are called *loci affecti*, passages, in which we have hitherto been able to derive no assistance, either from manuscripts, fathers, or versions, and which demand therefore the aid of critical conjecture.

It is true, that the great number of manuscripts brought from different and distant countries, together with the numerous ancient versions, may be alleged as a weighty argument against its admission : for it might be urged, that they would hardly be all erroneous in one and the same passage, and that one and the same mistake should have been made in each is certainly not to be expected. But we must recollect, that not a single manuscript is now extant, that was written in the four first centuries, and that the ancient versions have not descended to us without alterations. It is likewise evident from the writings of the fathers, that many readings were in those

^b For instance, Heb. xi. 37. xii. 25.

those times in the Greek manuscripts, which are at present to be found in none^c, or only in a very few^d; having been altered either by accident, or because they appeared to the transcribers to be obscure, or exceptionable. It is therefore not impossible that other readings, which have not been preserved in the works of the fathers, or in the Greek manuscripts, may have been equally lost; and among them perhaps some that were genuine. Besides, it is not impossible that there are many important manuscripts of which we have no knowledge, and that a collation of those manuscripts might confirm the critical conjectures of the eighteenth century, in the same manner as many conjectures of the sixteenth century have been confirmed in the eighteenth, by the authority of manuscripts, and ancient versions.

What I have said against critical conjecture, is not applicable in an equal degree to all the books of the New Testament, and not at all to the Revelation of St. John. For of some books we have fewer transcripts than of others, and of the Revelation we have the fewest of all. In this book therefore it is the most probable, that the text stands in need of critical conjecture.

Likewise in other books of the New Testament, there are cases, in which it is difficult to refrain from using the same liberty. The conjecture of Casaubon, that the
reading

^c For instance, *novs* before *Βασιλευς*, Matth. xxvii. 16, 17. See ch. vi. sect. 11.

^d For instance, John i. 18. *ο μονογενης θεος*, a reading which we find in the quotations of the ancient fathers, and in the ancient versions, and which was probably the common reading in the first centuries. But at present it is found in only two manuscripts, namely, in the eighth of Stephens's manuscripts, and in one of them, which belonged to Colbert. Yet it is a reading which conveys a good sense, and is agreeable to the other expressions used by St. John. The eternal Son of God, whom he had before called God, might not improperly be termed *ο μονογενης θεος*. Though it is a bold expression, it is not contrary to the rules of the strictest grammar: and in the same manner as the Jews called the true God 'the first born of the world' (*בכור של עולם*), and Christ himself is called *ο πρωτοτοκος*, Heb. i. 6. so might St. John have ventured to use the expression *ο μονογενης θεος*.

reading of Luke i. 39. should be εις ωλιν Ιστα, and that of Valla, who proposed to read, Acts ix. 7. *Θωρυνητες μεν το φως, μηδεναι δε ακουοντες*, are so probable, that I cannot avoid acceding to them. And the first editors of the Greek Testament so sensibly felt the impropriety of the reading υιος η βας, Luke xiv. 5. that they unanimously inserted ονος, though they found it in not a single manuscript. It is true that they had the authority of the Vulgate, but even there the alteration had probably been made from mere conjecture*.

To what has been already observed on this subject, may be added a remark, which gives a new turn to the inquiry, and entitles us to the use of critical conjecture. Namely, it is probable, that all our manuscripts, and versions of the New Testament, were taken, not from the single copies of the Gospels and Epistles, which proceeded from the hands of the Apostles themselves, but from the collection, that was formed of the several parts of the New Testament. We are in the same situation, therefore, as that which I described above, in speaking of the works of Tacitus, nor would this situation be altered, even if, instead of two hundred and ninety-two manuscripts, which I enumerated in the sixth section of the eighth chapter, we had above a thousand. For they would still be transcripts of one and the same copy: and if this copy had any errors, which it would be the highest presumption to deny, these errors must have been transmitted into every manuscript of the Greek Testament whatsoever, and these errors can be remedied only by the aid of critical conjecture. See the remarks which were made on the publication of the Greek Testament, ch. vi. § 2. of this Introduction.

It appears then, that a collection of critical conjectures may be of great use in establishing the genuine text of the

* One manuscript of the old Latin version has 'filius,' others have 'asinus,' which last reading has been adopted in our present Vulgate. That it is an alteration from conjecture is the more probable, because the Codex Cantabrigiensis has another alteration, viz. *αρετατον*, which is certainly mere conjecture.

the Greek Testament: and it is likewise attended with this particular advantage, that we are led by it to examine manuscripts, and other original documents, with greater accuracy, in order to see whether those readings, which had no other support than conjecture, may not be established by written authority? For we know from actual experience, that this has been the case with several readings: a conjecture of Laurentius Valla, relative to Acts ix. 7. has been confirmed by the Ethiopic version: and having once proposed myself, in my public lectures, to read *ααλαξαι* for *αλλαξαι*, Gal. iv. 20. I was reminded that Griesbach had produced this reading from his Codex 66.

A collection of the kind, which I remembered in the preceding paragraph, has been published by Bowyer, a learned printer in London. The first edition appeared in 1763, under the title, *Conjectural Emendations on the New Testament*, collected from various authors, and was added as a supplement to Bowyer's edition of the Greek Testament, in which the editor mentioned in the title-page only the initials of his name. The second edition was published in 1772, with considerable additions, which edition was translated into German by Professor Schulz, and much improved by the learned translator. The third edition, with still greater improvements, was published in London in 1782. This is a work which is classical in its kind. and to which the remarks of future critics will probably be annexed.

S E C T. III.

The propriety of critical conjecture considered à posteriori, and from its application to particular examples.

THE objections, which may be made à priori to the use of critical conjecture, though they appear plausible on the first view, have been fully answered in

in the preceding section. But an examination of the various conjectures which have in different ages been proposed by men of the first eminence, and been almost universally adopted, will teach us to be very cautious how we apply it ourselves. Of several hundreds, which Bowyer has produced, there is hardly one, which, after an impartial examination, will be found probable. Most of them are the result of hurry, ignorance, or at least a want of knowledge in matters which have been since placed in a clearer light; and they have nothing else to recommend them but a quality, which is always to be suspected in the art of criticism, that of being more easy and intelligible to common readers, and of being devoid of that roughness, which characterizes the genuine readings of the Greek Testament. On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that there are some few, which bear on them the marks of probability. The matter being thus circumstanced, it is evident, that too much care cannot be taken in the admission of critical conjectures into the text itself. Where ancient critics have taken this liberty, modern critics contend that they have injured the text. I will therefore mention a few instances, that the reader may be able to judge for himself*.

Of all the fathers, no one was so well qualified by his learning for making critical conjectures as Origen; and no one has ventured to go further. One of his conjectures relates to the following texts, Matth. viii. 28. Mark v. 1. Luke viii. 26. on which he writes as follows, in his Commentaries on St. John, Tom. VI. 'Whoever would perfectly understand the sacred writings, must not think that a minute attention to proper names is of no importance. For mistakes in proper names are to be found in the Greek manuscripts, of which the following is an example. It is related by the Evangelists, that the country, where the swine were driven by the devils into the sea, was the Land of the Gerasenes (*χωρα των Γερασενων*). Now Gerasa, which is a city of Arabia, has neither lake

* The latter part of this section may be considered as an appendix to chap. vi. sect. 11.

lake nor sea near it: and it is impossible that the Evangelists, who were well acquainted with Palestine, could have made so palpable a mistake. Some of the manuscripts have *των Γαδαρηνων*, but Gadara, which is a city in Judæa, is also at a distance from any lake, or sea. But Gergesa, which gives name to the country of the Gergesenes, is an ancient city on the lake of Tiberias; and near to it there are steep rocks, which hang over the sea, where at this very day the place is shewn, from which the swine fell'. On this relation of Origen may be made the following remarks:

1. Origen considers it as certain, that all the manuscripts, with which he was acquainted, were in some places erroneous.

2. It is his intention to confirm this opinion by an example, which to him appears to admit of no doubt. Yet this very example is an argument against Origen, and against the use of critical conjecture.

3. The reading *Γεργισηνων*, which is that of our common printed editions, he found in no manuscript; for all his manuscripts, and that in all the three Gospels, had either *Γερασηνων*, or *Γαδαρηνων*. The reading, therefore, *Γεργισηνων*, which is generally found in our manuscripts, can be ascribed to no other cause, than the conjecture of Origen.

4. His reason for rejecting *Γαδαρηνων* was, because there was no sea near Gadara. But this is not sufficient ground for rejecting the reading. For Gadara, which he places in Judæa, a name that he probably uses to signify all Palestine, was, according to the accounts of Josephus*, the capital of Peræa; and from this town the whole of the adjacent country, as far as Galilee, was called *Γαδαρις*†. The country of Gadara, therefore, extended as far as the sea of Tiberias, into which the swine fell: and, as the Evangelists relate not that Christ came to Gadara, but only into the country of the Gadarenes, or, in other words, that he crossed the sea of Tiberias,

* Bell. Jud. Lib. IV. cap. vii. § 3:

† Bell. Jud. Lib. III. cap. iii. § 1:

Tiberias, and landed on the eastern shore, it is of no importance, whether there was a sea near Gadara itself, or not. Origen therefore might have permitted this reading, which he found in a few manuscripts, but which we have only in the Syriac version, to remain.

5. It is equally unimportant, whether there was a sea near the city Gerasa, which lay on the other side of the Jordan, near the river Jabbok! for the reading Γερασσηνων, does not imply that Christ came to the city Gerasa, but only to the country of the Gerasenes. Now it appears from the accounts of Josephus*, that Gerasa was a large fortified town, and that it gave name to a certain district, in a part of which a fort was built of the name of Ragaba†. Now Ragaba, or as it is written in Hebrew, Argob, was fifteen Roman miles to the west of Gerasa: and Reland, in his *Palæstina*, p. 959. observes that the land of the Gerasenes extended a great way to the westward, a circumstance necessary for the understanding of the New Testament. It is not improbable, therefore, that the land of the Gerasenes bordered, in some places, on the lake of Gennesareth; and it is not manifest that Γερασσηνων, as Origen asserts, is absolutely a false reading. In fact, we have no concern with the city of Gerasa, in inquiring into a reading, which relates only to the country at large, which derived its name from the city. In Arabic, Gersh (جرش), signifies the Land of Gilead. See the *Supplementa ad Lex. Heb. Num.* 421.

6. The alteration of the text to Γεργησηνων, Origen grounded on no other authority, than that a place near the city of Gergesa was still shewn, at that very time, where the swine fell into the sea. Now every one, who knows the impositions which have been practised on travellers through Palestine, in pointing out to them the scenes of actions recorded in the sacred writings, must wonder that so learned and so sensible a man as Origen, could alter the text of three Evangelists, merely on such a tradition.

7. Still

* Bell. Jud. Lib. I. cap. iv. § 8.

† Απειθαν η τεις Γερασσηνι ορεις πολικων Ραγαβα φρουριον πικα τυ Ιερδανου.

7. Still further : it is possible, if not probable, that the name of Gergesa did not exist in the time of Christ and his Apostles. This suspicion must certainly arise in the mind of every man, who has attentively read the works of Josephus. This historian was perfectly well acquainted with Galilee, and the whole country bordering on the Jordan, not only as being a Jew, but as having commanded a body of troops, with which he had traversed the country by night and by day ; and yet it does not appear that he knew of any such land as that of the Gergesenes. In the first book of his Antiquities, chap. 6. § 2. after having mentioned the nations of Canaan, described in the tenth chapter of Genesis, he proceeds, ‘ but of the other seven, the Hetites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Gergesenes, the Eudæans, the Sinites, and the Zemarites, we have nothing remaining, but their names, which exist in the sacred writings ^a, because the Hebrews have razed their cities to the ground.’ Besides, it appears from Joshua iii. 10. that the Gergesenes dwelt on this side the Jordan, not on the other side, where the event in question is recorded to have happened.

It is certain, therefore, that Origen had no solid reasons for altering the text, or for supposing that the same error had crept into three different passages of the New Testament, and that this error was retained in all the Greek manuscripts, which he was able to procure. If Γεργεσηνων had been the true reading, it is hardly possible for it to have been expunged from three different Gospels.

I will mention another instance, which relates to John i. 28. Origen found, as he says, in almost all his manuscripts, or, if we may judge from what follows, in every one of them without exception ^b, this verse thus written, ‘ these things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.’ But Origen rejected this reading for the following reason : “ As I have
been

^a I understand the words of Josephus, as if stopped in the following manner, Πλην των ονοματων εν ταις ιεραϊς βιβλοις, ουδεν εχουσιν.

^b This at least is Wetstein’s opinion, though the words of Origen do not necessarily imply it.

been in that country, in order to trace the footsteps of Christ and his Apostles, I am persuaded, that we ought not to read Bethany in this passage, but Bethabara. For Bethany, as the Evangelist himself relates, was the birth-place of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, and only fifteen stadia from Jerusalem; but the Jordan was at least, to speak in round numbers, a hundred and ninety stadia from that city. Nor is there any city whatsoever of the name of Bethany near to that river. But there is a city of the name of Bethabara on the banks of the Jordan, where it is said, that John baptized ⁴."

Here again Origen grounds the reading, which he has substituted for Bethany, on no other authority than the relation of such persons as conduct travellers to the places in Palestine which are mentioned in the sacred writings. These persons either had no inclination to conduct Origen to the Bethany which lay on the other side of the Jordan, as the journey might have been attended with danger, on account of the tribes of wandering Arabs which infested that country; or they were wholly ignorant of the place. Not to lose therefore their profits arising from conducting strangers, they shewed Bethabara to Origen, as the place where John baptized, and the learned father was credulous enough to believe them.

Now his objections to the common reading entirely vanish, as soon as we examine the text itself, and inquire into the real state of the case. Origen says, that Bethany lay near Jerusalem, and therefore at a distance from the Jordan. But it may be asked, whether there was not more than one city of that name; and whether we must necessarily suppose that the city in question was the place where Lazarus resided? It appears even from the expression used by St. John, that, whether we read Bethany, or Bethabara, there was more than one city of the name, which he mentioned: for if any man should say, 'these things were done at Frankfort on the Oder,' every man, even without a knowledge of Germany, would conclude, that there was some other town of the same name, from
which

which the former was distinguished by the addition of an epithet. In the same manner, when St. John speaks of Bethany beyond Jordan, we must suppose that there were two cities of that name, and that the city which he meant was different from that, which was situate on the mount of Olives. But Origen says that there was no town of the name of Bethany on any part of the Jordan. Now we might reply, that Origen hardly visited all the towns on the banks of the Jordan, and that, like other pilgrims, he probably took the route, which was pointed out by his guides; or that the wars between the Jews and the Romans had so desolated, and so altered the face of the country, that many towns might have existed in the time of John the Baptist, of which no traces remained in the days of Origen. But this answer is unnecessary, for the Evangelist uses a very indeterminate expression, he says that the place, where John baptized, was on the other side of the Jordan, an expression which by no means implies that the town lay on the banks of that river; for it might have been situated either on the Jabbok, or on some other stream considerably to the eastward, where John had a sufficient supply of water for the purpose of baptizing. The alteration, therefore, which was made by Origen, was wholly without foundation.

Jerom, though he was a man of profound learning, changed Βεελζεβλ, which he found in all his manuscripts, into Βεελζεβυλ, for no other reason than because he did not understand the common reading. That which he has substituted has been approved by several critics, has been adopted in the Vulgate, and thence transferred to Luther's translation; but the alteration was wholly unnecessary, as the reading Βεελζεβλ is highly applicable to the prince of the devils, as may be seen in the Supplementa ad Lex. Hebraica, Num. 268.

Luther adopted the conjecture of Reuchlin Ταβια for Ταβια, Acts ix. 36. But at present no man would support it, who knows that תבא is a good Chaldee word, the status emphaticus of תבא.

To mention only one more example of critical conjecture. Several critics have thought the following passage, το γὰρ Ἀγὰρ Σινὰ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, Gal. iv. 25. so very extraordinary, that they have attempted to alter it from mere conjecture, as may be seen in Bowyer's Critical Conjectures. But no man, who knew that the Arabic word Hagar (حجر) signified a rock¹, could think of making an alteration in this passage: for it is obvious that το Ἀγὰρ in the neuter cannot signify the woman Hagar, and St. Paul has not been guilty of a grammatical error, since the passage must be translated 'the word Hagar denotes mount Sinai in Arabia.' This remark I made many years ago in my notes to the epistle to the Galatians: and the collector of the Conjectural Emendations has likewise a similar remark, it being his usual practice to mention those objections, which may be made to the proposed amendments. A conjecture of Dr. Semler, relative to the latter part of the epistle to the Romans, was noticed in the Gottingen Review for 1768, N° 30. and combated on the same ground, as Professor Schulz, who had not seen that number, has taken in his edition of Bowyer's Conjectures, p. 385—397. The agreement between the arguments used in both of those works is remarkable.

The foregoing specimens are sufficient to shew how unnecessary critical conjectures are in general in regard to the New Testament: and, as most of them are of the same stamp, it would be useless to produce any other examples.

S E C T. IV.

Some critical conjectures proposed by the author^s.

I HAVE said above, that there are certain passages in the New Testament, in which I can hardly refrain from venturing a critical conjecture. I will mention a few

¹ See the Supplementa ad Lex. Hebraica, p. 498.

few examples, because they may tend to illustrate the preceding sections; and if, since the time that any one of them occurred to me, I have found reason to alter my opinion, I will add that this or that conjecture is unnecessary. The number of them is but small, because I have never sought for them, and have only noted those, which seemed to force themselves upon me.

In St. Matthew's Gospel I have only one, namely, ch. xxviii. 16. where I would read *οι δε ενδεκα ΚΑΙ οι μαθηται*. Likewise Triller's Conjecture, *ιδε ειπεν υμιν* for *ιδε ειπον υμιν*, v. 7. of the same chapter, is extremely probable. My reason for this opinion I have given in the History of the Resurrection, p. 118, 119. 324. But the first of these readings may possibly be ascribed to the negligence of the person, who translated St. Matthew's Gospel.

Mark xiv. 69. *η παιδισκη*. This reading implies that it was the very same maid, who, v. 67. has accused Peter of being a companion of Christ; and it contains an evident contradiction to Matth. xxvi. 71. *ιδεν αυτον αλλη*. It may be asked then, whether *παιδισκη* was never written without the article, I will not appeal to the Ethiopic and Coptic versions, which have 'another maid,' because this reading might have been substituted, in order to avoid the above-mentioned contradiction. Likewise in the English version, though it was certainly made from an addition, in which *η παιδισκη* stood, has not 'the maid,' but 'a maid.' The question is, whether my conjecture can be confirmed by the authority of no manuscript.

Mark xvi. 8. *εδει εδεν ειπον*. Ought we not to read *εδεν ειπον*? See the History of the Resurrection, p. 135.

Mark xvi. 14. *ανακειμενοις αυτοις τοις ενδεκα*. Has no manuscript *ανακειμενοις αυτοις ΚΑΙ τοις ενδεκα*? This reading would perfectly correspond to Luke xxiv. 36.

Luke vi. 29. *απο τε αιροντος σε το ιματιον και τον χιτωνα μη κλυσης*. Ought not the order of these words to be inverted, and the passage written, *απο τε αιροντος σε τον χιτωνα και το ιματιον μη κλυσης*? The position of *χιτων* and *ιματιον* would then correspond to their position, Matth. v. 40. and the passage could be more easily

explained from the laws of the Jews, as I have shewn in the Mosaic Law, Sect. 148. N° 3. But I acknowledge that the alteration is not absolutely necessary, for Christ might have used both of these expressions, and St. Matthew have observed that arrangement, which was most intelligible to a Jew, St. Luke that which was most intelligible to a foreigner; or St. Luke himself, for want of sufficient knowledge of the Jewish law*, might have inverted these expressions, in which case the present reading must be ascribed, not to a copyist, but to the author himself.

Luke ix. 10. The word *αντικρυ* seems to have been omitted after *εις τοπον ερημον*, 'to a desert place, opposite to a city, which is called Bethsaida.' See Mark vi. 45.

Luke xi. 36. This verse would be more intelligible, if we inserted the article *το*, and read *ει εν το σωμα σε ολον φωτεινον, μη εχον τι μερος σκοτεινον, εσαι φωτεινον* *ΤΟ* ολον^k. The meaning of the passage would then be, 'if in consequence of one perfect eye thy whole body is light, take care that the whole, that is, the whole man, body and soul, become light.' The eyes give light to the body; but that, which Christ calls light, shall enlighten, or give true knowledge to the whole man.

Luke xii. 15. *οτι εκ εν τη περισσευειν τινη η ζωη αυτη εστιν εκ των υπαρχοντων αυτω.* It may be asked, whether St. Luke did not write *οτι εκ εν τη περισσευειν τινη η ζωη αυτη εστιν, ΑΛΛΑ' εκ των υπαρχοντων αυτη*, that is, 'we live not from that, which is superabundant, but from that, which we really enjoy, or from that which we employ in food, raiment, &c.' See Horace's Satires, Book I. l. 45—64. Even without making an alteration in the text, we might give it the same sense, provided we inserted a comma after *εστιν*.

Luke xxiv. 12. It seems to me that something is here wanting, relative to the appearance of Christ to Peter; which

* See the Mosaic Law, Vol. III. p. 49—51.

^k Or without the insertion of the article *if*, instead of *ολον*, we read *αλουν*, the soul, or reason, for Suidas explains *αλουν* as synonymous to *φρονιμος* and *νουν*.

which is recorded 1 Cor. xv. 5. and which St. Luke himself mentions, ch. xxiv. 34. My reason for this opinion is given in the History of the Resurrection, p. 191—193.

John vi. 21. *ἤθελον ἐν αὐτὸν λαβεῖν*. This is a contradiction to the relation of the other Evangelists, who say that the disciples actually took Christ into the ship. Perhaps St. John wrote *ἦλθον ἐν αὐτὸν λαβεῖν*. This conjecture would be allowed in profane writers, who had been eye-witnesses of the same fact; and no reason can be assigned why it should be refused to the sacred writers, when they appear to be at variance with each other.

John xvii. 10. *διδόξασμαι*. Ought it not to be written *διδόξασμαι*, the paulo post futurum? The sense would then be, 'I shall soon be glorified through them:' for Christ was at that time not yet glorified in his Apostles.

Acts ix. 16. *υποδείξω αὐτῷ*. An alteration in this passage occurred to me before the publication of Bowyer's Conjectures, in which a similar amendment is proposed by some one who signs himself R⁶. As the two conjectures are not precisely the same, and yet have a great similiarity to each other, I will mention that which occurred to me, as it is always a presumption in favour of a conjecture, when two different critics write independently of each other, and yet propose the same amendment. The alteration which occurred to me was *υπεδείξαυτῷ*, and in my public lectures I have explained the passage as follows: non tam vexavit ecclesiam meam, quam, me ita rem moderante, alios vexans vidit, quid debeat ipse aliquando pro me pati. Non nova illi erunt, quorum exemplum in aliis præivit.

Acts xvi. 26. *καὶ πάντων τὰ δεσμὰ ῥυέθη*. This passage is very suspicious, and seems to be one of those interpolations, with which the Acts of the Apostles have been particularly disfigured. It is possible that doors may be broke open by an earthquake, but it is hardly possible that the fetters of prisoners should be loosed, at least not without wounding the persons who wore them. And, what is likewise extraordinary, not only the fetters of Paul

and Silas are loosened, but also those of the other prisoners; yet not one of them makes his escape, though they had hardly been imprisoned, like St. Paul, for virtuous actions: nay, many of them were perhaps under sentence of death.

Acts xxviii. 16. *της σκαφης*. The article is here, in my opinion, very suspicious: for this reading implies that they had before let the boat into the sea, and had afterwards great difficulty in reaching it. This is improbable, because 1. No reason can be assigned, why they should have let it down into the sea in a storm. 2. If they had let it down into the sea, they would have been able to draw it up again, unless we suppose, what is contrary to reason, that they had let it entirely loose. 3. Supposing the boat to have been loose, it does not appear that the circumstance of the ship's being near the island has any connection with the recovery of this boat. I would therefore omit the definite article, and explain the passage, 'Being near an island we sought for help, but could not procure a boat to our assistance.'

Rom. i. 4. In this difficult passage it appears to me that the conjunction *και* is wanting, and that we ought to read *κατα πνευμα αγιουνης ΚΑΙ εξ αναγεννης νεκρω*. According to this reading Christ would be called the Son of God for two reasons, 1. in consequence of his eternal divine nature, 2. on account of his resurrection from the dead. This conjecture is however not absolutely necessary, as the difficulty may be removed by pointing the sentence in a manner different from the present, which I shall shew in the chapter relating to that subject. It may be observed also, that commentators have taken for granted that *πνευμα αγιουνης* signifies the eternal Godhead, without any authority, or arguments drawn from the analogy of the Greek language.

Rom. vii. 24. *ex te σωματος τε θανατε τε*. Has no manuscript these words in an inverted order, namely, *ex te θανατε τε σωματος τε*?

Rom. vii. 25. *ευχαριστω τῷ θεῷ*. It may be asked whether St. Paul did not write *ευχαρις τῷ θεῷ*, and design to

to express the following sense, euge! gratia Dei me a morte hujus corporis liberavit per Jesum Christum dominum nostrum.

Rom. viii. 2. A conjecture relative to this text I have proposed in the second section of this chapter.

Rom. ix. 12. *καλυντος*. Ought we not to read *λαλυντος*?

Rom. ix. 16. This verse seems to be wrong placed. See chap. vi. sect. 10. The transposition of this verse was the first cause, which led me to suspect, that our manuscripts of the epistle to the Romans were not taken immediately from the original, which St. Paul sent to Rome, but from the collection of sacred writings, which was formed after the death of the Apostles.

Rom. ix. 22. *εἰ δε*. Ought not this to be written *ιδε*, as we often find the two expressions exchanged by mistake? But I will not insist on the alteration, as the common reading is not devoid of meaning.

Rom. xv. 12. *αρχειν εδων*. See ch. v. sect. 4.

1 Cor. iv. 1. *πως λογιζισθω ημας ανθρωπος*. The word *ανθρωπος* is here unsuitable to the context, and the word 'man,' used in the sense of 'every man,' does not sound like genuine Greek. The sense would be better, and the language more pure, if we read *ουτως λογιζισθω ημας ανθρωπος*: that is, 'we are men, like other men, not lords of the church;' or, let all men consider us as men, as their equals, who have no other superiority than that of being servants of Christ.

1 Cor. viii. 10. *οικοδομησεται*. The phrase 'his conscience will be edified to eat things offered to idols,' is so very extraordinary, that many critics have here suspected an error in the Greek text. I am of the same opinion, and venture a new conjecture, which consists merely in the alteration of A to N, two letters which transcribers frequently exchange. I would alter them *οικοδομησεται* to *οικονομησεται*, and explain the passage, 'his conscience will be seduced to eat of things offered to idols,' or 'his conscience will be guided by thine, and in compliance with your example (*κατ' οικονομιαν*, as the fathers would express it) eat of things offered to idols,'

or, 'he will conceal his real opinion (for *συνειδησις* may be taken in this sense) and through dissimulation eat of things offered to idols.' I prefer the last explanation. The fathers frequently use *οικονομία* in this sense: for instance Chrysostom, in his remarks on Acts xxi. 20, 21. says of St. Paul, *ἐκεῖνος τοῖνυν συγκαταβῆναι ἀναγκαζόμενος ἰσθαίξειν*. *Ἀλλ' ἔχει τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ γενόμενον ἦν*. It may be asked however, whether this use of the word *οικονομία* is as ancient as the time of St. Paul. There is something like it, Psalm cxi. (or cxii.) 6. *οἰκονομήσει τὰς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐν κρίσει*, and Dr. Less has found several examples in profane authors, namely, Epicteti. Diatrib. III. 14. Marcus Antoninus. Lib. IV. 51. XI. 18. The conjecture, which I have here proposed, derives a very high degree of probability from a case that is exactly in point. The common text of Maccab. iii. 22. is *οἰκονομημένων*, but in the Codex Alexandrinus, the N is exchanged for Δ, and the word is written *οικοδομημένων*⁷.

1 Cor. xiv. 10. *γενῇ φωνῶν*. Did not St. Paul write *γενῇ ἰδυνῶν*?

1 Cor. xv. 1. *γνωρίζω*. Has no manuscript *γνωρίσω*, which I would take interrogatively, and render the passage, *opusne est ut evangelium meum vobis narrem*?

1 Cor. xv. 27. *δὴλον ὅτι ἐκτός*. What St. Paul here says is perfectly true, but it is difficult to comprehend with what design he says it. Was it probable that any one should suppose, that the father was included within the expression, 'all things, which were to be obedient to the son?' The sense would be better expressed, if we read *ὅτι Μὴ ἐκτός*, or *ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ὑποταξάντος*.

2 Cor. i. 17. *ἵνα ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὐκ*. Here the alteration which Bowyer mentions, as proposed by some person who signs himself R, namely, *ἵνα ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ ναὶ οὐκ, καὶ τὸ οὐκ ναὶ*, had not only occurred to me as probable, but as absolutely necessary. We may say of a man who speaks the truth, that his *yeā* is *yeā*, and his *no*, *no*. See Matthew v. 37. and James v. 12. with Wetstein's notes to these passages. So on the contrary, we must say of a man who violates the truth, that his *yeā*,

yea, is no, and his no, yea. Mr. Treschow, in answer to some questions which I had proposed to him, wrote me word in a letter, dated 17th July 1771, that in the Codex Vindobonensis 34, this passage has been altered, though it seems that the correction is not very clear.

2 Cor. i. 24. *ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως*. I suspect the authenticity of the word *πίστεως*, for we may conclude from the expression *φειδόμενος ὑμῶν*, used in the preceding verse, that St. Paul did not usurp an authority over the faith of the Corinthians; and yet it might be argued that the Apostles had really authority over the faith of the Christians in general, since the precepts, which the Apostles delivered, were the rules, by which they were to regulate their lives and manners. The whole passage would be easy, if we omitted the superfluous words *τῆς πίστεως*, since a man, who has authority over the actions of others, may very properly use the expression 'to treat them with clemency.'

2 Cor. v. 10. *τα δια τῆ σωματος*. Every one knows the difficulty attending these words. Instead of *δια*, the Vulgate expresses *idia*, having ut referat unusquisque propria corporis. Now it is not improbable that both of these readings are genuine, and that St. Paul wrote *να κομισθῇ καὶ οὗτοι τα idia δια τῆ σωματος, πρὸς α' στραξῃ*. And if the original, as I really believe, was **ΤΑΙΔΙΑΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ**, it was easy in the hurry of copying for transcribers to overlook the letters that occurred twice, and for one to write **ΤΑΙΔΙΑΤΟΥ**, another **ΤΑΔΙΑΤΟΥ**. On this hypothesis, therefore, our different copies contain different fragments of the same genuine reading. If our present manuscripts of the second epistle to the Corinthians are transcripts taken originally from two ancient copies, one of which had the first, the other the second of these errata, it is easy to conceive how the different readings arose; why we have only fragments of the genuine reading; and why different transcribers have in later times made different alterations in this passage in order to make it intelligible, whence have arisen several various readings to this passage.

2 Cor. v. 18. *τε καταλλαξαντες ημας*. It may be asked, whether no manuscript has *υμας* instead of *ημας*? This reading would be better suited to verse 20, and we should then have the same antithesis, as in the 19th verse.

2 Cor. vi. 1. Here I suspect the authenticity of the word *συνεργοντες*, because I cannot ascribe to it any sense, that is not wholly superfluous. I would read *συνεργοντες παρακαλουμεν*, instead of *συνεργοντες παρακαλουμεν*, coarctantes, cogentes hortamur, we exhort you most earnestly.

Gal. iii. 20. I doubt whether this difficult verse proceeded from the hands of St. Paul. It has almost the appearance of an objection, which some one had written in the margin, and which by degrees crept into the text. The verse is at least superfluous.

Phil. ii. 13. *ενεργειν*. Bowyer has collected several conjectures in regard to this passage: but there is an alteration which has not been proposed, though it appears to me to be the easiest, namely, *ενεργειν*. An amendment is however not absolutely necessary, and I only propose a less difficult reading, for one that is more difficult.

Heb. viii. 3. *ο προσευγκη*. This reading seems to be erroneous; for, though it is true, 'that a priest, who offers gifts and sacrifices, must have somewhat to offer,' it is still an assertion, that is wholly unnecessary. Besides, the verse which immediately follows, relates not to offerings, but to the place, where they were made. I would read therefore *ω προσευγκη*, or *ου προσευγκη*.

James i. 19. *ωσι*, or, according to a various reading, *εσι*. It may be asked, whether *εσι* be not the true reading?

1 Pet. i. 6. 8. *αγαλλιασθι*: Has no manuscript *αγαλλιασθεθι*?

1 John ii. 20. 27. *χρησμα*. I do not consider this reading as absolutely spurious, and yet whenever I read this obscure passage, it always occurs to me that the true reading is *χρησμα*, which may be taken in the same sense, as Suidas ascribes to *χρησμος* and *χρησμων*, namely, that of oraculum.

oraculum. It is not impossible that the error was in St. John's own autography, and that in consequence of the Itacism I was written for H.

Rev. xiv. 17. *ἐχὺν ἐξαρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕψος*. Here I am unable to comprehend what connection there is between the office of the angel described in this verse, and power over fire; or why the angel, who has power over fire, should give the orders to gather the clusters of the vine. If the subject related to the angel, mentioned v. 15, 16. who gave the orders for the harvest, I should make no scruple to alter *ἐπὶ τὴν ὕψος* to *ἐπὶ τὴν ὕψος*. But at present I would propose either *σπυράς*, or *σπυρῶν*, taking the last of these words in a Hebrew sense. The neuter *σπυρῶν* used substantively, corresponds to the Hebrew *ספיר*, and may signify the red juice of the grape. This unusual, rough, and Hebraic application of *σπυρῶν*, is very suitable to the general style of the Revelation. Nay, if instead of *ὕψος*, I found *σπυρῶν* with a double ρ, in only a single manuscript, I should not hesitate to adopt that reading, because the use of the nominative instead of other cases is a construction, which we frequently find in the book of Revelation.

If it be asked, whether any of the preceding conjectures have been confirmed by the authority of manuscripts? I answer—not one: though several of my pupils, particularly Mr. Treschow, have noted them down, and examined manuscripts on their literary travels for that very purpose. This is the more remarkable, because several conjectures, which I had made in the Hebrew Bible, have been since confirmed either by manuscripts, or ancient versions. It ought to serve as a warning to critics, not to be too forward in making conjectures in the New Testament: though it may be said on the other hand, that, if errata were in the copies, which were used by the person, who collected the several parts into a volume, it would be impossible to find in any manuscript now extant a confirmation of our conjectures. But I would still recommend to every man of learning, who has an opportunity of travelling, and of examining manuscripts

manuscripts of the Greek Testament, to take with him a list of such conjectures, as appear to be the most probable, and consult the passages, in order to see whether that, which is at first hypothesis, cannot be confirmed by some authority.

I was formerly of opinion, that no books of the New Testament were so much in need of critical conjecture, as those written by St. Luke : but I have since abandoned that opinion, having observed that other parts of the New Testament, for instance the epistle to the Romans, are equally in need of emendation. Besides, St. Luke in those instances, where he differs from the other evangelists, may himself have committed mistakes, as he was not an eye-witness of the facts which he relates : and such examples we must not ascribe to a copyist. It is true, that the printed text of no book of the New Testament is so erroneous, and so interpolated, as that of the Acts of the Apostles, for instance ch. viii. 37. 39. ix. 5, &c. but these interpolations are not owing to the manuscripts, for they do not contain them, but they were inserted by Erasmus, chiefly on the authority of the Vulgate; and what he interpolated has been faithfully copied by later editors. It may be also observed, that the original collector and editor of the books of the New Testament, had probably less correct manuscripts of some, than he had of others.

S E C T. V.

Of theological conjecture.

BESIDE the critical conjectures, which I have described in the preceding sections of this chapter, there is another kind of conjecture, which can hardly be referred to the same class. It consists in altering the text of the sacred writings, according to the maxims adopted by any particular party, whether it be the ruling, or the persecuted party, in the church. This species

species of conjecture I would denote by the name of theological conjecture. Now a theologian, whose business is to form his whole system of faith and manners from the Bible, cannot with any propriety assume previously any system of theology, by which he may regulate the sacred text; but must adopt that text, which is confirmed by original documents, and thence deduce his theological system. It is allowable to venture a conjecture in matters relating to history, to dates, or to names, for in these cases the Bible is not our only principium cognoscendi. But whoever alters the text in subjects, which relate to points of divinity, evidently presupposes a principium cognoscendi, that is prior to the Bible itself: and when we inquire into this principium cognoscendi, we find it to be nothing more than a set of principles, which this or that particular person has thought proper to adopt. If we ask, from what source they derive these principles? they answer, from reason. Now I readily admit that reason is a principium cognoscendi prior to Revelation: but then I am of opinion, that if a set of writings, which we suppose to have been revealed by the Deity, are really contradictory to sound reason, we ought not to endeavour to reconcile them by inserting new readings without any critical authority, but at once reject those writings, as an improper standard of faith and manners. Even the writings of a false prophet might be new modelled, so as to make them consistent with the truth: and if these liberties are allowable in one case, they are allowable in others. We shall then have no good ground for rejecting the Koran, because it contains principles contradictory to reason, but must likewise endeavour to rescue the works of Mohammed from the objections, which have been made to them, by altering the exceptionable passages. Besides, what we call reason, and by which we would new model the Bible, is frequently nothing more than some fashionable system of philosophy, which lasts only for a time, and appears so absurd to those, who live in later ages, that they find it difficult to comprehend, how rational beings

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can have adopted such ridiculous notions. The example of the Gnostics, who likewise attempted to model the Bible according to what they called reason, shews the truth of this observation more clearly, than any arguments which can be produced.

There is an infinite difference between the inserting of a reading into the text, without any authority whatsoever, in order to render it, as we suppose, more rational, and the preferring, of two readings which really exist, that which is most conformable to truth. The latter is not only consistent with equity, but with justice, in profane authors, as well as in the Bible ; since we ought always to presuppose, that a writer has rational principles, till the contrary has been shewn.

It will be objected perhaps by those, who defend theological conjecture, that we ought never to lose sight of the *analogia fidei*. Now I will be candid enough to understand by these words, not the tenets of any particular sect or party, and will take the objection in the following sense, namely, that if two passages in the Bible contradict each other in matters of faith, the one must be altered. But how shall we determine, which of the two is to be altered ? For instance, if there is a real contradiction between Rom. iii. 28. and James ii. 24. shall we alter the text of St. Paul on the authority of St. James, or the text of St. James on the authority of St. Paul ? In my opinion we should alter neither, but reject the whole as not coming from the Deity, if it be true that there are real contradictions, for it is upon this ground, that we condemn the Koran. But we must recollect, that not every apparent contradiction is a contradiction in reality : and, before we presume to make an alteration in the text, we must examine whether the passages, that are seemingly at variance, may not be reconciled by a proper explanation. On a cursory inspection there seems a manifest contradiction between the two above-mentioned passages, Rom. iii. 28. and James ii. 24. ; yet we should act very absurdly, if we sought for a remedy in theological conjecture, since the whole contradiction
 7 vanishes,

vanishes, as soon as we reflect that St. Paul understands faith in Christ, St. James faith in the unity of the God-head¹.

Perhaps it will be objected, that there are contradictions sometimes found in the Old Testament, between the books of the Chronicles and other historical books; and that no sensible critic makes any scruple to correct one from the other. But the two cases are not parallel; for there is a very wide difference between the alteration of a date, in which it is so easy to make a mistake, and the alteration of a point of doctrine. And even in the former case, it is not so much critical conjecture, as an improvement on the masoretic text founded on the authority of ancient versions and manuscripts, which still retain a great part of the antemasoretic text.

As critical conjectures have been principally made by those, who, in the language of the church, are termed heretics, I will invent one or two examples of the same kind in the name of the orthodox, and ask those of the opposite party, whether they would admit them as lawful conjectures. For instance, suppose I should alter *οτι ο πατηρ με μειζων με εστι*, John xiv. 28. to *οτι ο πατηρ με εστι*, or *οτι ο πατηρ με ζων μεν εστι*, in order to be freed from a text that implies an inequality between the father and the son; or if I should read 1 John v. 20. in the following manner, *υτος ο υιος εστιν ο αληθινος θεος*, in order to shew more distinctly the Divinity of Christ; I think the heterodox would exclaim, "he is either extremely ignorant, or by having recourse to such miserable artifices acknowledges the badness of his own cause." But the heterodox, as well as the orthodox, must appear before the impartial tribunal of criticism, where there is no respect to persons, and where it is not allowed for one party to take greater liberties than the other.

It is certainly possible that a book may be so very ancient, and the manuscripts have so many spurious readings, that even points of doctrine may have been either lost,

¹ See the Introduction to the epistle of St. James in the second part of this work.

lost, or perverted, and without any other hope of recovery, than the help of conjecture. But if this should happen to a work, that contains a divine revelation, it would be a certain sign of its being obsolete, and no longer to be used as a *principium cognoscendi*. The New Testament however is not in this situation, for we can judge of its readings with as much accuracy at present, as a thousand years ago.

I acknowledged in the section relative to critical conjecture, that the person who collected into a volume the several parts of the New Testament, probably made use of copies, that were not wholly free from mistakes; and that these mistakes would of course be transmitted into all the subsequent copies. There may be erroneous readings therefore in the New Testament, which can be rectified by no manuscript whatsoever. But this can hardly be the case with any text, that relates to a point of doctrine: for, as this collection was published, while single copies of each individual book, especially of the epistles, were still in circulation, it is certain that, if in this edition of the Greek Testament any point of doctrine had been given erroneously, the text would have been rejected as spurious; or it would have given rise to a marginal note, though less important deviations were left unnoticed, and of these marginal notes some traces would still remain in the form of various readings. Besides, what is a very material circumstance in the present inquiry, the Christian church has been from the earliest ages divided into opposite parties; and one party would surely have taken care to restore the ancient and genuine reading, wherever the other party had introduced a false one. Nor let us forget that the alterations made by Marcion, who had travelled through many countries, and had inspected various manuscripts, are for the greatest part preserved at this very day. Now, as Marcion was much better qualified for theological conjecture, than we are, and no man has applied the principle with less reserve, I think it would be presumption in the present age to mangle any passage, which he has spared.

Theolo-

Theological conjecture has been principally used by those, who were not members of the ruling church*, by Marcion and his followers, by the Valentinians, by Lucian*, &c. But the ancient fathers, though they were partial to their own doctrines, and of two readings preferred that which best suited their own purpose, do not appear to have invented new readings for the sake of propagating particular tenets. It is true, that Augustin in his ninth epistle to Jerom writes as follows: 'When any passage in the canonical books appears to be contrary to the truth, we must conclude either that the manuscript is faulty, the original falsely translated, or the words of the translation falsely understood.' Now the two last inferences may be more readily admitted than the first; for the way to examine, whether any manuscript is erroneous, is not to compare the precepts, which it contains, with other doctrines, but to collate its text with that of the other manuscripts. But Augustin here speaks of Latin manuscripts, not of the Greek original; manuscripts which had a very faulty and corrupt text.

I have acknowledged that many of the fathers in their choice of different readings have acted partially, and have adopted those which suited their own party. But that has no connexion with the present inquiry, which relates to the invention of new readings, not to the choice of those which already exist. It cannot however be denied, that several orthodox transcribers have ventured to insert their own conjectures into the text: but in general they have not been admitted as genuine, and wherever they are found, it is the duty of every critic to erase them.

Several Socinians have applied theological conjecture to passages, which clearly prove the Divinity of Christ; of which I have given two instances at the end of the first section of this chapter; the one relates to John i. 1. and was made by Crell, the other to Rom. ix. 5. and was made by Schlichting and Crell. But Wetstein, though no friend to the doctrine of our Church in regard to the Divinity of Christ, was too good a critic to admit either

* See Mill's Prolegomena, § 306—340.

of these conjectures. Dr. Bahrdt goes a step further, and in his German translation of the New Testament has rendered John i. 1. as if the original was καὶ θεὸς ἦν καὶ λόγος, for which translation he has promised to assign his reasons in his intended commentary. If he attempts to explain the common text so as to give it that sense, he does the utmost violence to language: but if he means without any authority to insert καὶ in the text, as it is generally supposed, he gives an example of theological conjecture of the first magnitude.

The only plausible argument, which an advocate for theological conjecture might use, not so much indeed to convince himself of the justice of his cause, as to perplex his opponents, is the following; namely, that the New Testament has been so corrupted by the ruling party, which calls itself orthodox, that the genuine doctrine of Christ and his Apostles is no longer to be found in it. But there is not the least room for a suspicion of this kind, as we have so great a number of manuscripts, versions, and ecclesiastical writings, in which the New Testament is quoted, of every age and country. And even those, whose religious principles are different from our own, contribute their share in proving the certainty of the New Testament. Even if we admit that the orthodox had made the attempt, and had endeavoured to annihilate those manuscripts, of which they disapproved, yet some copies would surely have escaped the flames: and those, who are called heretics, would hardly have made their translations from such manuscripts, as had been wantonly corrupted by their opponents. In the ancient Latin versions, that were made before the time of Jerom, some traces would still remain of the passages, which the orthodox had erased. But, though in the old Latin versions we often find readings, that differ from the later Vulgate, we never meet with passages, which orthodox zeal could wish to expunge.

The passages, which afforded the most perplexity to the members of the ruling church, are still extant in manuscripts, versions, and editions of the New Testament:

whereas the spurious passage 1 John v. 7. though the orthodox seem to think it of the utmost importance, has never had the good fortune to find admittance into any ancient Greek manuscript, or ancient version, such as the Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Russian; and old Armenian, though later editors have taken the liberty to interpolate the passage in the printed editions of the Syriac and Russian.

If the orthodox have totally and irrecoverably corrupted the sacred text, whether original or translation; if they have annihilated all the genuine manuscripts of the New Testament, from the Indian to the Atlantic ocean, from the south of Egypt to the extremity of Britain, it must have been the work of an universal combination, and the bishops as well of the Parthian as of the Roman empire must have united, in order to execute so vast a project. But if this œcumenical council had ever existed, which in itself is highly improbable, some traces of it would still remain in the annals of the church: for the orthodox themselves would have boasted in their writings of the meritorious act of having rescued the sacred text from the corruptions of heretics.

CHAPTER XI.

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHORS, WHO
HAVE COLLECTED VARIOUS READINGS TO THE
GREEK TESTAMENT.

1. **LAURENTIUS VALLA**, a learned Roman, who was born in 1417, and died in 1467, published in the year 1440, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*. It has been mentioned above, ch. viii. sect. 6. under the article *Codices Laurentii Vallæ*.

2. Cardinal **Ximenes**, under whose patronage the *Complutensian Polyglot* was published, will be mentioned in the following chapter; and also

3. **Erasmus**.

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4. **Jacobus**

4. **Jacobus Faber Stapulensis**, or according to his French name **Jaques le Fevre d'Estables**, a native of Estables in Picardy, collated in the year 1512 the text of St. Paul's epistles with five Greek manuscripts. He published in 1521 *Commentarii initiatorii in Evangelia*, and afterwards *Commentarii in epistolas catholicas*, in which he sometimes examines the various readings. See Simon *Hist. crit. des versions du N. T.* ch. xxi. p. 239. *Hist. crit. des commentateurs du N. T.* ch. xxxiv. p. 489. and Bengel's *Introductio in crisin N. T.* p. 438¹. **Jac. Lopes de Stunica** wrote against them, as well as against Erasmus.

5. **Emser**, the great antagonist of Luther, deserves a place in the present catalogue, at least as being a singular example. The German Protestants have neglected his writings, because he was their adversary; those, who had critical knowledge, still thought that Emser had nothing worthy of their particular notice, while the Catholics in Germany, who had a better opinion of him than the Protestants, were themselves no critics: and learned foreigners know nothing of Emser, because he wrote in German. I will therefore be more particular in my account of him, in order that materials, which have hitherto lain unnoticed, may be brought into use. The remarks of Saubert in his *Varie lectiones Matthæi* p. 37, 38. first led me to the examination of this subject, and I am able to speak with certainty in regard to several things, on which Saubert could only conjecture, as he wrote before the publications of Mill, and Wetstein.

Emser, who was a man of real learning, for the age in which he lived, appeals in his remarks on Luther's New Testament not only to the Vulgate, but likewise to the Greek text, even in places, where the editions of that age all coincided with Luther. He must therefore have found these readings in Greek manuscripts; for he has certainly not invented them, as appears from the circumstance, that several have been actually found in those Greek manuscripts, to which Emser might easily have had access.

In his remarks on Luke xi. 2, 3, 4. the readings of which passage I will denote by the letters a, b, c, d, e, he says, 'Luther has here again deviated from the words of the Evangelist, and written more than is warranted by the Latin or the Greek text. For we find not in these (a), 'our father,' but only father: neither do we find (b), 'in heaven:' nor (c) 'thy will be done:' nor (d) 'give us every day our daily bread,' but 'give it us to day^m:' nor at the end, (e) 'but deliver us from evil;' all of which is neither in the Greek text, nor in our own.' I know not what edition of the Greek Testament Emser used; but it is certain that none of these five readings, which he produces as Greek, has been quoted by the collectors of various readings from any edition of the Greek Testament, that existed in the time of Emser. I will not express myself more positively on this head, because I have not examined all the editions of that age: but the first edition by Erasmus, and the Complutensian, coincide with Luther's text. Emser therefore must have had Greek manuscripts, unless we suppose that he transgressed the bounds of truth, which we have no reason to believe, because all these five readings have been since found in the Greek manuscripts, that were then used by the German literati, namely, a, b, c, and e, in the Codex Capniopis, or Cod. Basil. B. vi. 27. which in my catalogue of MSS. is N° 38, and d (σημερον) in the Codex Basil. B. VI. 25, which in my catalogue is N° 39. Both of these manuscripts were used by Erasmus, though he has adopted none of these five readings; and it is not impossible that he communicated them to Emser, as instruments for attacking Luther. At present these readings are confirmed by the authority of other documents, and several critics, who were by no means attached to the church of Rome, for instance Grotius, Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, have preferred four of them to the common Greek text, which Luther translated. I am likewise of opinion, that Emser was not mistaken in saying that

St.

^m He means to say that the Greek is not το καθ' ημερας but σημερον.

St. Luke has given the Lord's prayer in a more concise manner than St. Matthew.

Here then Emser has not been guilty of a falsehood, though he was suspected by the writers of the sixteenth century: and I have found him in general so cautious in quoting the Greek text, that I believe he has never done it without authority. He makes no mention of the Greek text in 1 John v. 7. but says only, after quoting the words of the Vulgate, that the passage had been erased by those who were not favourable to the doctrine of the Trinity.

We have reason therefore to conclude, where Emser has produced readings as taken from Greek manuscripts, that those readings actually existed, even though we know of no manuscripts at present, in which they are found. He observes on Rev. xix. 5. that Luther has translated 'Praise God, all ye his servants,' and adds, that both the Latin and the Greek texts express 'Praise God, all ye his saints.' He found therefore in the former *omnes sancti ejus*, in the latter *πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι αὐτοῦ*. The reading has hitherto been found in no Greek manuscript, for which reason Mill and Wetstein have not quoted it at all, and Bengel has given it only as a various reading of the Vulgate. Now it is not in the common editions of the Vulgate, but I have found it in the Latin text of the Complutensian New Testament, and my father in his manuscript notes to Mill's Greek Testament has observed, that it is likewise the reading of Ludwig's, or the Halle manuscript*. Mill and Wetstein therefore should have quoted it, at least as a various reading of the Vulgate. It is true, that Wolf and Bengel have quoted it in this manner, but they have done it with no other view than to convict Emser of a falsehood: but they would have acted with more propriety if

* Goeze in his full and complete Defence of the Complutensian New Testament, p. 292. observes that it is also found in some of the editions of the Vulgate, namely, the Basel edition of 1494, the Paris edition of 1507, the Lyons edition of 1520, and that published at Nuremberg in 1529.

if they had confided in Emser's honesty, and selected all the readings which he has quoted, especially in the Revelation of St. John, of which we have so few manuscripts, that Bengel himself complains of a deficiency*.

It might be therefore of use in sacred criticism, if the various readings, which Emser has quoted, were selected, and inserted in our general collection. If his readings are already known from Greek manuscripts, Emser must be considered only as a second evidence: but, where they are not known from other documents, they augment our critical store, which we should endeavour to make as complete as possible.

6. Robert Stephens has been mentioned ch. viii. § 6. and a further account will be given of him in the following section.

7. Beza will likewise be mentioned in the following section.

8. Joachim Camerarius published in 1572, a commentary on the New Testament, a great part of which is critical, under the following modest title, *Notationes figurarum sermonis*†. In this work he frequently speaks of the readings, which the Latin translator had found in his original, and sometimes quotes readings from Greek manuscripts: and he particularly commends an
ancient

* Giese, in the work mentioned in the preceding note, p. 290.—293. contends that Emser took all his readings from the Vulgate, and after having produced an instance of an extraordinary interpretation, which Emser had given of a Greek passage, concludes with asking, whether it was possible that a man of that description could have read Greek manuscripts? Now I admit that he had not sufficient critical knowledge to be able to make a proper use of them: yet he might still have been able to read them, especially modern manuscripts, the characters of which were not materially different from our common types.

Sanzer likewise in his *History of the German translations of the Bible made by Catholics*, p. 20. contends that all the readings quoted by Emser are to be found in the Vulgate. This is certainly true: but Emser confirms them also by the authority of the Greek text; and as he considered it as a fault in Luther, that he departed from the Vulgate, it is not extraordinary that he quoted those readings only, which were found in the Latin version.

ancient manuscript of the Gospels, which had been described above, chap. viii. sect. 6. N° 58. Likewise in the other books of the New Testament, he often says, the Greek copies read so and so, but he does not particularly specify the manuscripts. Many of the extracts, which he made from the Vulgate, are wanting in Wetstein's collection, a circumstance, which gives the work of Camerarius, even at present, a critical value.

9. Franciscus Lucas Brugensis, who was engaged, among others, in the publication of the *Biblia regia* at Antwerp, is the first person to whom we are indebted for a regular collection of various readings to the New Testament. He published in 1606, *Commentarii in quatuor evangelia*, to which he annexed *Notæ ad varias lectiones editiones Græcæ evangeliorum*. His great diligence, and sound judgment, are highly extolled by those, who are judges of his writings. See Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1300.

10. The conjectures relative to several readings of the New Testament, which Joseph Scaliger, and Isaac Casaubon, men in other respects of great eminence in the republic of letters, made in their *Remarks on the New Testament*, published in 1622, are of no great importance in sacred criticism. The opinion which Mill has given of them in his *Prolegomena*, § 1301. is perfectly just.

11. Peter Faxard, Marquis of Velez, has been mentioned chap. viii. sect. 6.

12. Caryophilus has been mentioned in the same section, under the article *Codices Barberini*.

13. Patricius Junius was the first who collated the *Codex Alexandrinus*: he likewise made extracts from the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, and published the Gothic version, as I have mentioned above in treating of those subjects. He ventured to make a hundred and fifty conjectures in different passages, but Wetstein, though no enemy to critical conjecture, approved of none of them^p.

14. The immortal Hugo Grotius, in his *Annotationes* in

^p See p. 170. of his *Prolegomena*.

in *Novum Testamentum*, frequently speaks of various readings; and he was the first person, who published the extracts, which Junius had made from the *Codex Alexandrinus*. But it is to be lamented, that this uncommonly learned man has himself never made use of Greek manuscripts; a circumstance, which if not absolutely certain, is at least highly probable from his frequent recourse to supposed abbreviations, which have never been found in any manuscript, in order to account for the origin of different readings. See *Mill's Prolegomena*, § 1359—1368.

15. J. Morinus, in his *Exercitationes ecclesiasticæ et biblicæ*, undertook to show that the Greek text was in the highest degree corrupted; and that the only method of restoring the true text was to have recourse to the Latin version. Many of his arguments are extremely frivolous: for instance, in proof of his position, he appeals to the great diversity of the Greek manuscripts, as if there was not the same diversity in the Latin manuscripts. See *Mill's Prolegomena*, § 1318—1337. and *Simon Hist. crit. du texte du N. T.* p. 345.

16. The celebrated Archbishop Usher partly collated himself, partly had collated by others, fifteen manuscripts of the Greek Testament. The readings, which were selected from them, were printed in the *London Polyglot*, but in part only: Mill however procured from Usher's grandson, James Tyrrell, the original manuscript of these extracts¹, and inserted them more completely in his edition.

17. Brian Walton will be mentioned in the following chapter, and also,

18. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford.

19. John Saubert published at Helmstädt, in 1672, *Variae lectiones textus Græci evangelii S. Matthæi*. As this book is so scarce, that some eminent critics have been unable to procure it², I shall be excused, if I am
more

¹ Mill was unable to procure it, as he himself says in his *Prolegomena*; nor could de Missy find a copy of it, when engaged in the controversy relative to the *Codex Ravianus*.

more prolix, than I otherwise should be, in its description.

Simon in his *Hist. crit. du texte du N. T.* chap. xxix. p. 342. highly extols this work, but Wetstein, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 174. describes it as a work of little value. Now I confess that I have read this book not only with pleasure, but with real advantage; and even if it contained nothing more than what is known at present to critics in general, the author would still be entitled to the thanks of his countrymen, for having published a re-impression of the various readings annexed to the London Polyglot. Saubert has displayed real learning, and solid judgment, though he was deficient in critical taste, a quality which was less common in those days, than at present. For instance, he thought it not improper, or useless, to select various readings from modern versions, though he does not appear to have undertaken the task himself: nor was he able to form a proper estimate either of the *Editiones principes* of the Greek Testament, or of the value and antiquity of the Greek manuscripts.

His various readings to St. Matthew's Gospel are drawn from manuscripts, versions, and printed editions. Those drawn from manuscripts, he has almost entirely taken from the London Polyglot, with exception to the *Codex Ravianus*: the Syriac version he himself collated with great accuracy; he collated also the Russian version, and he has sometimes quoted that of Luther. But, for want of knowing that Luther very frequently followed the text of the Vulgate, he falsely conjectured that, where Luther departed from the common Greek text, he went on the authority of Greek manuscripts. Saubert made likewise some few extracts from Sebastian Münster's Hebrew Gospel. Of the editions, which he has quoted, I will mention only that of Brylinger, because other critics have given no extracts from it. He has also the Velesian readings. In some passages, for instance Matth. xxvii. 9. we find ingenious critical disquisitions. From the 265th page, to the end, are various readings, which he himself selected from a manuscript
of

of Chrysostom's Homilies on St. Matthew, preserved at Helmstädt, and from Commelin's edition of these Homilies. It appears therefore that this publication of Saubert contains materials, which might have been of use to Mill and Wetstein : but Mill was unable to procure it, and Wetstein thought it of no value.

20. Father Amelotte published in 1666, a French translation of the New Testament, which Simon, in his *Histoire critique des versions du N. T.*, ch. xxxii. and xxxiii. describes at length. To this translation he annexed those readings of the Greek manuscripts, which agree with the Vulgate : but he not only discovers an insupportable vanity¹, but is guilty of a very shameful plagiarism, in pretending to have collected these readings from Greek manuscripts, when he has literally copied them from the sixth volume of the London Polyglot. Simon, in his *Histoire critique du texte du N. T.* ch. xxix. has taken notice of some curious mistakes, which Amelotte has made in decyphering the abbreviations which are used in the Polyglot for the Greek manuscripts. For instance, he has converted the 'manuscripts preserved at Magdalen College in Oxford,' into 'manuscripts preserved in the college of Magdeburg in Oxford.'

21. Richard Simon has eminently distinguished himself, with respect to the readings of the New Testament, both

¹ He writes in the preface, *J'ay apporté une diligence, dont on n'avoit point ouy parler jusqu' icy, pour montrer la conformité du Latin avec le Grec ancien, et avec le premier original. J'ay fait une exacte recherche de tous les manuscrits d'au dessus de mille ans, qui se conservent dans tout la Chrétienté, et j'ay obtenu des extraits de tous. J'en ay eu plus de vingt de la France ; tous ceux du Vatican, et des celebres bibliotheques d'Italie ; seize d'Espagne, sans compter les autres, dont le Cardinal Ximenes s'estoit servy pour donner la perfection a sa bible d'Alcala, ceux, d'Angleterre et des pays du Nord, et beaucoup du fond de la Grece, avec ceux de chacun des anciens peres.* One of his colleagues, to whom he shewed his preface before he printed it, advised him to use a more modest language ; but Amelotte replied, that it was necessary to speak in an elevated strain, in order to make impression on his readers.

both by his *Histoire critique du texte, des versions, et des commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, and his translation of the New Testament, to which he has annexed various readings. His *Histoire critique* not only discovers extensive learning, and solid judgment, but is likewise written in a very agreeable manner. Simon may be almost termed the father of modern criticism.

22. Laurent. Alex. Zacagni published at Rome a collection of various readings, which Pfaff, in his *Dissertatio de variis lectionibus*, p. 112. has much commended; and he has expressed his surprise that Mill made no use of it.

23. John Mill,

24. Ludolph Küster,

25. Maistricht, and

26. Bengel; will be mentioned in the next chapter.

27. John Christoph. Wolf made it a part of his principal object, in his well-known *Curæ critico-philologicæ*, to treat of the various readings of the Greek Testament, and to confute those, which deviate without reason from the common text. But this very learned writer seems to have carried the matter too far, though in other respects he has given us a most excellent and valuable work. For he has sometimes no other argument to oppose to a reading supported by the authority of numerous Greek manuscripts, than that the Apostle has in other places used the expression, or construction, which he defends; but it is more reasonable to suppose that one passage had been corrupted from the other. In the latter part of the *Curæ* he takes particular pains to confute Bengel, but the truth seems to be, in most cases, on the side of that eminent critic. In short, he was determined to vindicate the readings of the common editions of the Greek Testament, whenever he had the least to offer in their defence.

28. Bentley will be mentioned in the following chapter.

29. Christ. Benedicti Michaelis *tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis et dijudicandis*, Halæ 1749. If I may be permitted, without transgressing
the

the rules of propriety, to speak of the merits of a work, of which my father was the author, I am of opinion that the origin of the various readings is very clearly and fully ascertained in this excellent treatise * ; that he has thrown a totally new light on the manner of applying the Oriental versions to the criticism of the New Testament, and corrected many errors, which were unavoidable to Mill, and others, who had no knowledge of the Oriental languages, and were therefore obliged to rely on the Latin translations, which are annexed to them in the Polyglot Bibles.

30. Dr. Semler, in his Exposition of the several books of the New Testament, has made verbal criticism one of his principal objects.

31. The merits of Treschow, and

32. Hwiid, in regard to Greek manuscripts, and various readings ; have been already mentioned chap. viii. sect. 6.

33. The editions of Griesbach, and

34. Matthäi ; will be mentioned in the following chapter †.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE EDITIONS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

S E C T. I.

Critical review of the principal editions of the Greek Testament.

AMONG the persons, who have distinguished themselves by their critical enquiries into the text of the Greek Testament, the principal editors deserve to be mentioned in a separate chapter. By the principal editors I understand those, who have offered something new to the world ; for it is not my intention to take notice

* See § 3—8.

notice of such editions, as were merely copied from others. The original editions of the Greek Testament may be produced as evidence in favour of a reading; and they may be considered as manuscripts of a moderate age, when the editors made use of manuscripts, which are either unknown to us, or have never been collated. For this reason the Complutensian edition, and those of Erasmus, are generally quoted among the various readings: but it is less necessary to quote more modern editions, especially if they were taken from former editions, or if the manuscripts, that were used by the editors, have been afterwards collated, and produced as evidence. But in selecting readings from printed editions, great care must be taken not to produce such, as have arisen from an error of the press. They are easily distinguished by those, who are acquainted with the history of the editions of the Greek Testament, and know from what ancient edition each modern one was taken: and it may be observed in general, that no word, which has the appearance of being an error of the press, ought to be quoted as a various reading, unless it can be confirmed by the authority of some manuscript. Lastly, we must be careful not to confound the readings, which some editors have inserted on mere conjecture, with those which they actually took from written copies.

I will not undertake to determine the degree of accuracy, with which the extracts have been made from the printed editions. Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, have bestowed great pains upon this subject: but those, who have since collated single editions, have found a number of various readings, which they had omitted.

For the sake of brevity, I shall make no mention of those authors, who have described the editions of the New Testament, and shall only beg my readers to have recourse to Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein. The best literary information of this subject is to be had in the *Memoirs of a Library in Halle*¹, where all the editions here mentioned are described, and many others.

1. The first place must be assigned to the *Biblia Polyglotta*

Polyglotta Complutensia *. We are indebted for it to the celebrated Cardinal, Statesman, and General, Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, who published it at his own expence. Of this exceedingly scarce and celebrated edition, a description is given in the third chapter of Brelinger's *Prolegomena to the Septuagint* †. It is highly extolled by Mill, and as much depreciated by Wetstein. In the second edition of this Introduction, I endeavoured to steer a middle course between their opposite opinions, though I believed on the authority of Wetstein, that the editors, actuated by religious zeal, had materially altered the Greek text from the *Valgate*. At that time I was unable to judge for myself, because the *Complutensian* edition was not then in our University Library; and though I had once borrowed, from the Electoral library in Hanover, the volume, which contains the New Testament, it was for a totally different purpose. Goeze, in his *Defence of the Complutensian Bible*, printed at Hamburg in 1765, the same year, in which the second edition of this Introduction appeared, was the first writer who enabled me to form a proper judgment of that work. And I was thoroughly persuaded, that I had too closely adhered to the opinion of Wetstein, from the following publications by the same author, '*Complete Defence of the Complutensian Greek Testament, with a collection of the principal differences between the Greek text, and the Latin text of that edition,*' printed in 1766, and the 'Continuation of the Defence of the Complutensian Greek Testament,' &c. published in 1769 ‡. These are books, which every one ought to read, who would form a proper judgment of the *Complutensian Polyglot*, for I know of no work, in which it is so fully described. At present the *Complutensian Bible* is in our library, for which it was purchased by order of the late Münchausen; and I am therefore enabled to speak of it in this edition with greater certainty. I have made particular use of it in the Greek version of Genesis, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the first book of the Maccabees; and in these books

books I have found its readings as pure, and as little altered from the Latin, as Goeze had described them.

Ximenes, the celebrated cardinal, and archbishop of Toledo, who in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, conducted the Spanish armies with so much success against the Saracens, and administered the government of Spain for Charles the Fifth with the greatest dignity and prudence, appears to have had no intention of propagating biblical literature among the laity and the unlearned. Indeed his principles were quite the contrary, for when it was proposed to translate the Bible into Spanish, in order to convert the Saracens, he opposed the design, and was of opinion that men might become Christians without reading the Bible. Yet he still deserves the thanks of the learned, and he has the merit of having first proposed and executed a Polyglot Bible. The editors, at the end of the preface, address their readers, that is the literati, in the following manner. Vos autem, literarum studiosi hoc divinum opus noviter excusum alacri animo suscipite; et si Christi Optimi Maximi sectatores videri vultis, et esse, nil jam restat quod causemini, quominus sacram scripturam adeatis. Non mendosa exemplaria, non suspectæ translationes, non inopia textus originalis: solum animus, et propensio vestra expectatur. Quæ si non defuerit, fiet proculdubio ut literarum divinarum suavitatem degustantes reliqua studia omnia contemnatis. In this manner did the editors write, under the patronage of a zealous catholic Cardinal, only a short time before the Reformation: for it appears from the subscription at the end of the Revelation, that the work was finished the 10th of January 1514. But doubts were started by the church of Rome, whether it was proper to bring it into general circulation: for though the whole Polyglot was finished the 10th of July 1517, it was not before the 22d of March 1520, that Leo X. gave permission for its publication; and the copies were not distributed to the world at large before the year 1522, so that

Erasmus

Erasmus could make no use of it in his three first editions of the Greek Testament.

The persons, to whom the Cardinal entrusted the care of this publication, were *Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis*, *Demetrius Cretensis*, *Ferdinandus Pintianus*, and *Lopez de Stunica**. He spared no expence, either in procuring manuscripts, or in recompensing the editors for their trouble. But whether the editors displayed a proportionate degree of diligence, learning, and critical fidelity, is a subject, on which the learned are much divided; nor can it ever be reduced to a certainty, because we have no knowledge of the manuscripts which the editors used. They themselves give a very imperfect account of them, and this account I have printed in the eighth chapter of this Introduction, under the article *Codex Vaticanus*. One might conclude from their account, that all the manuscripts, which they used, had been sent from Rome. Yet this was certainly not the case, for the *Codex Rhodiensis** had been given as a present to the Cardinal, and the *Codex Bessarionis*, which was used in the Septuagint, had been presented to him by the Senate of Venice. Now, as he expended such considerable sums on the purchase of manuscripts, at least of the Old Testament, that, according to the accounts of Gomez, the whole Bible cost him fifty thousand ducats; and, as the New Testament was begun in 1502, it is wholly incredible that they should have had no other manuscripts than those sent from Rome, because *Leo X.* who communicated these manuscripts, was not Pope before the year 1513. It seems then that the editors, beside the *Codex Rhodiensis*, had other manuscripts of the Greek Testament, which had been procured by the Cardinal^s.

But

* Goeze, in his *Defence of the Complutensian Bible*, p. 5, has observed, that I have omitted to mention the names of some other persons, who were employed in superintending the Hebrew and Chaldee. My reason for omitting them is, that I treat at present of the Complutensian Greek Testament only; but I shall take notice of them in my Introduction to the Old Testament.

• See ch. viii. sect. 6. N° 222.

But whether they were ancient or modern, of great or of little value, it is difficult to determine, as the editors have given no account of them. Wetstein is of opinion that they were modern⁶, because the readings of the Complutensian Bible have a remarkable agreement with those of the manuscripts written in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; and this opinion is confirmed by the very shape of the types, for they are such as we find in the most modern manuscripts, and it is probable that the editors had their types cast in imitation of the manuscripts, which they employed on the occasion⁷. They boast in their preface of having printed the Greek text without accents and marks of aspiration, in imitation of the ancient Greek manuscripts⁸. Now as no manuscript written in such letters, as are used for the Complutensian edition, is without accents, and the editors appeal not to the manuscripts, which they actually used, but to the poems of Callimachus, and the Sibylline prophecies, there is reason to suspect that their manuscripts had accents, and consequently were modern⁹. The Complutensian editors must not be considered as impostors when they describe their manuscripts as being of the greatest antiquity; they were honest, though they were mistaken, the art of criticism being then in its infancy, and the antiquity of manuscripts little understood. Whether the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, described above, ch. viii. sect. 6. N° 253. was in the number of those, which were sent from Rome, is at present not to be determined¹⁰. But it is certain that in the Septuagint, the Complutensian edition differs so much from the Roman, that the Spanish editors could not have followed the text of the Codex Vaticanus in the Old Testament.

In this edition a Latin letter is prefixed to each word, in order to shew the words in the Latin, which correspond to those in the Greek. To give an instance from Matth. xxvi. 1.

Και ^b ἐγένετο ^c ὅτι ^d ἐτελεισεν
 ο ^e Ἰησοῦς ^f πάντας τοὺς ^g λόγους
 τούτους.

Et ^b factum ^c est ^e cum
^d consummasset ^f Jesus ^g ser-
 mones ^h hos ⁱ omnes.

And

And if one or more words in the Greek had none which corresponded to them in the Latin, or the contrary, they filled up the deficiency by two serpentine lines crossing each other in the following manner; Matth. v. 44. ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἔχθρους ὑμῶν, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καγὼς ποίειτε. Diligite inimicos vestros ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ benefacite. This was done by the editors, as they themselves relate in the preface, for the benefit of beginners in the Greek language¹. It is likewise of use even to the learned, for it enables them to discover with greater ease the passages, in which the Greek text differs from the Latin. And it shews that it was not their intention to alter the Greek text, so as to make it correspond to the Vulgate, for they have taken pains to make the difference as conspicuous as possible².

I will now more fully examine the question, whether the Spanish editors have wilfully corrupted the Greek text from the Latin. Now this question is different from any of the three following.

1. Whether they have in some instances given the preference to Greek readings which favour the Vulgate, though the majority of Greek manuscripts were against them. This is done by critics even of the present age, whose knowledge no one calls in question.

2. Whether they have done this in places, where by so doing they have absolutely committed an error. Every man is liable to mistakes of this kind, and Erasmus has frequently fallen into them, criticism not being so well understood at that time, as at present.

3. Whether they have taken 1 John v. 7. from some modern manuscript, or translated it themselves from the Latin, without acknowledging it to their readers³. If the latter be true, they certainly acted wrong; but their conduct may be explained so as to remove the charge of dishonesty.

¹ Et quia non doctis solum, sed omnibus in universum sacrarum literarum studiosis hoc opere consulendum est, appositæ sunt dictioni cuique literulæ latinæ ordine alphabeti, indicantes quæ dictio dictioni e regione respondeat, ne sit novitiis et nondum adhuc in Græcis literis provec̃tis errandi locus.

dishonesty. They might believe that this passage was really genuine, and, on account of its supposed importance, take no notice of its absence from the Greek manuscripts; in the same manner as the verse has been inserted by later editors in Luther's version. Or they might have made some remarks on it, which were afterwards erased by the censors of this edition: for, contrary to their usual custom, they have a marginal note on 1 John v. 7. which is in itself unimportant, and almost implies that something originally preceded. If they have taken the passage from a modern manuscript, they have only acted like Erasmus, who has inserted it on the authority of a very modern manuscript, which he had never seen¹³. In short, many of the best editors have been guided in this passage by a mistaken zeal for the Christian religion, and have acted on principles, which they have never admitted in other places.

But the only question to be asked at present is, whether the editors of the Complutensian Greek Testament have altered the Greek text from the Vulgate, in order to confirm the authority of the latter¹⁴: or in other words, whether they have wilfully corrupted the Greek text. A charge of this kind appeared to me too severe, even when I published the second edition of this Introduction; yet I still thought that they were too much biassed in favour of the Vulgate, and that they almost always adopted those readings which coincided with it; but I ascribed their conduct to honest ignorance, not to an actual intention of corrupting the Greek text. At that time I was unable to form a proper judgment, because I had not the edition itself: and though I had extracts from it in Wetstein's Greek Testament, and likewise the Vulgate, this was not sufficient, because the present question does not depend so much on the text of the Vulgate in general, the manuscripts of which are very different, but on that particular Latin text, which is printed in the Complutensian edition.

I confess that the extraordinary comparison noticed by Wetstein, of the Latin text with Christ, and of the Hebrew

Hebrew and the Greek with the two malefactors increased my suspicion. It is in the preface to the first volume, 'mediam inter has Latinam beati Hieronymi translationem, velut inter synagogam, et ecclesiam orientalem posuimus: tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Jesum, hoc est, Romanam sive Latinam ecclesiam collocantes.' Now it may be reasonably asked, whether critics, who are capable of writing in this manner, are not equally capable of altering the words that were used by the malefactors, from those which were used by Christ. But Goeze has rightly observed, that in this, it is true, ridiculous comparison, the Complutensian editors intended to compare not the Hebrew and Greek texts, but the Jewish Synagogue and Greek Church; and Cardinal Ximenes, in his preface, or dedication to Leo X. speaks not only impartially of the original Greek, but in as high terms as Luther himself could have used. For after having observed, that the meaning of many passages could be discovered only ex ipso archetypæ linguæ fonte, he proceeds as follows: *Accedit quod, ubicunque latinorum codicum varietas est, aut depravatæ lectionis suspicio, (id quod librariorum imperitia simul et negligentia frequentissime accidere vidimus), ad primam Scripturæ originem recurrendum est, sicut beatus Hieronymus, et Augustinus, ac cæteri ecclesiastici tractatores admonent; ita ut librorum Veteris Testamenti sinceritas ex Hebraicâ veritate, Novi autem ex Græcis exemplaribus examinetur. Ut igitur originalia in promptu haberet quicunque divinarum literarum studiosus, possetque non solis rivulis esse contentus, sed ex ipso fonte salientis aquæ in vitam æternam sitim pectoris extinguere, jussimus archetypas sacræ scripturæ linguas cum adjunctis variarum linguarum translationibus impressioni mandari, Sanctitatis tuæ nomini dedicandas.* And at the end of the preface he adds, *ut incipiant divinarum literarum studia hactenus intermorta nunc tandem revirescere.* It appears likewise from actual experience, that the editors have acted agreeably to these principles; for they have been so far from

correcting the original languages of the Bible, the Hebrew and the Greek, from the Latin version, that they have fallen into the contrary error, that of correcting the Septuagint from the Hebrew, in opposition to the Vulgate. And many of the alterations, which they have made in the text of the Greek Testament, appear to me to have been taken rather from the Hebrew, than from the Latin, as it is well known that some of the Complutensian editors were converted Jews, and the laws of criticism were at that time not so well understood as at present. I have observed one example, that has quite the appearance of a Jewish correction, and those who have leisure for making the inquiry might perhaps discover more. Luke ii. 22. the common text is *και οτε επληοθησαν αι ημεραι τη καθαρισμου αυτων*, which appears to me to be perfectly accurate; but several critics, not excepting Bengel, who did not comprehend the meaning of *αυτων*, have thought that it should be rejected. In the Vulgate the singular number is used, '*dies purgationis ejus*,' where the word *ejus* is generally supposed to have reference to Christ; it is supposed so even by Wetstein, who quotes the Vulgate for the same reading, as the four Greek manuscripts, Cantabrigiensis, Bodleianus 6, Lincolnensis, and Montfortianus, which have *αυτη*¹⁵. Now, admitting that this alteration was made from the Latin, it is clear that the corrector understood *ejus* in the masculine gender, as having reference to Christ. But the Complutensian edition has *αυτης*, in reference to Mary; a reading which has been hitherto confirmed by no manuscript¹⁶. It is true, that this reading must be considered as a correction from the Vulgate, if the Complutensian editors had no Greek manuscript, in which they found it, which however I will not undertake to assert; but the explanation, which they have given of the Vulgate, is grounded on the Hebrew, Leviticus xii. 6, 7. where it is said, that atonement shall be made for the mother¹⁷. And if it is a correction from the Latin, it has the appearance of having

¹⁵ V. 6. *וְהָיָה לָהּ* she shall offer, and v. 7. the priest *וְהָיָה לָהּ* shall make atonement for her *וְהָיָה לָהּ* and she shall be cleansed from the issue of her blood.

having been made by a converted Jew, who has given a better explanation of ejus, the reading of the Vulgate, that even Wetstein himself; for he has explained it in a manner suitable to the precept, which is given in the Pentateuch. The other reading *αὐτῶν*, though it is confirmed by the authority of the Greek manuscripts, the editor rejected, because he did not understand it; for he thought that atonement was to be made, not for father, mother, and child, but for the mother alone. Mistakes of this kind have been committed in an hundred instances by the early critics, not excepting even Erasmus; and, instead of amending, they have frequently injured the text, without being accused of having wilfully corrupted the sacred writings.

These then are the arguments, which might be brought à priori, for and against the Complutensian edition: but it appears from the writings of Goeze, that those, which are in favour of it, are confirmed by facts, and that the Complutensian Greek Testament latinizes much less than that of Erasmus. Though I was of a different opinion, when I published the second edition of this Introduction, I am thoroughly persuaded at present, that Goeze is in the right: nor do I consider it as a disgrace to acknowledge an error, into which I had fallen, for want of having seen the edition itself. Dr. Semler is of different sentiments, and whoever wishes to examine the subject in its full extent, must compare his writings with those of Goeze¹⁷. With respect to Wetstein, though he is a declared enemy of this edition, yet, what has frequently excited my astonishment, the readings, which he has preferred to the common text, are in most cases found in the Complutensian Greek Testament. He degrades it therefore in words, but honours it in fact.

To the preceding remarks may be added, that many readings of this edition, which were formerly supposed to be ratified by no authority, have been since discovered in Greek manuscripts¹⁸; and that several, which have
been

¹⁷ For instance Luke ii. 13. instead of *οὐκ ἐβόησαν*, the Complutensian edition has *οὐ ἐβόησαν*, a reading which is rather suspicious, and has
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been lately collated, agree with it in a very remarkable manner. For instance the Havniensis 1, (in which Hensler found forty readings that agree with the Complutensian, and are in no other manuscript) the Laudianus 2, and Vindobonensis Lambecii 35. Likewise in the Septuagint I have observed that readings, which were before peculiar to the Complutensian edition, have been confirmed by the Alexandrine manuscript. These circumstances may reasonably lead us to conclude, that the Complutensian edition was faithfully taken from manuscripts, and that those Complutensian readings, which are in no manuscript known to us at present, were actually taken from manuscripts used by the editors. So long therefore as we are without the manuscripts from which this edition was taken, it must itself be considered as a valuable manuscript, or as a Codex Criticus, that contains many scarce readings.

In this situation it was natural for every friend to criticism, to wish that the manuscripts used in this edition, which might be supposed to have been preserved at Alcala, should be collated anew; and in the third edition of this Introduction I expressed the same wish in speaking of the Codex Rhodiensis. But the inconceivable ignorance and stupidity of a librarian at Alcala, about the year 1749, has rendered it impossible that these wishes should ever be gratified. Professor Moldenhawer, who was in Spain in 1784, went to Alcala, for the very purpose of discovering those manuscripts: and being able to find none, suspected that they were designedly kept secret from him, though contrary to the generous treatment which he had at other times experienced in that country. At last he discovered that a very illiterate librarian, about thirty-five years before, who wanted room
for

the appearance of being a correction made by the editors. It is quoted by Wetstein, not from any manuscript, but merely from the Complutensian edition, and those which were copied from it. Knittel, however, found $\alpha\epsilon$ in the Cod. Guelpherbytanus A, which, though I do not consider the reading as a good one, is sufficient to rescue the Complutensian editors from the charge of having given it without authority¹⁰.

for some new books, sold the ancient vellum manuscripts to one Toryo, who dealt in fire-works, as materials for making rockets¹⁹. Oh, that I had it in my power to immortalize both librarian and rocket-maker! This prodigy of barbarism I would not venture to relate, till Professor Tychsen, who accompanied Moldenhawer, had given me fresh assurances of its truth*. I will not lay it to the charge of the Spanish nation in general, in which there are men of real learning; but the author of this inexcusable act was the greatest barbarian of the present century, and happy only in being unknown.

That part of the Complutensian Greek Testament, which appears to me to be the best, and indeed better than the common editions, is the Revelation of St. John, for it retains the rough and abrupt construction, which is peculiar to this book; for instance, ch. i. 4. And I wonder that Bengel, who first observed that this peculiar construction was a token of authenticity, has not bestowed more praise on the Complutensian edition for that very reason, and that he should say of it, in his *Fundamenta criseos apocalyptice*, § xix. 'Complutensis editio minus excellens in bonis et in malis lectionibus.' Yet he has
made

* The account which he gives is the following, "As the University of Alcalá has a very considerable library, and has existed many centuries, it was reasonable to suppose, that it contained many manuscripts. Gomez declares that they cost 4000 aurei, and that among them were seven of the Hebrew Bible. In this library it is highly probable that the Greek manuscripts were deposited, which were used for the Complutensian edition, and of which the German literati have so long wished to have some intelligence. But all these manuscripts were sold in a lump, about thirty-five years ago, to a rocket-maker of the name of Toryo, and were put down in the librarian's account como membranas inútiles. Martinez, a man of learning, and particularly skilled in the Greek language, heard of it soon after they were sold, and hastened to save these treasures from destruction: but it was too late, for they were already destroyed, except a few scattered leaves, which are now preserved in the library. That the number of manuscripts was very considerable, appears from the following circumstance: One Rodan assured Bayer, that he had seen the receipt which was given to the purchaser, from which it appeared that the money was paid at two different payments."

made considerable use of it in this very book, and in many instances adopted its readings. With this book in particular the Codex Guelpherbytanus C, which I have described in the catalogue of manuscripts, N° 130. very remarkably coincides. See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. VIII. p. 158, 159 ¹⁰.

The Complutensian edition is extremely scarce, because only six hundred impressions were taken off ^b; it is wanting in many of the public libraries, and has not been many years even in that of Gottingen. This is the reason why so many different accounts have been given of it. It is too expensive for a private library; that which is now at Gottingen cost 480 florins, and the late Münchausen gave an order to his commissioner as far as 900: and the price of it will still increase, in proportion as its great excellence, especially in the Septuagint, shall be better known. This is an inconvenience to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism, because a book of this kind should be always ready at hand. But Goeze has rendered a service to the public, in having made diligent inquiry after all the copies of this edition, which are preserved in the libraries of Germany, and having given an account of them in his writings.

Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, have collated this edition, as a manuscript, with great diligence; but I have found, from repeated experience, that their extracts are by no means complete. And they have neglected one thing, which is absolutely necessary in this edition, to quote the Latin, as well as the Greek. For if the Greek contradicts the Latin text, it is a proof that it was supported by a great majority of manuscripts, since otherwise they would not have deviated from the established version of their church. And it is certain that they could not have avoided observing the difference, because they have even pointed it out by a mark, which I have mentioned above ¹¹. Goeze, in his Complete Defence of the Complutensian Edition, p. 277. has given extracts from it, which in the proper sense of the word may be called

^b Clement Bibliothéque Curieuse, Tom. IV. p. 175.

called critical, and which no future editor of the Greek Testament ought to leave unnoticed. His object however was not to give complete extracts, but only to produce the principal passages, in which the Greek text differs from the Latin. It was the wish of Mill that the text of this edition had been retained in all other editions, and that the differences had been only noted in the margin, because later editors have rather injured, than improved the text. Now I will not censure what cannot at present be amended; but I think that a real service would be rendered to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism, if a new edition both of the Greek and Latin Testament was published, that was an exact copy of the Complutensian²².

2. Before the Complutensian Polyglot was delivered to the public, Erasmus published his Greek Testament with a new Latin translation²³. The Greek manuscripts, which he used, have been described above, ch. viii. sect. 6. chiefly under the article *Codices Basilenses*. Natural abilities, profound learning, a readiness in detecting errors, with every qualification that is requisite to produce critical sagacity, Erasmus possessed in the very highest degree: and perhaps there never existed a more able editor of the New Testament. But he was engaged, and paid by a printer, who employed him in publishing and correcting several books, in consequence of which he was obliged to make greater haste in the publication of his Greek Testament, than the novelty and importance of the subject should have permitted, because, though involved in a multiplicity of other business, he was obliged to prepare for the press a fresh sheet every day²⁴. This is evident from his letters, of which Wetstein has given extracts in his *Prolegomena*, p. 122, 123. and on this account Erasmus is much more to be pitied than to be censured. It is a mistake, that he began his first edition in 1513, which it is necessary for me to notice, because I had asserted it on the authority of Mill²⁵. His editions of the Greek Testament, notwithstanding their faults, are much esteemed, and in some respects equivalent

equivalent to manuscripts, though Erasmus has sometimes made use of critical conjecture, to which he was accustomed, as corrector of the press, and has very frequently altered the Greek text from the Vulgate. Examples of the latter have been given by Goeze, and every reader will observe them, in examining Wetstein's various readings. A remarkable instance, in which he has made one of these mistakes, is John xviii. 15. where he has *αλλος μαθητης*, instead of *ο αλλος μαθητης*. Now the omission of the article gives the passage a different meaning, yet it was omitted in no manuscript, that could have been known to Erasmus; because the three, in which *αλλος μαθητης* is found, namely, the Alexandrinus, Cantabrigiensis, and Winchelseanus, had not been then collated. The omission therefore of the article, is either an error arising from the too great hurry of Erasmus, and transferred from his edition to almost every other²⁶, or it is an alteration from critical conjecture, or it is a correction from the Vulgate: for Erasmus, as well as Wetstein, has been guilty of a mistake, in supposing that *αλλος*, not *ο αλλος*, is expressed in the Vulgate, when in fact the Latin, which cannot express the article, is no evidence at all. The reading *απωλειας*; 2 Pet. ii. 2. which we find in the edition of Erasmus, no one has been able to discover in any manuscript whatsoever. In the twenty-second chapter of the book of Revelation he has even ventured to give his own translation from the Latin, because the Codex Reuchlini, which was the only Greek manuscript, which he had of that book, was there defective. And he seems to have taken the same liberty in many places, where he had not that excuse: for instance, Acts ix. 5, 6. In his *Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum*, he gives a particular account of those Greek readings, which differ from the Latin: yet his Greek text latinizes much more than the Complutensian. He published five editions of the New Testament, in the years 1516, 1519²⁷, 1522, 1527, 1535; of which the two last were altered in many places from the Complutensian edition, especially in the Revelation of St. John;

John; for Mill relates, that of a hundred alterations which Erasmus made in his edition of 1527, not less than ninety relate to the Revelation alone. These five editions have been collated by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein. I have never particularly examined whether their collations have been made with accuracy; but having occasionally made use of the first and most scarce of these editions, I have observed that their extracts are not complete. It is however of less importance to know the readings of his editions, than those of the Complutensian, because we are acquainted with most of the manuscripts, which he used²⁸. A knowledge of them belongs rather to the province of literary history, and is more necessary in making a proper estimate of his editions, than in the criticism of the New Testament itself. After his death, his Greek Testament was published at Basel, in 1553, and again in 1558, at Leipzig in 1582, at Frankfort, with various readings, in 1673, 1674, and 1693, and with a preface by Schmid, in 1700. But these reimpressions are of little importance in the present inquiry.

The literary labours of Erasmus, added to the envy excited by his profound erudition, drew on him the attacks of many adversaries; not to mention the strictures which were passed on his productions by the divines of Paris. One of his most violent opponents was the learned Spaniard Lopez de Stunica, who published *Annotationes adversus Erasmum in defensione translationis N. T.* Erasmus replied, in his *Apologies*, both to him and his other antagonists; and the controversy has been so far useful, that many points of criticism have been cleared up, which would otherwise have remained obscure. But the character of Erasmus seems in some measure to have lost by it, for he was more intent on his own defence, than the investigation of truth, as Wetstein has shewn in several instances.

Several other editions of the Greek Testament, which have been celebrated for their excellence or scarcity, are nothing more than reimpressions of that of Erasmus.

a) The Greek Bible which Aldus Manutius published at

at Venice in 1518. Even the errors of the press are retained in it: for instance, in the edition of Erasmus, Rev. vii. 14 a catch-word had been falsely printed, namely *αυτας* for *αυτων*, which Manutius has retained, and printed *θεικαναν τας σολας ΑΤΤΑΣ αυτων* *. Wetstein, therefore, p. 127. has very justly observed that Erasmus, did not act fairly in appealing to the Aldine edition, in support of his own readings. This edition was reprinted by Heerwagen at Basel in 1545.

b) The Greek Testament printed at Hagenau in 1521, by Nicolaus Gerbelius, was taken from those of Erasmus and Manutius, for it differs only in the errors of the press †. Some have contended that Luther made his German translation from this edition, for instance Tobias Eckhard, in his *Conjecturæ de codice Græco N. T. quò Lutherus in concinnandâ versione Germanicâ usus sit.* Halberstadii 1722; to whom Boysen replied in his *Dissertatio theologica et critica de codice Græco, quò usus est Lutherus, Lipsiæ 1723.* The controversy would be of little importance, if it related not to the history of a version so generally used, as that of Luther, and to the source from which it was drawn.

c) The edition published at Strasburg in 1524, under the direction of Fabricius Capito*, differs from that of Hagenau in only eleven places, one of which is a critical conjecture.

Another edition printed at Strasburg in the same year is said to be a copy of that of Aldus †.

d) The edition of Johannes Bebelius at Basel in 1531 follows Erasmus and Aldus †.

e) Sim. Colinaeus republished the edition of Erasmus at Paris in 1534; but he made several alterations on the authority of some Greek manuscripts, and the Complutensian

* See Mill's Prolegomena, § 1122, 1123.

† Mill's Prolegomena, § 1136.

* The publisher says in the préface 'Fabricii Capitonis consanguinei mei tum industria tum consilio opitulantibus.' But his name is not in the title, which is merely *Novum Testamentum Græcè. Argentorati apud Wolsium Cephalæum. Anno 1524.*

tensian edition. He has been suspected likewise of having inserted critical conjectures in the text, especially by Beza, who has taken the very same liberty himself. But Wetstein has observed, that in most of the examples, which have been considered as alterations from conjecture, Colineus has actually followed Greek manuscripts; and it appears from Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ* that there are three in particular, namely Wetstein's Codex 17, and Griesbach's 119, and 120, which in many remarkable readings coincide with the edition of Colineus³¹.

f). The edition of Jacobus Bogardus, which takes its name from the publisher, was printed at Paris in 1543. According to the title, it is only a reimpression of one of Erasmus's editions; but there is a material difference, especially in the book of Revelation, as appears from the list of various readings at the end of the work. Wetstein, who has described it, p. 142. is of opinion that the editor made use of the Codex Stephani³².

g). In this and the following year was printed at Basel an octavo edition, under the following title, *Novi Testamenti omnia, cum scholiis. ex patribus, et historiis in loca obscuriora in marginibus adjectis.* The subscription is *Basileæ per Thomam Platerum, impensis Reinhardi Beck.* Anno M. D. XLIII. mense Martio³³. I take notice of this edition, because it has *α τ η ν α λ η ξ η ς*, instead of *α τ η ν α λ η ξ η ς*, Luke viii. 1. a reading, which makes a material alteration in the sense³⁴. Though it follows in general the edition of Erasmus, it deserves a more minute examination. John Gast has prefixed to it a dedication, dated Feb. 16. 1543, which contains nothing of any consequence, except the following passage, *Reinhardus Beck, insignis nostræ urbis bibliopola, cum Novum Testamentum Græco caractere sub prælum dare animo concepiasset, me convenit, an aliquid haberem annotationum, quo commendatissimus per se liber commendatior, in lucem exiret, sibi ut communicarem, rogans. Non potui vel aliquid illius humanitati denegare. Mox assensu, et candide quæ assignata erant libro meo imperavi.* It appears then that Gast had nothing to do with the publication, and correction of the text³⁵.

3. The third place among the editors of the Greek Testament must be assigned to Robert Stephens. His celebrated Paris edition of 1546 he formed from those of Alcala and Basel³⁶, but at the same time made use of several manuscripts, which were collated by his son Henry, and have been described above, ch. viii. sect. 6. under the article *Codices Stephani*³⁷. It is to be lamented that he has not noted all the various readings of these manuscripts. He differs from the Complutensian Greek Testament in five hundred and ninety-eight readings³⁸; and he may be considered as the parent of that text, which is at present in common use. Whoever therefore supposes that our present editions contain an accurate text, must entertain the same opinion of that of Stephens; yet it appears from what was said of his manuscripts, ch. viii. sect. 6. that accuracy was not one of his great virtues.

He himself, published in
 1549, the second edition, which differs from the former
 in seventy-seven places³⁹;
 1550, the third edition, which is finely executed;
 1551, the fourth edition;
 and his son published in
 1562, the fifth edition⁴⁰.

Vögel's edition, which was printed at Leipzig in 1564, and that of Crispin, published at Geneva in 1553, were copied from those of Stephens.

4. Theodore Beza procured from Henry Stephens his father's edition of 1550, with readings, which Robert Stephens had noted in the margin⁴¹. From this work Beza formed a new edition of the Greek Testament, which first appeared in 1565⁴²; but he inserted in the text many of the marginal readings, which were favourable to his own opinions, even in cases where they were ratified by only a single manuscript; and it may be observed that he speaks in a very confused manner of Stephens's manuscripts in general⁴³. His second edition of the Greek Testament which, as well as the preceding, was printed

by Henry Stephens, appeared in 1576, who prefixed to it his celebrated dissertation *De stilo, lectionibus, et interpunctionibus Novi Testamenti*. In this edition many readings were altered.

In 1582 he published his third, and most complete edition, which he enriched with many various readings from the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, and *Codex Claromontanus*. He added to the Greek text not only the Vulgate, but his own Latin translation, and many notes. It was reprinted in 1589, and it is the edition, from which the text of our common editions of the Greek Testament has been chiefly taken⁴⁴.

Bengel has given an account of the various editions of the Greek Testament which have been taken from it⁴⁵. Of these, the Elzevir editions deserve particularly to be noticed. It is not known who were the literati, who had the superintendence of these editions, and determined the particular readings; but it appears on comparison that they have chiefly followed those of Stephens and Beza⁴⁶. The first Elzevir edition was printed at Leyden in 1624, the second in 1626, which, with the Amsterdam edition of 1662, are the most beautiful of all those which were printed by the Elzevirs. Morinus, though he endeavoured in his *Exercitationes Biblicæ* to shew that the text of the Greek Testament was very uncertain, and that the Latin text alone was to be depended on, yet follows the Elzevirs in their splendid edition of the New Testament, which was printed at Paris in 1628.

Beza was attacked, not only on account of the readings which he had adopted, but also for his interpretation of the New Testament, by John Bois, Prebendary of Ely, in his *Collatio, in quatuor evangelia et acta veteris interpretis cum Beza*; which learned work was written in 1625, but not published till thirty years afterwards⁴⁷. He defends very properly the Vulgate in many places against the unnecessary alterations, that were made by Beza.

5. The edition printed by Wechel at Frankfort in 1597,

in which various readings were added by F. Sylburgius, though others ascribe them to Franciscus Junius. In this edition no alterations were made⁴⁸.

6. Benedictus Arias Montanus printed, in the *Biblia Polyglotta* or *Regia*, which was published at Antwerp in 1572, the text of the Greek Testament, which he modelled after that of the Complutensian edition, and that of Erasmus, making the former the basis of his edition, and altering it from the latter. It is thus described by Wetstein in his *Prolegomena*, p. 150.

This text has been several times reprinted, and Wetstein has given extracts from it in his various readings. One of the reimpressions, from which he has also given extracts, is the Geneva edition of 1620, printed by Pierre de la Roviere. These extracts are so imperfect, that I shall take particular notice of the subject, when I speak of Wetstein's edition. Schmid has made a new collation, which with his permission has been communicated to me; and it appears from it, that Wetstein has quoted ten places totally false, and omitted above an hundred readings, which either confirm those, which he had drawn from other sources, or are totally wanting in his edition: but of these latter readings I acknowledge that several are merely errors of the press. On comparing the readings, which are quoted from the Greek text of the Antwerp Polyglot, with those which Wetstein has given from the Complutensian, I found that they coincided in a very remarkable manner; and this coincidence is again confirmed by the extracts, which have been made by Schmid. These extracts deserve to be printed.

7. The edition of the Greek Testament by Stephanus Curcellæus was first printed in 1658, at the press of the Elzevirs, and reprinted in 1675, 1685, and 1699. Curcellæus has given various readings from two Greek manuscripts, beside those which he has copied from former editions. Rumpæus, in his *Commentatio critica ad Novum Testamentum*, p. 280. has given a fuller account of this

edition, and laid to the editor several charges, which perhaps are not wholly ungrounded *.

8. In the beautiful Polyglot, published at Paris in nine volumes folio, the New Testament is printed in the fifth volume, in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic^o. But the Greek text in this edition has nothing remarkable, to distinguish it from other editions.

9. The celebrated London Polyglot, published by Brian Walton in 1657, deserves particularly to be mentioned. The fifth volume contains the Greek text, with a Latin translation, also the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, and in the Gospels the Persian version, with Latin translations to each; and under the Greek text, several readings from the Codex Alexandrinus. In the sixth volume is the first copious collection of various readings, that ever was printed. For there are not only the various readings, which Stephens had printed in his margin, the Bezaean readings, and those of Wechel, but also the readings of sixteen manuscripts, which were collated under the direction of Archbishop Usher. These manuscripts have been described in the eighth chapter, under the numbers, 50, 59, 61, 65, 134, 135, 157, 158, 160, 161, 180, 186, 187, 188, 245, 251. Whoever wishes to read a description of them all together, may consult Mill's Prolegomena, § 1372—1396.

This Polyglot is of the utmost importance to a critic, not only on account of the extracts which it contains from the above-mentioned manuscripts, but particularly on account of the Oriental versions, from which he must collect various readings to the New Testament. Though several of the manuscripts, which are quoted in the Polyglot, have since that time been more accurately collated, and no one would now have recourse to that edition for the readings of the Alexandrinus, or Cantabrigiensis, yet some of the sixteen manuscripts, which Usher had collated, have never been since examined, Mill and Wetstein having inserted those readings in their collections, as they found them in the Polyglot. Now as errors of

the press are unavoidable, especially in a work like Wetstein's, it is necessary to have recourse to the Polyglot, whenever a doubt arises in regard to the accuracy of a quotation by Mill or Wetstein, in order to see whether these manuscripts, which were collated for the London Polyglot, have the readings in question or not.

Several other critics have borrowed from the readings of the London Polyglot. Bengel selected whatever appeared to him important, and Saubert has inserted in his *Variae Lectiones* all the readings of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

10. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, was the next after Walton, who published a critical edition of the Greek Testament: but this was so eclipsed by that of Mill, that it is no longer sought as a work of importance in sacred criticism, but merely as a scarce book, though the learned editor made many additions to that which had been performed by Walton: and the only merit, which it retains, is that of having given birth to Mill's edition. The title is, *Της καινης διαθκης απαρτα*, *Novi Testamenti libri omnes*. *Accesserunt parallela scripturæ loca, nec non variantes lectiones ex plus 100 MS. Codicibus, et antiquis versionibus collectæ.* Oxonii, e theatro Sheldoniano, 1475, 8^{vo}.

It appears from the preface, that the great number of various readings, which are printed in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot, apart from the text, had given alarm to many persons, who were ignorant of criticism, and had induced them to suspect, that the New Testament was attended with so much uncertainty, as to be a very imperfect standard of faith and manners. In order to convince such persons of their error, and to shew how little the sense of the New Testament was altered by them, Fell printed them under the text, that the reader might the more easily compare them.

To the readings which he copied from the London Polyglot, those quoted by Curcellæus, and the Barberini readings, he added Marshall's extracts from the Coptic and Gothic versions, and the readings of several manuscripts,

manuscripts, which were collated for his edition: but these he has not sufficiently described. These are, 1. Twelve manuscripts in the Bodleian library, of which he says, *quorum plerique intacti prius, nec in Polyglottis recensiti.* 2. Two manuscripts, formerly the property of Usher, which were collated for him by Dodwell. These are the manuscripts, which I have described in the eighth chapter, by the titles *Cod. Usser. 1. et 2.* But Fell did not observe that the latter had been already quoted in the London Polygot by another name; in consequence of which, he has quoted the same evidence twice". 3. The three *Codices Petavani*, and the *Codex Sangermanensis*, which were collated by Gachon. The extracts from these manuscripts arrived too late to be printed under the text; and the editor was obliged therefore, contrary to his original plan, to add them in an Appendix, together with the Barberini readings. Even in this Appendix only a few of them are quoted: but they are not lost to the world, for the bishop communicated the manuscript collation to Mill. One might almost conclude from a passage in Mill's *Prolegomena*⁴, that the various readings, at least those in the Appendix, were not reduced into order by the bishop himself, but that he left the drudgery to others, who had less zeal and critical knowledge, than himself.

With respect to the quotations of the fathers, Fell's opinion was erroneous, for he supposed that they quoted merely from memory; and for this reason he not only neglected them himself, but was displeased with Mill, for bestowing on them so much attention.

The second edition, which was not published till after his death, is a magnificent folio; but it would have been no loss, had this edition never appeared. It takes its name from John Gregory, because it contains the extracts which he had made, (for he died before it was published)

⁴ *E quibus paucas duntaxat, idque sine distinctione omni, primi, secundi, tertii, codicum unde petitz sunt, in appendicem editionis Oxoniensis transmiscent.*

published) partly from the Greek fathers, partly from Greek profane authors: but these extracts are of no great value. The title is, *Novum Testamentum, una cum scholiis Græcis, e Græcis scriptoribus, tam ecclesiasticis, quam exteris, maxima ex parte desumptis. Opera et studio Johannis Gregorii. Oxonii, e theatro Sheldoniano, 1703.* This edition, if we except the typographical execution, has nothing worthy of the Sheldon theatre; for no addition is made to the various readings of Fell's edition, which might easily have been done from the bishop's papers, nor are even those, which he had been obliged to print in an Appendix, transferred to their proper places.

The edition of 1675 has been twice reprinted in Germany²²: but no man would seek at present, in so imperfect a work, what he can find, not only more completely, but with greater ease in Mill. Fell's edition is of no value, not even for the purpose of examining whether later editors, who have quoted the same manuscripts as himself, have quoted inaccurately: for as Mill was in possession of all the bishop's papers, his edition is of course a more certain criterion, than that of his predecessor. But Fell has greater merit than he could have acquired from an edition of the Greek Testament; for he possessed a noble and generous spirit, which he displayed in communicating to Mill whatever he had collected himself, and in encouraging one of the best of critics to publish an edition, which has brought his own into oblivion, and which still remains an indispensable work to every man engaged in sacred criticism. He died however before it was published; for Mill was advanced in his publication no further than the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, when the world was deprived of this excellent man, a loss, which was felt particularly by Mill, as it prevented the fulfilling of a promise, which the bishop had made him, to defray the expence of printing.

Here ends the infancy of criticism, in respect to the New Testament: and the age of manhood commences with the edition, which I am now going to describe.

11. This is the celebrated edition of John Mill, which he finished only fourteen days before his death, after having bestowed on it the labour of thirty years. The origin and progress of it he has himself described in his *Prolegomena* *; I will therefore make only such remarks on the value and contents of this publication, as relate immediately to points of criticism.

The collections of Various Readings, which had been made before the time of Mill, the *Velesian*, the *Barberini*, those of *Stephens*, the *London Polyglot*, and *Fell's* edition, with those which the bishop had left in manuscript, and whatever he was able to procure elsewhere, he brought together into one large collection. He made likewise very considerable additions to it. He collated several original editions more accurately than had been done before: he procured extracts from Greek manuscripts, which had never been collated, and of such as had been before collated, but not with sufficient attention, he obtained more complete extracts. I will not enumerate the manuscripts at present, because they are too numerous; and it is the less necessary, as, in the chapter relative to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, whatever was performed by Mill, has been mentioned under each respective article. He also added, as far as he was able, readings from the ancient versions; and he displayed his critical judgment, in not filling the margin of his edition with quotations from the modern European versions, which have no weight in sacred criticism. He is likewise to be commended for the great attention which he paid to the quotations of the fathers, the importance of which he had sagacity enough to discern: and he is the more to be commended, because in this point he had to contend with the opinion of his friend and patron bishop *Fell*, who advised him to hasten his work, and devote less time to the writings of the fathers.

It is said, that he has collected from manuscripts, fathers, and versions, not less than thirty thousand various readings.

* Sect. 1412. to the end.

readings. Mill was perhaps too painfully accurate in regard to trifles, and readings that are evident errata; whereas others have gone into the opposite extreme, and omitted things of importance. But he is not therefore to be censured; for in a capital work like Mill's Greek Testament, which every critic has occasion to consult, it is better to have too much than too little; and Mill never falls into the childishness betrayed by some collectors, who, where there is little to gather, are resolved to gather all. His adversaries, of whom many were wholly ignorant of criticism, were not aware that the manifest errors of a transcriber are sometimes worthy of notice, because we learn from them the character of the manuscripts themselves, and their relation to other manuscripts.

Before the time of Mill, the editors of the Greek Testament, and the collectors of various readings, were not accustomed to give a clear and accurate description of their manuscripts. This task was first undertaken by Mill, which he has executed in his elegant and learned *Prolegomena*, which consists of 168 folio pages: and he has not only described his manuscripts, but judged of the goodness of them from the readings, which he quotes from them as proofs. He was the first person, who attempted to give a genealogy of the editions of the Greek Testament, in which, it is true, he made several mistakes: but no man who makes the first attempt, can expect to arrive at perfection. His *Prolegomena*, notwithstanding those of Wetstein, still retain their original value; for they contain a great deal of matter, which is not in Wetstein, and of the matter, which is common to both, some things are explained more clearly by Mill. Wetstein travelled into different countries, examined with his own eyes a much greater number of manuscripts, than his predecessor, had more genius, and a much greater share of learning; but on the other hand, Mill was more diligent, had more critical phlegma, and, I believe, adhered more strictly to the truth¹¹. I find it necessary to mention these circumstances, because it seems

seems to be the opinion of many, that Mill's edition, and especially his *Prolegomena*, since the publication of Wetstein's Greek Testament, is become useless, and, as it were, obsolete.

Mill's collection of various readings, notwithstanding its many imperfections, and the superiority of that of Wetstein, is still absolutely necessary to every critic: for Wetstein has omitted a great number of readings which are to be found in Mill, especially those, which are either taken from the Vulgate, or confirm its readings. I admit that Mill was too much attached to this version, yet he cannot be accused of partiality in producing its evidence, because it is the duty of a critic to examine the witnesses on both sides of the question: and Wetstein, by too frequently neglecting the evidence in favour of the Vulgate, has rendered his collection less perfect, than it would otherwise have been.

Mill made no alterations in the text of the Greek Testament, but copied exactly the third edition of Stephens. But he delivered his opinion on particular readings, partly in his *Prolegomena*, partly in his collection of readings, that are printed under the text. In the one he often gives an opinion, which contradicts that which he had given in the other; which arose from his having acquired, during the progress of the work, as he himself confesses, a more comprehensive knowledge of the subject, for which he was chiefly indebted to Simon's *Critical History*, especially in respect to the proper use of the ancient versions. Bengel has observed, that Mill was at first more attentive to the number, than to the goodness of his manuscripts, but that he afterwards corrected his error. It may be observed in general, that Mill was more inclined to favour the readings, which coincided with the Vulgate, than those which differed from it. Yet his critical judgment prevented him from adopting a reading as genuine, because it was smooth and easy; and in this respect he has introduced among the critics a taste, which is perfectly just, but contrary to that which prevailed at the revival of learning.

The

The great diligence, which he displayed in collecting so many thousand readings, exposed him to the attacks of many writers both in England and Germany, who formed not only an unfavourable, but unjust opinion of his work. Not only the clergy in general, but even Professors in the Universities, who had no knowledge of criticism, considered his vast collection of various readings, as a work of evil tendency, and inimical to the Christian religion. And perhaps a still greater number of years would have elapsed, before the merits of his Greek Testament would have been acknowledged, if Bengel, who was universally celebrated, as a man of uncommon piety, had not given it authority, by treading in the footsteps of its author.

It cannot be denied that Mill's Greek Testament has many imperfections, and some of real importance. His extracts from manuscripts are often not only incomplete, but erroneous; and it is frequently necessary to correct the mistakes in Mill, from the edition of Wetstein. This arose from Mill's not having travelled, like Wetstein, to collate manuscripts himself; he was obliged to depend on the diligence and accuracy of others, who collated rather out of friendship, and to whom therefore he could prescribe no fixed and determinate plan. If Mill had had the same pecuniary assistance for his edition of the New Testament, which Kennicott had in his publication of the Old, these imperfections might have been avoided: but instead of laying them to the charge of the learned editor, we must rather consider it as a merit, that he ventured, in spite of numerous obstacles, on so great and extensive an undertaking.

Still less perfect are his extracts from the Oriental versions, because he was unacquainted with those languages, and in selecting readings from the Syriac, the Arabic, and Ethiopic, was obliged to have recourse to the Latin translations, which are annexed to those versions in the London Polyglot. My late father, in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T. caute colligendis*, has taken particular notice of the mistakes of this kind in
 Mill's

Mill's edition, which amount not to hundreds, but to thousands. To be convinced of the truth of this assertion, the reader need only to have recourse to the seventh paragraph of my *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, where he will see that they amount to at least five hundred in the Acts of the Apostles alone. In the year 1767, Professor Bode published a treatise, entitled, *Pseudo-critica Millio-Bengeliana*, in which the mistakes of this kind, which had been committed by Mill, are pointed out, and corrected. It is a work, with which no man can dispense, who would make a critical use of Mill's Greek Testament, if he is unacquainted with Syriac and Arabic.

In the description of manuscripts, and other critical documents, which he had never seen himself, Mill is too often led away by the force of his imagination, and he relates his own conjectures with as much confidence, as if they were real facts. His description of the Codex Vaticanus, as a manuscript used by the Complutensian editors, his quotation of an hundred readings from this manuscript, because those readings are in the Complutensian edition, and the opinion which he thence forms of the manuscript itself, confirm the truth of this assertion.

The contradictions, which have been observed in the opinions delivered by Mill, in different places, on the same subject, of which Whitby has collected examples in a publication, that bears the illiberal title of *Millius saurus tympusurus**, I consider as no fault in that eminent critic: on the contrary, it redounds to his honour, that he not only acquired a more extensive knowledge of the subject during the progress of his work, but had candour enough to confess his former mistakes. Whoever has to form an opinion on several thousand readings, in which it is often difficult to distinguish what is spurious from that which is genuine, and where the decision depends frequently on a seeming trifle, is unavoidably exposed to the danger of deciding in one instance upon principles, that

* In the Appendix to his *Examen variantium lectionum Millii*.

that contradict those which he had adopted in another, unless, like Whitby, he is predetermined to give the constant preference to one particular edition, or, instead of forming an unbiassed judgment in each particular instance, has constant recourse to former decisions, in order to be uniform at the expense of partiality.

The greatest objection, which can be made to Mill, is that he frequently gives an opinion, where it is wholly superfluous, and that he often makes a positive decision in cases, where neither of the readings has a manifest superiority of evidence. In readings, which make no alteration in the sense, we seldom find a decided preponderance in favour of any one in particular, especially if we balance the number of witnesses in one scale, by the goodness and authority of those in the other. We must not therefore be surprised, that Mill, in his description of his manuscripts, makes mention, not of one, two, or three, but frequently of an hundred readings, peculiar to a particular manuscript, which he describes as genuine, and as proofs of the goodness of the manuscript, in retaining so much of the true text, which is not to be found in other documents. It seems, as if he made his ear the criterion for determining the genuineness of a reading, without considering that on this principle, not only different persons, but the same person at different times, must form different opinions; not to mention, that of any two readings, we seldom find either so offensive to the ear, as to warrant us to conclude, on that account alone, that it was not written by the author, whose works we examine.

Mill's principal opponent was Daniel Whitby, a man who was certainly endued with a considerable share of learning. His chief object was to defend the readings of the printed text, and to show that Mill was mistaken in frequently preferring other readings. But how frequently soever Mill has been guilty of an error in judgment, in the choice of this or that particular reading, yet the value of the collection itself remains unaltered. To give the reader a notion of Whitby's design, in his
attack

attack upon Mill, I will quote the title-page at full length.

Examen variantium lectionum Johannes Millii S.T.P. ubi ostenditur.

1. Lectionum harum fundamenta incerta plane esse, et ad lectionem textus ~~Millii~~ ^{Bezae} convellendam protinus inidonea.

2. Lectiones variantes, quæ sunt momenti alicujus, aut sensum textus mutant, paucissimas esse, atque in iis omnibus ⁱⁿ lectionem textus defendi posse.

3. Lectiones variantes levioris momenti, quas latius expendimus, tales esse, in quibus a lectione recepta rarissime recedendum est.

4. Millium in hisce variantibus lectionibus colligendis sæpius arte non ingenua usum esse, falsis citationibus abundare, et sibimetipsi multoties contradicere.

Opera et studio Danielis Whitby S. T. B. et ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis Præcentoris, 1710. It was afterwards annexed to his Paraphrase and Commentary, on the New Testament, published in 1727.

Now Whitby, though a good commentator, was a bad critic. This appears from his very manner of arguing against Mill, for we may be assured, that whoever condemns another as a heretic, because he is of a different opinion, is wholly ignorant of the art of criticism. In the beginning of his preface, he describes Mill's collection of various readings as inimical to our religion, and as rendering the Word of God uncertain. He says that "Mill has collated at least ninety manuscripts, and yet prefers frequently a reading that is found in only twenty, or thirty: that he must therefore have been either extremely negligent in collating, or that the reading, which he rejects, is supported by the greatest number of manuscripts." But this accusation betrays a total ignorance of manuscripts, and shews that Whitby had never

¹ In *omnibus* defendi posse, though it implies not an absolute impossibility, is certainly a very bold assertion. Nor is it a proof of Whitby's impartial love of truth, unless he supposed that Robert Stephens was inspired.

never read with proper attention even Mill's Prolegomena; from which he might have learned, that all these manuscripts do not contain the whole New Testament *.

Ludolph Küster reprinted Mill's Greek Testament at Rotterdam in 1710, and enriched it with the readings of twelve additional manuscripts. These are nine Paris manuscripts, with those of Carpzov, Seidel, and Boerner. This edition has likewise another advantage, that the readings which Mill had been obliged to place in his Appendix, are here transferred to their proper places. But Griesbach, in the preface to his *Symbolæ criticæ*, has observed that Küster has not transferred them all.

Before I conclude the account of Mill's edition, I must take notice of that copy, which is in my own possession, because I should be sorry that the pains, which have been bestowed on it, should be lost to the world. This copy I inherited from my father, who has written marginal notes from one end of it to the other. They consist partly in new readings, which he himself had collected, partly in observations on the old. The readings, which he has added, are taken chiefly from Theophylact, from the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions, particularly that published by Erpenius, and a manuscript of the Vulgate, which he procured from the library of Ludwig. The extracts from this manuscript are very numerous: but the most important are those, which are taken from the Oriental versions, because the readings, which Mill has quoted from them, are very imperfect, whereas those, which my father has collected, were assuredly not taken from the Latin translations, but drawn from the originals themselves. After my death, this copy will be deposited in the library of the Orphan House in Halle.

In the Bodleian library is a copy of Mill's Greek Testament, with additions and corrections from Mill's own hand:

* Whitby was as much against the Latin readings, as Mill was in favour of them: and, though he was of opinion that the fathers quoted the Greek Testament from memory, yet he paid more deference to their quotations, than to any manuscript:

hand : there are also some additions by Hearne. Griesbach, in the first volume of his *Symbolæ*, p. 241—304, has printed as many of them, as relate to the seventeen first chapters of St. Matthew, and all the epistles. In the latter a *Codex Hal.* is frequently quoted; but what this abbreviation denotes no one at present knows.

12. The Greek Testament published by the learned Syndic of the city of Bremen, Gerard of Maastricht, was received in Germany with great applause. It was printed at Amsterdam in 1711, with Prolegomena, and various readings, which were taken partly from Fell's edition, partly from a manuscript in the imperial library, which the editor himself collated with great care. He calls himself in the title G. D. T. M. D. that is, Gerardus de Trajecto Mossæ Doctor.

Notwithstanding this work was so much commended on its first appearance, the late Bengel in his *Introductio in crisin N. T.* p. 440 of the 1st edition, p. 76. of the second, speaks of it in very indifferent terms. It is certain that Maastricht was not happy in the choice of his readings : And as Mill's edition is so much more complete, the imperfect collection of readings exhibited by Maastricht seems to be of no use.

13. An anonymous Englishman published in London in 1729, *The New Testament, Greek and English*, 8^{vo}. of which I can speak only from the accounts of others[†], as I have never seen it myself. The editor has presumed to make many alterations in the Greek text, not only where he had the authority of manuscripts, but frequently from mere conjecture. He has added an English translation, which runs with tolerable fluency, and likewise several notes, in which however we find no new extracts from manuscripts, but merely such as had been given by Mill. He goes upon the principle, that it is lawful for an editor to alter the text from conjecture, and ridicules those, who think it wrong to invent new readings. The common reading, Gal. iv. 25. he did not understand; he made therefore

[†] It is described in the *Memoirs of a library in Halle*, Vol. IV. p. 418. 419.

therefore an emendation, of the justness of which he is so very confident, that he censures Mill, for retaining the words *Σίνα σπος εστιν εν τη Αρκαδία*, because they are found in every manuscript, and adds, 'as if there was any manuscript so ancient as common sense.' This is a ridiculous and absurd affectation of ~~wisdom~~. Whoever, like this editor, has not sufficient knowledge to comprehend the meaning of his author, will certainly be unable to find common sense in a passage, of which he knows not the meaning: but this is the fault of the interpreter, not of the author. And it would be surely a very extraordinary rule in the art of criticism, that common sense is to be preferred to the authority of all manuscripts; for though we may appeal to common sense, to shew what an author ought to have written, it is no criterion for determining what he actually has written †.

14. John Albert Bengel, Abbot of Alpirspach in the Duchy of Würtemberg, became a critic, as he himself expresses it, *per tentationem*, or, in other words, he directed his attention to sacred criticism, in consequence of serious and anxious doubts. While he was a student at the University, he made use of that edition of the Greek Testament, which Professor Frank had printed at Halle from that of Bishop Fell; and being resolved not to form his principles of Theology from the system adopted in the academical lectures, he had recourse to the Greek Testament itself; but finding so great a number of various readings, which seemed to render his faith uncertain, he fell into a kind of despondency, which he concealed from his tutor, because he doubted whether he should obtain the satisfaction he required¹. But this uneasiness, and the influence which it had on this mode of

† The late Wolf has confuted, in his *Curæ*, the innovations of this editor, which Leonhard Twells has done in a separate work, which I have never been able to procure². In the *Memoirs* of a library in Halle this edition is described as a 'very bold undertaking against the doctrine of Christ's Divinity.'

¹ See the account of his life in the *Apparatus criticus*, p. 699. 703. 2^d ed.

of study, were very beneficial in their effects: and the consequence followed, which might be naturally expected, since a man who seeks after the genuine reading through scruples of conscience, will not only be more industrious in searching for materials of information, but will probably be more scrupulously exact in examining the evidence which they afford, than a man who exercises the art of criticism, merely because it is his profession, or because the study of it either gratifies his ambition, or indulges his private inclination. Bengel was not only diligent in the examination of various readings, but in the strictest sense of the word conscientious; for he considered it as an offense against the Deity, if through his own fault, that is, through levity or carelessness, he introduced a false reading into the sacred text. His object was not merely to make a collection of readings, and leave the choice of them to the judgment of the reader, but to examine the evidence on both sides, and draw the inference: yet he has not given his own opinion so frequently as Mill, whom he resembled in his reverence for the Latin version, and in the preference which he gave to harsh and difficult readings, before those which were smooth and flowing. It may be observed in general, that he had a cool and sound judgment, though it did not prevent him from thinking too highly of the Latin readings, and of the Codex Alexandrinus, with other latinizing⁵⁶ manuscripts. But it was certainly a fault in him, that he was too much attached to the opinions which he had once formed, and that in the materials, which he left for a second edition of the *Apparatus criticus*, he paid so little attention to the objections which other critics had made to the mistakes of the first edition. It may be said however, as an extenuation of this fault, that, his character being naturally firm, he was induced to pay less attention to objections in general, because he had been often attacked by men without learning, and without judgment. There is another imperfection in his judgment, which I should have passed over in silence, if Wetstein had not taken particular

notice of it. Namely, Bengel was of opinion, that in certain cases a kind of inward and spiritual grace might enable us to distinguish the genuine reading of the sacred text, from that which proceeded merely from human hands. Now I recollect no passage of scripture, in which the Deity has given a promise of this critical grace; and I am really of opinion, that if we followed its call, it would lead different critics to different conclusions. But whatever sentiments we entertain of the execution of his work in general, he will always retain the merit of being the first person who removed those suspicions, which had been entertained of sacred criticism, and of rendering its study more general, especially in Germany. He made known his design by a *Prodromus* printed at Tübingen in 1725, which was followed nine years afterwards by the *Greek Testament* itself, which was published at Tübingen in 1734, in 4^{to}. He prefixed to it his *Introductio in crisin Novi Testamenti*, and subjoined to it his *Apparatus criticus*, and *Epilogus*. In his *Introductio in crisin* he treated of the manuscripts, versions, and editions, adding at the same time very rational critical rules; and he executed the whole in so clear and concise a manner, that the clergy in general, who had not directed their attention to sacred criticism, began to think that it was less dangerous, than they had imagined. The writings of Bengel therefore had more readers, than those of most critics; and his readers have become in general his friends and disciples.

He did not, as Mill had done, simply reprint the text of a former edition, but he really improved it, as far as he was able. But his diffidence, and caution, which was at that time necessary, prevented him from inserting in the text any reading, that had not already appeared in some printed edition, even though he believed it to be the genuine reading; by which means he avoided the reproach, which some persons might have made, of having published a new Bible⁷. In the book of *Revelations* alone he took the liberty of inserting readings, which had never been printed, because this book had

been printed from so few manuscripts, and in one passage had been printed by Erasmus from no manuscript whatsoever. Under the text he placed some select readings, but without quoting the evidence in their favour, which he reserved for his *Apparatus criticus*. His opinion of these marginal readings he expressed by Greek letters, α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , and some few other marks: α denotes that he held it for genuine; β that its genuineness was not absolutely certain, but that the reading was still preferable to that in the text; γ that the reading of the margin was equal in value to the reading of the text, and that he doubted which of them he should prefer; δ that the marginal reading was of less value; and ϵ that it was absolutely spurious, though some critics had defended it. Now, whatever Wetstein may assert to the contrary, it cannot be denied that this is a very convenient method of improving the text.

His whole collection of various readings, with the evidence in their favour, and sometimes with his own sentiments upon them, he placed in his *Apparatus criticus*. This collection was chiefly taken from that of Mill; but Bengel omitted whatever he thought was of no importance, for which he has been censured by Wetstein, and, I believe, with reason. If Bengel had printed his various readings under the text, he might have been allowed to print only select readings, in order to save room: but as he printed them apart, and was not confined to a small compass of paper, he ought to have made his *Apparatus* as complete as possible. A reading, which seemed unimportant to Bengel, might appear to another critic to be of some consequence; and when extracts were given from manuscripts, which had never been collated before, every man wished to be acquainted even with such readings, as were manifest errata, in order to form a judgment of the value of the manuscripts themselves*. To the readings; which Bengel borrowed

from

* Bengel himself acknowledges that it is useful to quote seemingly unimportant readings, and he is in this respect one of the most strenuous advocates of Mill. See his *Prodomus*, or his *Apparatus criticus*, p. 628. 2^d ed.

from Mill, he made very considerable additions, which consisted partly in extracts from manuscripts, which had never been collated, partly in extracts, which had been printed by others, but had never been collected into one mass, and partly in readings, which he selected with greater accuracy than his predecessors, from the ancient versions¹. These additions to Mill's collection make Bengel's Apparatus indispensable to a critic, not only because Wetstein has neglected to use a great part of Bengel's materials, but also because in those extracts, which Wetstein has copied from Bengel, errata may have taken place, which can be corrected only by referring to the original edition. It is likewise indispensable on the following account: Bengel quotes the authorities that are in favour of the text, as well as those which are in favour of the various readings, whereas Wetstein quotes only the latter, and leaves the reader therefore in a state of uncertainty, whether the reading of the text is supported by the authority of a hundred manuscripts, or by no authority whatsoever².

From Bengel's Greek Testament have been printed several smaller editions, in which the critical Apparatus is left out: but this was republished in 1763, after the death of the author, with those alterations, additions, and answers to objections, which he had left in manuscript, under the title of Apparatus criticus ad Novum Testamentum; which title includes more than in the first edition, in which the title of Apparatus was given to

¹ His own words are as follow, Non solum Augustanos septem, Byzantinum, Hirsaugiensem, Moscensem, Uffenbachianos duos MSS. codices contuli, quos duodecim Censura memorat. Sunt præterea Basileenses tres, Bodleianus unus apud Waltonum, Camerarianus, Dionysianus apud Gugnæum, Gebhianus, Parisinus unus apud Simonium, Wolfiani duo, complures apud L. Vallam, et J. Fabrum Stapulensem, fragmenta alia et excerpta, quæ Millio et Kustero intacta in apparatu meo congessi. Antiquissimæ et longe gravissimæ translationi Latinæ tantundem facile operæ dicavi, quantum ipsi textui Græco. Accessere versionis Copticæ et Armeniæ, in libris N. T. a Millio hac parte prætermisiss, a celeberrimo La Croze rogatu meo revisis, et multa alia versionum patrumque supplementa. Appar. crit. p. 656. ed. 2^a.

to the collection of readings alone. In the second edition, Bengel has not paid sufficient attention to the objections of his opponents, and he has let errors remain, which they had pointed out; for instance, Rev. xv. 6. compared with Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 161. n. 12. But perhaps he would have made more alterations, than what he left written in the margin of his book, if he had lived to superintend the new edition himself.

I cannot conclude the account of Bengel's edition, without mentioning the principal persons who wrote against him; for the attacks, which were made on him by the illiterate, neither merited the notice of Bengel, nor deserve to be mentioned here. Wolf has in his *Curæ* made several objections to Bengel in respect to the Revelation of St. John, and Baumgarten has done the same in his *Examen variantium lectionum in epistola Jacobi*; to whom Bengel has replied in the second edition of his *Apparatus*. My father in his *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T.* has made several objections to the opinions, which Bengel entertained of the Codex Alexandrinus, and he corrected several mistakes, which Bengel had made in regard to the Syriac version. This gave rise to a controversy, which was conducted with great coolness, and by no means affected the friendship that subsisted between the two parties. Whoever wishes to examine the arguments, which were advanced on both sides, may consult *Bengelii tractatio critica de sinceritate N. T. Græci tuenda, cum adpersis hic illic ab editore Christiano Benedicto Michaelis annotatiunculis*. Halæ, 1750. A warm adversary, and among the warm adversaries of Bengel by far the most able, was the celebrated Wetstein. This eminent critic used frequently in the latter part of his life to break out in expressions of violence against Bengel, which he would certainly have been ashamed to commit to writing; but even in his writings he speaks of him with no inconsiderable warmth. Yet he sometimes censures, where he ought to have commended: for instance, p. 157. of his *Prolegomena*, he accuses Bengel of having in several instances altered his

opinion^m; as if it were a disgrace to an author to enlarge his views during the progress of his work, and as if he had not done it himself in the period that elapsed between the publication of his first Prolegomena, and his edition of the Greek Testament, or between the time, when he formed his original plan, and the publication of his first Prolegomena. What Wetstein wrote against Bengel is contained partly in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, partly in the Prolegomena to the first part of his Greek Testament, p. 156—170. To the objections made in the former, Bengel replied in his *Defensio N. T. Græci Tubingæ editi*, which was published in 1737; but I know of no reply, that has been given to the objections made in the latter. Notwithstanding the violence, which Wetstein has displayed in his attacks upon Bengel, yet he was a man of such profound learning, that his objections deserve to be carefully examined. They relate either to errors of judgment, or mistakes in matters of fact; but the number of the latter is so inconsiderable, that the credit of Bengel's collection of various readings, in point of accuracy, has rather gained than lost by the controversy. Every man engaged in a work of considerable extent is exposed to the danger of error, and, though I have never examined the quotations of Wetstein with the same attention, as he has done those of Bengel, I could easily produce a greater number of mistakes from Wetstein's edition, than Wetstein has produced from that of Bengel.

15. I come now to the celebrated edition of John James Wetstein, which, of all the editions of the Greek Testament, is the most important, and the most necessary to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism. Of the exegetical use of this edition I have treated above, in the last section of the fourth chapter: at present I shall confine myself to the critical part of it, and consider it only in reference to the text of the Greek Testament, and its various readings. The reader will excuse my
prolixity

^m Non maturi judicii est, sed inconstantiae et levitatis speciem præbet, quod Bengelius in altero Prodomo a priore longe recessit, &c.

prolixity on this subject, not only because Wetstein's edition is of the utmost importance, but because its critical merits, during some time after its publication, were not thoroughly understood. It was impossible from the nature of the work itself, that the reviewers, who noticed it in their literary journals on its first appearance, should have sufficient knowledge of the subject; and nothing less than the constant use of it during many years could enable us to speak with any tolerable precision of a work, which contains a much greater number of readings, than the edition by Mill, (though he had given already thirty thousand) and which, in consequence of the numerous authorities, by which the various readings are supported, contains above a million of quotations.

Though it seems useless to inquire, whether a collector of various readings is orthodox, or heterodox, since the one may have as good eyes, as deep learning, and as much honesty, as the other; yet in the case of Wetstein, it is necessary to take some notice of his religious opinions. For if he acted unfairly in concealing his sentiments on points of religion, a suspicion might arise that he acted also unfairly in the statement of his evidence for the various readings of the Greek Testament. This subject is really of great importance, for as a third part perhaps of the manuscripts, which he quotes, have been collated by no one but himself, he is so far our only evidence, and we must rely entirely on his authority. It may be asked then, 1st, Whether he has quoted his manuscripts either falsely or imperfectly, in order to establish his own religious opinions? 2^d, Whether his diligence and accuracy have been such, that we may at all times depend upon them?

The first of these questions I should make no scruple to answer in the negative, and to pronounce that Wetstein in his character of a critic is perfectly honest. For in the principal passages of the New Testament relative to the Divinity of Christ, in which no various reading had been quoted by former critics, Wetstein has likewise produced none; though many of the adversaries of that

doctrine have endeavoured to help themselves by critical conjecture. The two passages, to which I allude, are John i. 1. and Rom. ix. 5. in which a pious zeal might have induced a critic, who was not an impartial lover of the truth, to have confirmed the two conjectures of the Socinians, *καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος*, and *ὢν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*, by quoting false evidence in its favour; but Wetstein is perfectly free from this reproach, and the soundness of his critical judgment induced him to reject even the conjectures themselves. But his explanation^a of the two passages is partial in a very high degree; and in the last passage he has made use of a finesse, that is inconsistent with honour and integrity, in placing his explanation, not among the notes at the bottom of the page, to which it properly belongs, but among the various readings⁶⁰. This is all that can be laid to his charge; and if he has given no false quotations in passages, while he had points of doctrine to establish, we have reason to suspect him in passages of less importance.

With respect to the second question, whether Wetstein has been sufficiently diligent and accurate in collating his manuscripts, and in his edition of the Greek Testament in general, it will appear from the examples, which I shall produce, that we have less reason to pronounce

^a 'God who is over all be blessed for ever,' is the explanation of Wetstein, who understands it not of Christ but of the Father; and in support of his explanation quotes several passages from the fathers, who deny that *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* relates to Christ. He quotes also the celebrated passage of Julian, *τοὺ γὰρ Ἰησοῦ οὐτε Παῦλος ἐτολμήσεν εἰπεῖν θεόν, οὐτε Ματθαῖος, οὐτε Μάρκος, ἀλλ' ὁ χεῖρος Ἰωάννης*. He concludes therefore that both Julian, and the fathers, whom he quotes, must have explained this passage in a manner different from that in which we explain it. Now this proof amounts to nothing; for though the evidence of Julian, as well as that of the fathers, is of importance, when the question relates to the readings of the Greek Testament, because their authenticity must be determined by the force of evidence; yet their explanation of a passage, and especially that given by Julian, cannot be admitted in determining a point of simple criticism. Wetstein therefore makes use of the dishonest finesse of quoting explanations among his *Variae lectiones*, which must be determined not by opinions, but by facts.

pronounce him faultless, than in regard to the first question.

Wetstein's Greek Testament was published at Amsterdam in 1751 and 1752, in two volumes folio. I will divide the description of it into three heads. 1. The Prolegomena. 2. The text, with the proposed alterations of the editor. 3. The collection of various readings.

He first published his Prolegomena in 1730, at Amsterdam, in 4^{to}, without mentioning his name, under the following title: Prolegomena ad N. T. Græci editionem accuratissimam e vetustissimis codicibus MSS. denuo procurandum: in quibus agitur de codicibus MSS. N. T. scriptoribus Græcis, qui N. T. usi fuerunt, versionibus veteribus, editionibus prioribus, et claris interpretibus; et proponuntur animadversiones et cautiones ad examen variarum lectionum N. T. necessariae. These Prolegomena were afterwards printed with his Greek Testament, with several alterations. For the arrangement is different, many important paragraphs are added, and the opinions, which the author had entertained, are in some places changed. This is highly commendable. The manuscripts, which were divided in the first edition of his Prolegomena into several classes, according to their antiquity, and the characters, in which they are written, are in the second edition divided into only two classes, those in the first class being denoted by letters, those in the second by figures; the arrangement of the manuscripts in each class is likewise different. This renders it difficult to find in the first edition a manuscript described in the second, which is sometimes necessary: and at the same time excites a suspicion that Wetstein made many mistakes, in altering the old marks, by which he denoted his manuscripts in the first edition, to those which he adopted in the second, for in so dry and tedious an employment it was almost impossible to avoid numerous errors. And when I consider that these arbitrary signs, in which the understanding is wholly unemployed, were to be changed in several hundred thousand

thousand instances, it appears to me that the alteration must have produced a great number of errata, not only in the Prolegomena, but also among the various readings. Perhaps those who were personally acquainted with Wetstein, and knew his method of proceeding, might communicate some information, that would do away our apprehensions on this subject; and it is principally with this view, that I have mentioned it at present, because if the same doubts arose a hundred years hence, it might be impossible to obtain a satisfactory answer⁶¹.

No man will deny that Wetstein's Prolegomena discover profound erudition, critical penetration, and an intimate acquaintance with the Greek manuscripts. It is a work, which in many respects has given a new turn to sacred criticism, and no man engaged in that study can dispense with it. Wherever Wetstein has delivered his sentiments respecting a Greek manuscript, which he has done less frequently than Mill, and indeed less frequently than we could have wished, he shews himself an experienced and sagacious critic. He is likewise more concise than Mill, in delivering his opinion, and does not support it by producing so great a number of readings from the manuscript in question. This conciseness is the consequence of that warmth and haste, which were peculiar to Wetstein's character, and which have sometimes given birth to mistakes. The fire of his disposition was likewise the cause of his advancing conjectures, in regard to the history of his manuscripts, which exceed the bounds of probability. But the critical rules, which he has delivered, are perfectly just; and in this respect there is a remarkable agreement between him and his eminent predecessors, Mill and Bengel. In regard to the Latin version alone they appear to differ, which in Mill and Bengel has powerful, and, perhaps, partial advocates, but in Wetstein a severe and sagacious judge, who sometimes condemns it without a cause. The Greek manuscripts, which confirm the readings of the Vulgate, and which he supposed had been corrupted from it, he of course condemned with equal severity: and some collections

collections of various readings, which had been made by catholics, he made no scruple to pronounce a forgery, saying, 'Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.' But in consequence of his antipathy to the Vulgate, his collection of various readings is less perfect, than it might have been.

Dr. Semler deserves the thanks of the public, for having published in an octavo volume the Prolegomena of Wetstein, and enriched them with his own notes. He is less inimical to the readings of the Vulgate than Wetstein, and the opposition, which the reader will find between the text and the notes, will enable him to examine the question on both sides, and therefore bring him nearer to the truth.

It was Wetstein's original intention to print the text of his Greek Testament from the Codex Alexandrinus, for in the early part of his life he subscribed to the general opinion, in regard to the supposed uncommon excellence of this manuscript. But, as his prejudice in favour of it abated, he abandoned his design, which was before he quitted Basel. His adversaries accused him of fickleness on this account; but he ought rather to be commended for having discovered errors in his former opinions, and acknowledging them to the public. He was afterwards the very person, through whom the Codex Alexandrinus lost so much of its credit; but perhaps he went too far in depreciating this manuscript, because it has readings which agree with the Latin versions.

Having given up the design of printing the Codex Alexandrinus, he resolved to establish a text formed on the authority of the most ancient and most valuable manuscripts. It is probable, as will appear in the sequel, that the alterations, which he would have made in the common text, would not have been very considerable; but, as he was suspected of entertaining Socinian principles, and the world might have supposed that his chief object was to propagate his own religious opinions, it was requested, if I mistake not, by the Arminians themselves, that he would make no alterations whatsoever. This

This advice he very prudently followed, and printed the text of the Greek Testament, as it stands in the common editions, under the title *Novum Testamentum Græcum editionis receptæ*. The alterations, which he intended to have made, he pointed out partly in the text itself by a mark denoting a proposed omission, partly in the space which is between the text and the various readings, in which he noted those readings, which he preferred to the common text. The number of these proposed alterations is very moderate, and they are always supported by good authority. I have often wondered therefore that Wetstein is such an advocate for critical conjecture, as he has never preferred a reading, that rests upon conjecture without the evidence of a manuscript, to that of the common text.

It was reasonable to suppose, that he would not be wholly impartial in the passages, which relate to the divinity of Christ. But he has in no instance gone so far, as to alter a reading from conjecture, though in passages, in which various readings could be found, he has chosen that, from which no proof can be drawn of the doctrine in question. The celebrated passage 1 John v. 7. he believed to be spurious, for which he has assigned his reasons at full length: and I believe that in this point he was not mistaken. But he is not to be defended in preferring $\tau\epsilon \text{ Κυρις}$ to $\tau\epsilon \Theta\epsilon\varsigma$, Acts xx. 28. and $\epsilon \text{ φανερωθη}$ to $\Theta\epsilon\varsigma \text{ φανερωθη}$, 1 Tim. iii. 16. the common reading of which two passages is defended by Baumgarten, in his *Vindiciæ vocis Θεος*, 1 Tim. iii. 16. and by Ernesti in his *Specimen castigationum Wetstenii*⁶².

The alterations, which Wetstein proposed, have been received into the text of an edition of the Greek Testament published by Bowyer, the learned printer, under the following title: *Novum Testamentum Græcum ad fidem Græcorum solum codicum MSS. nunc primum expressum, adstiputante Joanne Jacobo Wetstenio, juxta sectiones Jo. Alberti Bengelii divisum, et nova interpunctione sæpius illustratum. Accessere in altero volumine emendationes conjecturales virorum doctorum undecunque*

undecunque collectæ. Londini, curâ, typis et sumptibus G. B. 1763. The words, which he proposed to omit, without substituting others in their stead, are retained in this edition, but inclosed in brackets. In the second volume, p. 464—475. is a catalogue of those readings adopted by Wetstein, which differ from the text of Mill's edition, or, which is the same thing, the third edition of Robert Stephens. If we except the book of Revelation, in which the alterations are so numerous, that Bowyer has not included them in his catalogue, they amount to only three hundred and thirty-four, which is a very moderate number, when we consider that many of them relate to niceties of no great importance, and that many of the rest are found in other editions. It may be observed, that Bowyer has neglected to note in this catalogue 1 John v. 7. which Wetstein rejected as spurious, but in the text itself he has not neglected to include it in brackets.

Wetstein's collection of various readings, which to a critic is the most valuable part of his publication, far surpasses the collections of Mill and Bengel: and Wetstein has not only produced a much greater quantity of matter than his predecessors, but has likewise corrected their mistakes. The extracts from manuscripts, versions, and printed editions of the Greek Testament, which had been quoted by Mill, are generally* quoted by Wetstein. Whenever Wetstein had no new extracts from the manuscripts quoted by Mill, or had no opportunity of examining them himself, he copied literally from Mill; but wherever Mill has quoted from printed editions, as from the margin of Robert Stephens's for instance, or from the London Polyglot, Wetstein did not copy from Mill, but went to the original source, as appears from his having corrected many mistakes in Mill's quotations. It were to be wished however that Wetstein had examined every quotation made by Mill, and had retained every thing, which he found to be accurate. For it is certain that

* I say generally quoted, because it will appear in the sequel that Wetstein has not done it always.

that Wetstein has omitted many of Mill's quotations, in which it does not appear that Mill was mistaken; and of some of them I can confidently assert, from my own experience, that they are perfectly right. The Barberini and Veleian readings Wetstein has designedly omitted; and the Vulgate he has quoted less frequently than Mill, as also some other versions, and the works of the fathers. Even the Greek manuscripts, which he himself collated, he has often neglected to quote for readings, which Mill had produced from the same manuscripts^p. I will not deny that in most of these instances Mill might have been mistaken, and that Wetstein omitted his quotations because they were erroneous. But is it not possible that Wetstein himself was sometimes mistaken, and that he overlooked readings, which Mill had accurately quoted? Wetstein had so much fire in his character, that he could hardly avoid being sometimes too precipitate: and, as it will appear from the examples which I shall produce, that he collated in a negligent manner, it is reasonable to conclude that as Mill was often mistaken on the one hand, so Wetstein was not seldom mistaken on the other. It would have been of great service, if in those cases, in which Wetstein omits what Mill had quoted, he had made use of some mark to denote that Mill was mistaken. We should then be certain whether he omitted a reading by accident or design, and should readily give credit to his declaration; but since he has used no such mark, I know of no other method of determining the question with any accuracy, than to make a collection of all the readings in Mill's Greek Testament, which are omitted in that of Wetstein, and to have recourse to the original documents, from which they are quoted, in order to determine, whether they are actually there, or not^q.

The readings which Mill had quoted from printed editions,

^p See my *Curæ* in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § vii. in the remarks on Acts vii. 29. xii. 14. xiii. 1. xvi. 22. 37. xviii. 8. xix. 18. 27. xxi. 21. To which I will add another instance, Luke xxiv. 18. where he has neglected to quote the various reading *α*; for *υ*, on which Bengel may be consulted. Here then Wetstein is hardly to be defended^q.

editions, ancient versions, and the works of the fathers, have been corrected by Wetstein where they were erroneous, and augmented where they were deficient. He was likewise the first who gave extracts from the Philoxenian Syriac version: and the extracts, which Bengel first produced from several Greek manuscripts, he has taken into his own collection; but here he has been guilty of several omissions, for instance a reading in Luke xxiv. 18. mentioned in the preceding note⁶⁵. Many Greek manuscripts, which had been imperfectly collated, he collated anew, or procured fresh extracts from his literary friends; and he has procured extracts from a very great number, which before his time had never been collated. Nor has he neglected to quote the critical conjectures of others, though he has not ventured to make any himself, or to insert in the text those which had been made by others⁶⁶. In short, he has performed more than all his predecessors put together. But whether Wetstein has collated his manuscripts with sufficient accuracy, and neglected nothing worthy of notice, is a question that deserves to be examined. Those only, who reside where the manuscripts themselves are preserved, can decide with any certainty upon this subject; but if we may conclude from the data, which are actually in our hands, the manuscripts stand in need of a fresh collation. I will quote some examples, in which I have found Wetstein defective in his extracts from printed editions, ancient versions, and the works of the fathers.

He censures, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 109. the quotations which Mill had made from the Syriac version. Now as Mill was unacquainted with Syriac, and Wetstein understood the language, one might naturally expect to find in his edition the most complete extracts. But I would recommend to my readers to consult on this subject the *Curæ in Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, § 13. It will here appear,

1. That Wetstein has omitted many remarkable readings of the Syriac version, though not so many as Mill, who

who has omitted them by hundreds, in one and the same book.

2. That Wetstein has even omitted readings of the Syriac version, which Mill has accurately quoted: for instance, Acts ii. 15. xiv. 13. xxiii. 9⁶⁷. I will add at present two other examples. The words of the Syriac translator Acts viii. 21. are *ܐܝܢ ܠܘܓܘܬܐ*, as if he had found in the Greek copy, from which he translated, *εν τη ψισει ταυτη*, instead of the common reading *εν τη λογω τετω*: and, as the same reading is expressed in the Arabic version published by Erpenius, it must have been a very early reading of the Syriac version. Mill rightly quoted “*ουδε κληρος εν τη ψισει ταυτη*, Syr. Ambrosius; and *εν τη λογω τετω, ουδε κληρος εν τη ψισει ταυτη*. Constit. Apostol. L. VI. cap. 7.” But all this is omitted by Wetstein. In another difficult passage, Acts viii. 26. he quotes the Syriac version inaccurately, saying that it omits *αυτη εις ερημος*, which it does not, for it expresses ‘on the desert way, which leadeth from Jerusalem to Gaza⁶⁸.’ If he has acted as negligently in regard to his Greek manuscripts, most of which he had only a short time in his hands, we must conclude that in many of those examples, in which Wetstein has tacitly omitted what Mill had quoted, that the fault is not on the side of Mill, but of Wetstein.

To collate the New Syriac Version, Wetstein took a journey to England. We are indebted to him for the pains which he has taken; and, as he did not undertake to give complete extracts from it, we must be satisfied with what he actually performed. But Ridley has observed, that even of these extracts, as well from the text, as from the margin, many are inaccurate⁶⁹.

I have observed above, that Wetstein’s quotations from the Vulgate are very incomplete. It is true that he was no friend to the Latin version; but though he had a right to pass judgment upon a reading, after he had produced the evidence on both sides, yet impartiality required that he should leave no evidence unheard, what-
ever

ever opinion he himself entertained of it. He has omitted the various reading of the Vulgate *ἐπαίρασιν* for *ἐπληρωσιν*, Acts v. 3. though it is noticed by many, even among the commentators. Another instance is Acts iii. 19. *ὅπως ἀνέλθωσι καιροί*, where we find in the Vulgate *ut cum* *veniant tempora*: the Greek manuscript therefore, from which that version was made, must have had *σαν*, instead of *αν*⁷⁰. Now if *σαν* were the genuine reading, it would alter the whole construction; for the words, 'that, when the times of refreshing are come,' would then form a protasis, and the words 'he shall send Jesus Christ,' the apodosis⁷¹: though this is not the construction of the Vulgate, which in this passage is devoid of meaning. Tertullian has 'ut superveniant;' the Latin version therefore, which he used, must have been made by a translator, who joined *αν* to *ἐλθωσι*, and read *ὅπως ἀνέλθωσι*. The Codex Cantabrigiensis has *ὅπως ἐπελθωσιν*, which is translated from the Latin superveniant⁷². Now of these readings, Wetstein quotes only that of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, though Mill has quoted *ut cum* from the Vulgate⁷³, and *ut* from Tertullian. The other example is 1 Cor. xii. 11. where several authorities omit *ἰδιᾶ*. Now it is true, that Wetstein has taken notice of the omission; but he has neglected to mention that among these authorities are the Syriac and the Vulgate⁷⁴. This neglect is the more inexcusable, as it is not only mentioned by Mill and Bengel, but Wetstein himself quotes Beza as having approved of the omission of *ἰδιᾶ*; and Beza, in the note, to which he alludes, says *Vetus interpres non legit, ut nec Syrus nec Arabs interpres, ut mihi plane videatur horum duorum ἰδιᾶ et καὶ ὅσον unum esse alterius glossema*.

Of Wetstein's imperfect extracts from the Arabic and Ethiopic

⁷⁰ Καὶ before *ἀποστείλῃ* would make the apodosis, and be a Hebraism; *ὅπως, ἰαν ἐλθωσι καιροί ἀναψύξεις ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ (tum) ἀποστείλῃ, &c.*⁷¹. It is true that this reading is attended with grammatical difficulties, and I do not believe that it is the true reading; yet it deserved to be noted, as it is not impossible that *σαν* might be found in Greek manuscripts, if they were accurately examined.

Ethiopic versions, and of his neglecting to quote from the Armenian version the remarkable reading in Acts vi. 9. which I mentioned ch. vii. § 20. I take no notice, because Wetstein did not collate these versions himself. See his Prolegomena, p. 111. and Vol. II. p. 454.

But I cannot pass over an example, in which Wetstein has not only neglected to quote what Erasmus had asserted of some Latin manuscripts, but has quoted the Syriac version inaccurately, though it is a passage which particularly deserves the attention of a critic. It is Acts vii. 43. where the martyr Stephen quotes from the prophet Amos *μετοικισα υμας επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος*, a reading, which differs both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint. Now Erasmus, in his note to this passage, says, in nonnullis exemplaribus reperi mutatum *trans* in *in*. Wetstein has taken no notice of this, which however is not a very material fault, because the printed editions of the Vulgate have *trans*; and it shews only that Wetstein's extracts from Erasmus are incomplete. In the same place he likewise neglects to mention what Mill had quoted from the Ethiopic version, and Wechel's edition; in the former of which the whole reading is omitted, and in the latter, for *επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος*, is *επεκεινα Δαμασκει* ⁷⁵. And instead of quoting these authorities, which he ought not to have neglected, he has quoted the Syriac version, which he ought to have omitted, because it does not differ from the common Greek. The Syriac is ܒܒܠܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ, which exactly corresponds to *επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος*: but Wetstein in his hurry observed only ܒܒܠ, overlooking the important word, ܕܡܕܢܚܐ, which entirely alters the sense, and has quoted *in* as the reading of the Syriac ⁷⁶. And as he has quoted the same reading from the New Syriac, it is probable that he is equally mistaken in regard to that version. This is the man, whose diligence and accuracy has been so extolled, that, when I took the liberty, in reviewing his Greek Testament in the *Relationes de libris novis*, to censure his explanation of several passages, especially of such as relate to the Divinity of Christ, his friends were extremely offended, and challenged me to produce

a single critical mistake. I confess, that at that time I had no idea of their being so numerous; nor did I call in question the accuracy of his various readings, till I had discovered so many examples of negligence, which have presented themselves unsought⁷⁷.

The same negligence is observable in Wetstein's quotations from the fathers. I would not insist that a collector of various readings should pass over none, that are found in the works of the fathers: but we may reasonably expect, that he should omit none, which his predecessors have already quoted, when their quotations are accurate; and that he should give complete extracts from the works of such fathers as have commented on whole books of the New Testament. But Wetstein has done neither; and even from the commentary of Theophylact on the Acts of the Apostles, which he boasts (Vol. II. p. 454.) of having accurately collated, he gives very imperfect extracts. This was observed by Ernesti, p. 8, 9. of his *Specimen castigationum in Wetsteinii Novum Testamentum*^r. I can speak likewise from my own experience; for having had occasion to collate the text of Theophylact, when I read lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, I compared it with the extracts which had been given by Wetstein, and found them extremely

^r Acts i. 18. non notavit, dignum autem erat notatu, Laurentium Sifanum ad Theophylactum in Acta in margine notare, antiquissimum exemplum, quo usus sit, pro *λακκοις* habuisse *ελακκοις*, quod est a *λακίζω*, bono verbo.—Atqui in Prolegomenis ad Acta, p. 454. diserte tradit illud Theophylacti exemplum, quod per Sifanum Colonizæ curatum est, cum editione recepta accurate se contulisse.—Cap. ii. 9. commemorat conjecturas Erasmi Schmidii, aliorumque recentiorum nomen *Ιουδαίαι* tentantium. Quid erat, quare negligeret Tertulliani et Augustini lectionem, 'Armeniam,' quum non ut de conjectura, sed ut e libris haustam ponunt, dudum Millio et Bengelio notatam? Quare non *Ιουδαίαι* abesse in exemplaribus Theophylacti?—Cap. xv. 10. ad verba *οὗτοι οὐ τοι ἀντιπαλάττειν θέλουσι*, tradit Bezzæ et Bengelio placere vocem *Σιν* omitti. Quanto gravior futura erat Hieronymi nequamquam tacenda auctoritas, qui hoc ipsum verbum in Comment. in Epist. ad Galat. v. i. omittit, ita verba citans, 'quid tentatis, inquit, jugum imponere?' quod notatum Bengelio supina negligentia prætermisum est.

extremely defective. In the seven first chapters alone I have remarked thirty-two readings, which Wetstein has omitted: he has therefore omitted nearly as many as he has quoted. That my readers may not suppose that these thirty-two readings relate merely to trifles, I will mention a few examples in the note¹: and it is certain that Wetstein himself considered the greatest part of them as important, appears from the circumstance, that

¹ Ch. ii. 25. In the text of Theophylact is *αὐτὸς δὲ λέγει μὴ εἶναι*, the same reading as is found in the Greek Testament: but Sifannus has observed in his note to this passage, that Theophylact explains it in his commentary, as if he had read not *εἶναι* but *εἶναι*⁷².

Ch. iv. 1. Theophylact has *ῥατος τὸ ἰσὺ*, instead of the common reading, *ῥατηγος τὸ ἰσὺ*. This is unnoticed by Wetstein⁷³.

Ch. vii. 4. Wetstein has thought proper to quote, from the Complutensian edition, and from several manuscripts, a reading that is really a grammatical error, namely *μετακῆσαι*⁷⁴. It is a reading which gives no sense, if it be followed by *αὐτοῖς*: yet Wetstein has neglected to mention that *αὐτοῖς* is wanting in some documents, though it was observed by Camerarius. But what I have to observe at present is, that Theophylact has *μετακῆσαι* without *αὐτοῖς*, a reading which is perfectly clear and accurate, yet omitted by Wetstein.

Ch. vii. 5. instead of the common reading, *καὶ τὴν οὐρανίαν*, Theophylact has *καὶ τὸ οὐρανίον*, which totally alters the sense⁷⁵.

Ch. vii. 6. our common editions have *καὶ δόξασθαι αὐτὸ, καὶ κακῶσθαι*, where there are only two verbs; but in the corresponding passage of the Septuagint, Gen. xv. 13. there are three verbs, *καὶ κακῶσθαι αὐτὸ, καὶ δόξασθαι αὐτὸς, καὶ ταπεινωσθαι αὐτὸς*. Theophylact found likewise three verbs in his Copy of the Acts of the Apostles, though they are different from those in the Septuagint, *καὶ δόξασθαι αὐτὸ, καὶ παραδοσθαι αὐτὸ, καὶ κακῶσθαι*.

Wetstein is equally negligent in his quotations from Theophylact in the other books of the New Testament.

1 Cor. vii. 16. *ἡ μὴ* is a various reading to *ἡ μὴ*. This is noted by Wetstein, but he has not quoted Theophylact, though the Greek father is very diffuse in his account of it. It is true that he rejects it as spurious, as Mill has observed⁷⁶.

1 Cor. viii. 11. Theophylact observes expressly, that Chrysostom has *ἐν τῇ βρωσῇ*, instead of the common reading *ἐν τῇ γυναικί*. It is noted by Mill and Bengel, but omitted by Wetstein, though the reading is ancient, important, and certainly quoted by Chrysostom⁷⁷.

that he has quoted them from other documents. Wetstein's negligence is here the more inexcusable, as Sifanus has noted in the margin those passages which differ from the common text of the Greek Testament. If then he was so negligent, where it was so easy to discover variations, what must we expect of his extracts from Greek manuscripts?

Wetstein's extracts from printed editions of the Greek Testament I have never examined, except that I have consulted the Complutensian edition for those readings, which Saubert quotes from the Codex Ravianus. Of these I have discovered six that are omitted by Wetstein: four of them relate indeed to trifles of grammar only, but the other two relate to the transposition of words, of which Wetstein has generally taken notice. I have already observed that his extracts from the Geneva edition of 1620 are very imperfect, and in ten examples totally false: but I will not consider this as a very material fault, as the edition of Geneva is not one of the principal editions of the Greek Testament, and was perhaps for that reason less accurately collated by Wetstein.

Of Wetstein's extracts from Greek manuscripts, which he alone has collated, or which he has more fully collated than his predecessors, I am unable to judge, because I have not access to the manuscripts themselves. But if we may judge from the examples that have been given from the Syriac version and Theophylact, we shall not conclude that all his quotations are accurate, especially from manuscripts which he collated only once, nor accuse Mill of inaccuracy, where he has quoted readings that Wetstein has totally omitted.

Thus far I had written in the edition of 1765. Since that time several Paris manuscripts have been again consulted, either in single pages, or single books. The result of these inquiries I have given in the *Orient. Bibl.* to which I refer my readers for further information. Of the Codex Coislianus 199, Wetstein says, *contuli qua potui diligentia*: yet Professor Storr found in the four chapters

! See Vol. IV. p. 196. Vol. VI. p. 7. Vol. IX. N° 151.

chapters of the book of Revelation, not less than seventeen various readings, that Wetstein had overlooked. Treschow has likewise produced examples in his *Tentamen*, p. 15, 16.; but at the same time he apologizes for Wetstein. Dr. Less found the manuscripts, which he examined, to have been accurately collated by Wetstein.

But a circumstance remains to be mentioned, which renders Wetstein's quotations extremely uncertain. It is possible that Wetstein was not sufficiently accurate in arranging his quotations from manuscripts, and other documents, in proper order, and that he placed in one line, references which belonged to another, a mistake which might easily have happened in spite of the utmost care, where references are made by figures*. It is likewise possible that he was not sufficiently accurate in correcting the work, as it went through the press: and if the errors of the compositor remained uncorrected, in a publication like that of Wetstein's Greek Testament, the reader is led into mistakes, which it is not in his power to amend. In other works, the errors of the press, though they are certainly defects, may be detected from the general connection; and it is possible that several errata may be found in this Introduction, as I have not had sufficient time to correct my own publications[†]. Now that sufficient care was not bestowed on the correction of Wetstein's Greek Testament, is evident from the inaccuracy even of the text itself, where it was infinitely easier to detect errors, than among the various readings. At the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, the address *ο Θεοφιλε* is omitted: and in the Prolegomena he ascribes wrong figures to his manuscripts, so that it is difficult sometimes to ascertain his meaning[‡]. What then must we expect in the references among the various readings? which amount to above a million, and where the

* I have taken notice of an erratum of this kind, where 30 is printed for 31, in the sixth section of the Chapter relating to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, N° 90.

‡ See the Note to N° 61. ch. viii. § 6. of this Introduction[¶].

the eye, and the patience of the most diligent corrector must soon be wearied. Besides, Wetstein has increased the difficulty, by quoting his manuscripts, not by abbreviations, as Mill had done, but by figures; and even these are different, in the different parts of his Greek Testament. The following are instances of inaccuracy, which have occurred to me in the course of my reading. Acts i. 26. the article δ is omitted in the text before $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$, and ch. vii. 39. $\nu\mu\omega\upsilon$ is falsely printed for $\eta\mu\omega\upsilon$; mistakes, which create confusion in the various readings to those words⁷. Acts v. 24. there is a reference among the various readings, which belongs to a different place. Wetstein's quotation is $\circ\ \tau\epsilon\ \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \circ\ \gamma\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \iota\epsilon\rho\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \circ\iota\ \alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$] $\circ\iota\ \alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \circ\ \gamma\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \iota\epsilon\rho\eta$. Vers. Syr. 2 Maccab. iii. 22. Now the reference 2 Maccab. iii. 22. belongs to the 23^d verse, and should have been noted not among the various readings, but in the notes at the bottom of the page. For in the 23^d verse is used the expression $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\sigma\eta\ \alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$, to which Wetstein meant to produce a similar expression from the second book of the Maccabees, namely, $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\mu\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$. Acts vii. 29. the common reading is $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \gamma\gamma\epsilon\eta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\upsilon\ \nu\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\omicron$: but as a various reading to $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, Wetstein quotes $\kappa\alpha\iota$, from his Codex 28. Now this must be an error of the press, for Codex 28 is the Sinaiticus, which Mill has not quoted for this reading: but he quotes the Codex Covelli 3, which is Wetstein's Codex 26. And we cannot suppose that the fault is on the side of Mill, from whom Wetstein has borrowed his extracts from these two manuscripts, as appears from his own words; for he says only that he saw them, and makes no mention of having collated them: 'istos codices vidi anno 1714 et 1716'⁸.

These inaccuracies have been very materially augmented by Wetstein's mode of notation, who substituted letters and figures to the abbreviations which had been used by Mill. Now if an abbreviation occurs above a thousand times, and each time a certain figure is to be written for it, it is almost impossible to avoid

sometimes writing wrong: even if Wetstein had made no mistakes in writing, it was almost impossible for the compositor to avoid them in printing; and errata in figures, where the eye only can be employed, are extremely difficult to detect⁹⁹. Lastly, the alterations which Wetstein made in the classification of his manuscripts must have been a source of numerous errors: for as he denoted his manuscripts, in the second edition of his *Prolegomena*, by marks different from those, which he had used in the first, he was of course obliged to alter all his references, and to translate as it were from figures into figures; but this is an undertaking of such a nature, that every man, who is not a bare machine for reckoning, must unavoidably fail. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, as Wetstein was so inaccurate in cases where he was less exposed to the danger of mistake, that the number of errors, which arose from this transformation, is very material⁹⁹.

There are other inconveniencies, to which the reader is exposed by Wetstein's method of noting his manuscripts. Figures, especially if they are numerous, are more difficult to retain in the memory, than names. When I hear of a *Codex Rhodiensis*, I have some determinate idea of a manuscript of the Greek Testament; but the title *Codex 50* excites in me no idea whatsoever. Few persons perhaps have used Wetstein's Greek Testament more than myself; yet, after a lapse of above thirty years, I am hardly able to decypher a dozen manuscripts without having recourse to the Index: and, however bad my memory may be, I will venture to assert, that no man whatsoever is able to retain all the marks, which Wetstein has used to denote his manuscripts. And to make the difficulty still greater, he has used a four-fold notation, so that the same number, which denotes a manuscript in one part, does not denote it in another.

For instance, the *Codex Leicestrensis* is denoted in the first part by, the number 69, in the second part by 37, in the third by 31, in the fourth by 14. Again, the figure 15 denotes in the first part the *Codex Regius*

2868, or Kusteri Parisiensis 8; in the second part the same figure denotes the Codex Amandi, in the third the Coislinianus 25, and in the fourth the Fragmentum Basileense⁹¹. It is surely beyond the power of human memory to retain the whole of this complicated notation; and we are reduced to the necessity, either of consulting the index, in order to know the meaning of each quotation, or to content ourselves with being informed of the number, without knowing the quality of the quoted manuscripts⁹².

Yet, after having weighed the numerous defects of Wetstein's Greek Testament with its numerous excellencies, we may pronounce it an edition of such importance, as to be indispensable to every man, who is engaged in sacred criticism⁹³. It deserves to be revised, in order to correct its errors, and supply its deficiencies: but, as this would be an undertaking too great for any one man, it were to be wished that those who have access to libraries, would collate again the several manuscripts which Wetstein has quoted. The copy of Wetstein's Greek Testament, which is in my possession, I have endeavoured to make as complete as possible, for the service of posterity. The principal additions, which I have made to it, are the following:

a) Extracts from the Codex Molsheimensis, Guelpherbytanus A and B, and the Codex Ravianus in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

b) Extracts from the Gothic version of Ulphilas in the four Gospels, according to the corrections which have been made by Ihre: also from the fragments of the Gothic version of the epistle to the Romans.

c) Extracts from the Latin versions, published by Blanchini, especially in the Gospel of St. Mark.

d) Extracts from the Syriac version, and the Arabic version, which was made from it, especially in the Gospel of St. Mark, and the Acts of the Apostles.

e) Extracts from Theophylact, in the Acts of the Apostles.

f) Extracts

f) Extracts from the Geneva edition of 1620, communicated to me by Schmidt.

These extracts I had written in the margin of Wetstein's Greek Testament, when I published the second edition of this Introduction in 1765. Since that time I have made many important additions, which would be too great a trespass on the time of the reader to relate.

16. Father Goldhagen published at Mayntz, in 1753, an edition of the Greek Testament, which I mention in this catalogue, because he subjoined some readings from the Molsheim manuscript. Dr. Semler, in his 'Minute examination of the bad state of the text of the Complutensian Greek Testament,' has given a collation of the Complutensian with Goldhagen's edition. From what edition this editor took his text, I have never been able to discover⁹⁴.

17. Dr. John James Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament was first printed in the year 1775. Since that time it has been re-printed⁹⁵; and in 1785 he printed the first volume of his *Symbolæ criticæ ad suppleandas et corrigendas variorum, N. T. lectionum collectiones*: a work which is necessary for every man, who uses his Greek Testament. This edition is chiefly an extract from that of Wetstein, whose numbers and figures, used to denote the manuscripts, are retained by Griesbach. But he has likewise made very considerable additions, which consist partly in extracts from manuscripts, which he collated on his travels; partly in those readings, which were written by Mill in the margin of his Greek Testament, and were copied by Griesbach; partly in extracts from the works of Origen, which he has made his principal study, and has collated more accurately, than any of his predecessors. The manuscripts which he has collated, at least so many of them as he has described in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, I have noticed ch. viii. § 6. He has also quoted extracts from manuscripts, which had been lately collated by other critics, for instance, by Treschow⁹⁶. This edition, which is of a very convenient and portable size, is that which is principally

principally used by the students in our Universities: it is at the same time an edition, with which no Professor can dispense, though every man, who makes a profession of literature, would wish to see an edition by the same editor, in which no various reading is omitted, which had been accurately quoted by Wetstein. It is true, that in consequence of many omissions that have been made by Griesbach, his book has become more convenient and portable, and is therefore admirably adapted to the use of students. And it was certainly his design to omit only such readings as appeared to him to be of little or no importance: but as this is mere matter of opinion, and one critic may consider a reading as important, which appears trifling to another, we cannot consider Griesbach's as the principal edition, but must also have recourse to that of Wetstein. The following are examples of various readings, quoted by Wetstein, but omitted by Griesbach: Matth. ii. 6. τῆς Ἰουδαίας, a reading which is supported by ancient evidence, and by some critics preferred to the common reading, though I believe it to be nothing more than a correction: Matth. v. 46. ἀδικοι: Matth. xxi. 41. the omission of λέγουσιν αὐτῇ, which materially alters the sense: Matth. xxvii. 60. the omission of αὐτῇ, which entirely alters the sense: and of δέ, Matth. xxviii. 1. He has likewise neglected to note the addition of καὶ πύρι, Mark i. 8. and in the whole of this Gospel, where αὐδῶς has been quoted as a various reading in addition to the common text, he has generally left it out⁹⁷; yet as αὐδῶς seems to have been a favourite particle with St. Mark, it is reasonable to suppose that in all cases it was used by the author, not added by a transcriber. Mark iv. 22. he has omitted ἡ μὴ, a various reading to ἀλλὰ, which, beside the authorities quoted by Wetstein, (some of which however are not just) is supported by the evidence of the Cod. Brixienensis, and Veronensis⁹⁸. Mark vi. 8. he has neglected to quote μοῖνον for μόνον, ch. ix. 2. ἀναγεί for ἀναφέρει, both of them indeed the correction of a copyist; and ch. x. 17. the various readings to γένου-

γυναικας αυτον, which may be still augmented from the Latin versions. Luke iii. 1. he has not noted the omission of τετραρχαντες, a reading of which I took notice ch. viii. § 6. N° 207, and which seems to be spurious: at least the narrative of St. Luke is more agreeable to the Jewish history, if it is left out⁹⁹. Luke v. 29. he has omitted the various reading ανακειμενοι, and ch. xi. 3. σημειρον, a various reading to το καθ' ημεραν; but I acknowledge that the former is a mere correction, and the latter an interpolation from St. Matthew. Luke xv. 15. he has omitted to quote αγραν, a various reading to αγρας, which being supported by the authority of one manuscript only, quoted by Wetstein, might appear unworthy of notice; but it is authenticated by other ancient and important evidence¹⁰⁰. In the same verse he has not observed the omission of αυτη, though this, as well as the former reading, has some influence on the explanation of the passage. He has likewise omitted the reading εχακειν for εκκακειν, Luke xviii. 1.; ονοματι for αιματι, xxii. 20.; and λεγοντες for λεγοντας, xxiv. 3. a very important reading, which alters the whole sense. Lastly, he has neglected to note the reading διπτνη γινομενη, John xiii. 2. which is of such importance, that it removes the whole difficulty, with which the passage is otherwise attended. See what I have said on this subject, ch. viii. § 6, N° 207. The examples, which I have here produced, are not all of equal importance, but they are such as most critics would expect to find in a collection of various readings. But as different persons examine the same subject from different points of view, it necessarily follows, that what appears important to one, will sometimes appear unimportant to another¹⁰¹.

It may be also mentioned, that there are many other various readings of great importance, which are not contained in Griesbach's edition. The readings, to which I now allude, are such as are not to be found in Wetstein; and Griesbach himself has not examined all the documents, which are known at present, not even the Latin versions¹⁰². But as no one can be expected to perform more than he has promised, the foregoing observation implies

implies only that Griesbach's edition has not exhausted all the critical sources, to which we have access; and that we must live in hopes of a more perfect edition, which I could wish to see from the same hand ¹⁰³.

As Griesbach has collated the writings of Origen more accurately than any of his predecessors, and yet has neglected to quote him in many instances, where the Greek father is quoted by Wetstein, I wish that he would publish a catalogue of those readings, which his predecessors had quoted falsely, or, which would be still more advantageous, his extracts from Origen entire. This might be done in his *Symbolæ*, and would remove those doubts, which necessarily arise, where Origen is quoted by Wetstein, but not by Griesbach.

18. Christian Frederic Matthäi, Professor formerly in Moscow, at present in Wittenberg, has published the Greek Testament, with various readings taken from Moscow manuscripts ¹⁰⁴; to which he has added the Latin Vulgate copied from a Demidovian manuscript, many critical remarks, Greek Scholia, and copper-plates representing the characters of his Greek manuscripts. He published the seven catholic epistles in 1782, also the Acts of the Apostles, the epistle to the Romans, with those to Titus and Philemon in 1782, the two epistles to the Corinthians in 1783, those to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians in 1784, the epistles to the Thessalonians and Timothy in 1785, and in the same year the Revelation of St. John. The Gospels of St. Luke and St. John were published in 1786. The books which remain to be published, appear from those which I have here enumerated ¹⁰⁵.

Matthäi has made his collection of various readings with great labour and diligence; he found in his manuscripts a confirmation of many readings, which I should have hardly expected, because they are the readings of manuscripts of a different kind, and of a different country from those which he used: nay, even those of the Western edition, of which he speaks with the utmost contempt, he has corroborated by the evidence of his Moscow manuscripts. This edition is absolutely necessary for

for every man, who is engaged in the criticism of the Greek Testament. But it is to be lamented that the editor has augmented the price of it by several unnecessary additions, particularly by the addition of the Latin Vulgate, of which we have much better copies than the Demidovian manuscript in Russia. It would have been better if the various readings had been printed alone, which would have taken up a much smaller compass, and have been sufficient for the purpose. In his notes he has made many valuable observations, especially in regard to the Lectionaria; but I am of a very different opinion from him in regard to the choice of readings. The ancient manuscripts of the Western edition, which others so highly extol, he describes as unworthy of notice: he calls it *scurrilis editio*, and he can hardly speak of it without losing his temper. Whoever wishes to have more information on this subject, may consult the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XX. N° 296. I shall retain the opinion, which I there advanced, that Matthæi, when he began the work, was at least an age behind the rest of Germany in the knowledge of sacred criticism^{sup}.

S E C T. II.

Three positions, necessary to be observed in regard to the printed editions of the Greek Testament.

THOSE who would make a proper use of the account which has been given of the editions of the Greek Testament, must particularly observe in what manner the readings of the several editions are borrowed from the preceding, and how one edition is as it were the offspring of another. Properly speaking, there are only two fundamental editions of the Greek Testament, or in other words, only two editions taken immediately from manuscripts without the intervention of any printed edition, namely the Complutensian, and the first of Erasmus. After these come the editions of Robert Stephens,

Stephens, and of Beza, both of whom made alterations in the text, but at the same time made use of manuscripts. In the subsequent editions, though several of the editors made use of manuscripts, yet very few alterations were made in the text, except in the London edition of 1729, which however is unworthy of notice. It is true that Bengel published an improved text, yet he inserted no reading which had not already appeared in some printed edition. Wetstein made no alterations whatsoever in the text, but in the alterations which he proposed, he was guided not by printed editions, but by ancient authorities. The alterations, which he proposed, have been inserted in the text itself, in the edition published by Bowyer: but this edition is seldom used. There is however an edition in very general use, in which greater liberties have been taken with the text, I mean that of Griesbach¹: in this, and the following section, therefore, when I speak of the editions of the Greek Testament, that of Griesbach must be considered as an exception².

We may lay down the three following positions, from which it will appear, that those are mistaken, who are attached to the common readings.

1. The modern editors of the Greek Testament have not always selected the best readings of the four principal editions of the Greek Testament³. Besides, in the edition of Robert Stephens, a great deal was spoiled of what was valuable in the Complutensian; and again, of what was valuable in the edition of Robert Stephens, a great deal was spoiled in that of Beza. Now as our common editions have been chiefly taken from the latter, we have no reason to think that they are perfectly accurate. Yet many divines have extolled the common printed text, as if the editors themselves had been inspired. If the text of any one edition deserves to be retained unaltered, it is that of the Complutensian edition, because it is the *Editio princeps*. But we may lay it down as a general rule, 'that a reading is not the less authentic, because it has never appeared in print.'

2. The

2. The Protestants in general, before the time of Beza, or rather till some time after his publications, very imperfectly understood the criticism of the Greek Testament: they had much too mean an opinion of the Latin version, and for that reason they altered, or rather corrupted the text, on the authority of a few Greek manuscripts, some of which were of little or no value. Till after his time, the most important Greek manuscripts were either not examined at all, or not collated with sufficient accuracy, and the Oriental versions were almost totally neglected. It follows, therefore, that many of the genuine readings of the Greek Testament are not contained in any of the four principal editions, and consequently in none hitherto printed. We may lay down therefore the following rule: 'A reading is not to be rejected, because it is contained in no printed edition of the Greek Testament.'

3. In our common editions are many readings, which exist not in a single Greek manuscript, and are mere translations from the Latin^s. This is a liberty, which Erasmus acknowledges to have taken in the last chapter of the book of Revelation, and in several other places he has taken the same liberty, without any acknowledgement. If, therefore, in these places Stephens and Beza followed the text of Erasmus, instead of the Complutensian, many readings have been transmitted into our common editions, which are to be found in no manuscript. We may except, however, such as have been altered by Bengel on the authority of the Complutensian edition. The following instance may be produced as a proof of what I have just advanced.

The long passage, Acts ix. 5, 6. *σκληρον σοι προς κεντρα λακτιζειν*. Τρεμων τε και θαμβων ειπε· Κυριε τι με θελεις ποιησαι; και ο κυριος προς αυτον, has been found in not a single Greek manuscript, not even in those which have been lately collated by Matthai. It is likewise wanting in the Complutensian edition: but it was inserted
by

^s Some of them are founded on mere conjecture: for instance, *ωαν-
ροδν*, John xviii. 24. See the notes of Bengel and Wetstein^s.

by Erasmus, and upon his authority it has been adopted by the other editors of the Greek Testament'. If it be asked whence Erasmus took it, we may reply, that he certainly did not take it from any Greek manuscript: for in that case it surely would have been discovered by other critics, especially as Bengel and Wetstein took all possible pains to find out the manuscripts, that were used by Erasmus. The advocates for this passage allege in its defence, that Erasmus, in his note to this passage, says, 'in *plerisque* Græcis codicibus id non additur hoc loco,' and conclude therefore that Erasmus must have found it at least in one manuscript, because he says not 'in omnibus,' but 'in *plerisque*.' Now, not to mention that Erasmus very frequently wrote in too great a hurry to attend to the accuracy of his expressions, it may be observed that he wrote, not 'in *meis plerisque*,' but 'in *plerisque*' in general: which he might have done, though the passage were wanting in all his own manuscripts, on the supposition that it might possibly exist in others, which he had never seen. This at least is certain, that the passage is in none of the manuscripts of Erasmus, as far as we have any knowledge of them: but it is literally contained in the Vulgate. We can draw, therefore, no other conclusion, than that Erasmus translated it from the Latin into Greek. The very evidence, that is produced in favour of its authenticity, proves its spuriousness, for the three witnesses produced in its favour, (beside the Vulgate), the Syriac, the Arabic of the Polyglot, and the Ethiopic, all disagree in their evidence. The Syriac has no more of this passage than the following words, 'it will be hard for thee to kick against the pricks;' and these are not in the fifth, but in the fourth verse, to which, according to the parallel passage ch. xxvi. 14. they properly belong. The Arabic of the Polyglot has, 'it will be hard for thee to kick against the pricks: and he answered saying, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' where there is nothing, which corresponds to τριμῶν τε καὶ θαμβῶν. The Ethiopic has,

has, 'because thou persecutest'^b, it will turn to thine own misfortune: and as he trembled, they were astonished: and he said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? and the Lord said unto him—a translation which seems to imply that the translator read *οτι συ διωκεις, σκληρον, σοι*, instead of *ον συ διωκεις, σκληρον σοι*, and *εθαμβεοντο* instead of *θαμβων*. If this interpolation, therefore, ever existed in Greek manuscripts, they must have had it in very different forms; it is therefore highly improbable that Erasmus had any Greek manuscript which agreed word for word with the Vulgate, and we must conclude that he acted here, as he did in several places in the Revelation, and that he gave his own translation. This passage then, which later editors have copied from Erasmus, and which is contained in our common editions, is not only spurious, but was not even taken from a Greek manuscript.

Another example is Acts x. 6. *ουτος λαλησει σοι τι σε δει ποιειν*, a passage which is not in the Complutensian edition, but was inserted by Erasmus, and copied from him in the subsequent editions. Bengel has observed that it is no Greek manuscript; but some of them have a similar interpolation, *ος λαλησει ρηματα προς σε, εν οις σωθησθαι συ, και πας ο οικος σε*, which corresponds to ch. ix. 14. Here again, therefore, Erasmus has translated into Greek the words of the Vulgate, *hic dicet tibi, quid te oporteat facere*^c.

S E C T. III.

Of the qualifications requisite for a critical edition of the Greek Testament.

I WILL conclude this subject, by pointing out the qualifications requisite for a critical edition of the Greek Testament, or in other words, for an edition, which
beside

^b The words of the Ethiopic are falsely translated in the version of de Dieu, and in that of the Polyglot, namely, 'because thou persecutest the just.'

beside the text has a considerable number of various readings. It appears from the first section of this chapter that a critical edition of this kind is still wanting, and that not only Wetstein's predecessors are very imperfect in comparison with him, but that he himself has committed so many mistakes that we cannot always rely on him. It is therefore much to be wished that a new and complete collation might be made of all the manuscripts quoted by Wetstein, and his predecessors, before those precious remains of antiquity are lost.

1. I could wish that in this critical edition no alterations were made in the text, which I would have taken from the third edition of Robert Stephens. To this text the great collections of various readings have been adapted¹; if therefore they were placed under another text, it would create confusion, because they would not be various readings to that text. And, in the same manner as Kennicott required that all those, whom he employed in collating Hebrew manuscripts, should collate them with the edition published by Van der Hooght in 1705, one and the same edition of the Greek Testament likewise must be used.

It is no objection in this case, that Stephens's edition has some hundreds of faults, because collections of various readings are made for the use of the learned, who can select out of the number that which is the best; and if the editor thinks it necessary to point out to the reader the readings, which he prefers, he may do it by critical marks placed in the same manner, as Wetstein has done.

2. It is not my intention to assert, that an edition of the Greek Testament, with a more correct text, than that, which we have at present, is unnecessary: but then this edition should be of a smaller size. I commend Bengel for having published an improved edition of this kind, in which he corrected the text according to his own judgment: the same may be said of Bowyer's edition, and still more of that published by Griesbach. Nor would I have an editor confine himself to the rule adopted by Bengel, to insert no reading, which had not

already appeared in some printed edition: for this rule is too arbitrary, and would oblige an editor, instead of choosing the reading, which is supported by the best authority, to adopt in many cases such as were inserted in the text of the early editions by mere accident. In the sixteenth century, sacred criticism was much less understood than at present, and the editors of that age had neither the industry of Mill, Bengel and Wetstein, nor a fifth part of the extracts, which they have quoted. The readings therefore, which the early editors adopted, must frequently have depended upon accident; and, as the manuscripts, which they used, were very few, it is almost impossible, that the best reading should in every instance have been inserted in their editions.

But great caution should be used in altering the text of the Greek Testament; for, as different critics entertain different sentiments in regard to what is the best reading, a confusion in the Greek text would be the unavoidable consequence, if every man had the liberty of altering at pleasure, which would be not only prejudicial to learners, but inconvenient to the learned themselves. Whoever publishes an improved text of the Greek Testament must consider, that it is not for the benefit of men of real learning, or such as have knowledge of sacred criticism, because men of this description will not choose to have rules prescribed to them, but will think proper to judge for themselves. The alterations, which are made in the text, are for the benefit of those who are unable to judge for themselves: and as the critic selects from several that which he esteems the best, so the editor, by inserting a new reading in the text, points out to scholars that which they ought to prefer. As the editor therefore undertakes to be a guide to others, great caution is requisite not to make unwarrantable alterations: he should not only insert no reading upon critical conjecture, but not even such, as are supported by the authority of manuscripts, unless the proportion of evidence be very decided in its favour^a. If from thirty thousand various readings we deduct fifteen thousand,

thousand, which are of too little importance to deserve examination in this inquiry, though it is necessary on other accounts to quote them, we shall find that, of the remaining fifteen thousand, there are at least ten thousand, in which the proportion of evidence, for and against them, is nearly that of equality. Here then we must leave the matter undetermined. Of the remaining five thousand, suppose that an editor is of opinion, that three thousand five hundred are inferior in goodness to those of the common text, but that the remaining fifteen hundred are superior to those of the common text: yet of these fifteen hundred, there will be found perhaps hardly six hundred, of which he can positively assert, without violating the rules of modesty, and the respect which we owe to truth, 'sic lege meo periculo.' An instance of an alteration, which a man might safely make, is the omission of Acts ix. 5, 6. it was omitted by Bengel, and the greatest critics Beza, Grotius, Mill, and Wetstein are unanimous in condemning it.

If with the caution, which I have recommended, alterations are made in those places only, where we are absolutely certain that the present text is spurious, the new text would not be so different from the common one, as is generally imagined, especially if the editor was a man well skilled in sacred criticism. But if an edition was undertaken by men ignorant of the art of criticism, and whose propensity to correct was proportionate to their want of knowledge, we might expect an edition materially different from that, which is in common use.

3. We want a new and accurate critical edition of the Greek Testament, in which the whole collection of various readings, that are dispersed in the editions of Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Matthäi, as far as they are correct, should be inserted. And since Mill and Wetstein frequently contradict each other, and neither of them has given complete extracts, it will be necessary to recollate all the manuscripts, editions, versions, the works

of the fathers, and of the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, which are quoted by Mill and Wetstein, and to compare with their extracts those which are the result of the new collation.

But this would be too great an undertaking for any single man; for the edge of his diligence would be blunted, and his eyes grow dim, in consequence of so vast an undertaking. Nor is it probable that a body of the learned will form a junction, in order to put the plan into execution; for the learned in general are not of so social a disposition. But perhaps without a formal junction, different persons might contribute their share of materials, toward a new edition of the Greek Testament, if they knew in what parts their services would most be wanted.

Those who have access to manuscripts, either from visiting the places, where they are preserved, or from residing there, would render an essential service to sacred criticism by making a new collation, even if it were confined to a single manuscript, provided that manuscript were ancient and valuable. Those, who have not access to manuscripts, might recollate the ancient versions. The extracts, which have been hitherto produced from the Arabic, are of little or no value, because no distinction has been made between the different Arabic versions³; the extracts from the Armenian and the Coptic are extremely incomplete; even the Vulgate has not been collated with sufficient accuracy, and the editions of the old Latin versions have been so lately published, that the editors of critical editions have not been able to collate them⁴. Here then a new field is open to those who would engage in sacred criticism. Of the extracts from the writings of the fathers I have already spoken.

4. I will illustrate the method, which I would recommend in revising the old materials, by the example of manuscripts. These must be wholly recollated with the text of Stephens's third edition; and the collators must constantly have Mill and Wetstein at hand, partly to prevent their overlooking the readings, which those critics

critics have quoted right, partly to correct their mistakes, and when they contradict each other, to determine on which side the error lies. The new extracts should be carefully noted, not excepting those, which had been given by Mill and Wetstein: for this would render the matter more certain. But the grand object would be to find out all those readings, which Mill and Wetstein have either neglected, or falsely quoted.

If extracts of this kind were made and printed, either from a single or several manuscripts, they would be a valuable present to the public, and would serve as materials for a new edition of the Greek Testament. The more a collator adheres to matter of fact, in simply producing extracts, without intermixing his own remarks, the more the public will be obliged to him. In collations of this kind the principal object is to have the extracts in as short a compass as possible; and the collator, who has sufficient employment in merely making extracts, would do well, if he left to the learned in general, to make their remarks on the fruit of his labours.

It would be likewise of use, if those places were noted in which the collated manuscripts agreed with Stephens's text, in opposition to the various readings: for we cannot immediately draw this conclusion merely from being tacitly informed, that a manuscript is not against it. The manuscript may have a chasm in the passage in question, the hand-writing may be illegible, or the collator himself may have been guilty of an oversight. At the same time I acknowledge, that if every example was noted, which confirmed not the various readings produced by Mill and Wetstein, the extracts would be far too voluminous, even if they were made from only a single manuscript. It seems then, that no other method can be well adopted, than to mark distinctly each chasm, and the parts, which have been collated, line for line; and to make the collation with such accuracy, that the reader may safely conclude from the silence of the collation to the absence of a reading. Yet the more voluminous extracts might be made, to be deposited in public

libraries for the use of critics, though only so much were printed, as would be necessary to supply and correct the editions of Mill and Wetstein.

5. As many ancient and important manuscripts, hitherto uncollated, are preserved in the imperial library at Vienna, the royal library in France, and in several Italian and Spanish libraries, those persons, who have access to them, would render a service to sacred criticism, if they communicated extracts of them. If they collated only one or two manuscripts, the extracts might be printed on a few sheets, in the same manner as those of the Codex Gehlianus, and of the two Codices Wolfiani. But I would not recommend to the collator to publish a new edition of the Greek Testament, with various readings from Mill and Wetstein, in order to augment them with his own extracts. For by these means the errors of Mill and Wetstein, instead of being corrected would be augmented, in consequence of the unavoidable errors of the press. Besides, it would unnecessarily augment the price of the materials requisite in sacred criticism, which ought at all times to be avoided, because the most learned are not always the most wealthy; and it would also create unnecessary difficulty, by obliging us to seek in a large folio, what might be contained in the compass of a few sheets. But if any man has collated ten or more manuscripts, it would not be improper to print with his extracts the text also of the Greek Testament, which would be of advantage to his readers, if he was contented with publishing his own extracts, without intermixing with them the extracts made by his predecessors, before they have been examined and corrected. I could wish to see an edition of the Greek Testament published in this manner, with various readings from all the manuscripts in the imperial library: and in editions of this kind notice might be taken of those manuscripts, which confirm the readings of the common text.

6. The proposals, which I have made in the preceding paragraphs, relate to what separate critics might perform, as preparatory to a correct critical edition of the Greek Testament.

Testament. But if these previous steps are not taken, a publisher of such an edition, as I would recommend, has no other resource, than to undertake himself to correct the extracts produced by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, and to make the necessary additions. It is true, that one man alone can hardly go through the task of collating so great a number of manuscripts; but as all those manuscripts, of which the antiquity exceeds a thousand years, are said to latinize, it would be necessary to collate others of the same antiquity, which have never been examined, and which are free from the suspicion of having been altered from the Latin. For, admitting the Latin readings to be good, yet they are certainly not the only readings, that existed a thousand years ago, since in that case we should not have so many opposite readings in the Greek manuscripts. It would be necessary therefore, in order to form an adequate judgment, to hear the evidence on both sides: and our collection of readings will not be complete, till we have extracts from manuscripts of an equal age with the Codex Alexandrinus, and of which we are assured that they do not latinize^s.

But I acknowledge that this is too great an undertaking for any one man, without being assisted by others: for not only his zeal would soon be damped, and his eyes grow weary, but the life of one man is hardly sufficient for the purpose. Besides, it would require such an extensive knowledge of the European, Asiatic, and African languages, that I fear I am proposing, what one man alone could never execute. For the plan therefore to be well conducted, it must be made a national business. Germany is divided into too many petty states, to be able to form an union sufficient for the purpose; and I know of no country, except England, which possesses the will and the means to execute the task. Should a resolution be formed in this island so happily situated for promoting the purposes of general knowledge, to make the undertaking a public concern, to enter into a subscription, and to employ men of abilities in collating manuscripts both

both at home and abroad; they would be able to do more in ten years, than could otherwise be done in a century. But if the project be deferred too long, the attempt may be fruitless, since England, though at present in a flourishing condition, is subject, like all other nations, to a change of fortune.

7. In a future edition of the Greek Testament, with a complete collection of various readings, it would be most advisable to choose for a basis one of those, which have been already printed; in the same manner, as Küster made Mill's edition the basis of his own. It is true that men, who have more ambition than knowledge, would rather publish a work, that is perfectly new, than seem to tread in the footsteps of their predecessors^a: but the ambition of the author may afford less advantage to the reader, than pleasure to himself. Every man, who undertakes a new work, is more exposed to the danger of mistake, than he, who builds on the solid foundation, which has been laid by another. And if this happens in philosophical subjects, where the understanding is employed in examining only a few positions, how much more frequently must it happen in the enumeration of a thousand times a thousand facts, where the utmost penetration and diligence are hardly sufficient, to insure a man from falling into error. But if we make Wetstein's or Mill's edition the foundation of the new one, we are exempted from mistakes in some hundred thousand quotations, which they have accurately given; and those, which they have given inaccurately, we shall be under the necessity of correcting, whether we make their editions the ground-work of our own, or publish an entire new work. And the world at large will have this peculiar advantage, that nothing will be lost of those extracts, which are quoted correctly by Mill, and Wetstein: a matter of great importance, as appears from the example of the latter

^a I would not have it understood that I am here reflecting on any particular editor of the Greek Testament. Indeed I know no one, to whom the remark is applicable, as far as concerns an edition of the Greek Testament hitherto printed.

latter critic, who has omitted in numberless instances the quotations, which had been accurately given by his predecessor.

As we have the choice therefore either of Mill's or of Wetstein's Greek Testament, I would recommend the former as the foundation of the new edition, in which the additions, that were made by Wetstein might be easily inserted. Wetstein borrowed a great part of his materials from Mill, and these we shall probably find more correct in the original, than in the copy; Mill appears to have taken more pains than Wetstein, though he had less genius, and fewer opportunities of exercising his industry; and, what is the principal reason, the figures adopted by Wetstein make the references so very precarious, that it is impossible to retain them, without exposing ourselves to the danger, if a second and third edition should be printed, of creating a general confusion. Since therefore it is necessary to alter figures to names, it is better to accommodate Wetstein to Mill, than Mill to Wetstein⁶.

8. In order to assist the memory, and avoid errors of the press, I would recommend that the quoted manuscripts should be denoted not by single letters or figures, but by abbreviations⁷.

9. The order, which Wetstein has observed in quoting, 1st manuscripts, 2^{dly} editions, 3^{dly} ancient versions, 4^{thly} the fathers, 5^{thly} the opinion of eminent critics, is very just: and, at all events, whatever arrangement be adopted, it will be necessary to distinguish the different authorities in favour of a reading.

With respect to the Latin versions, as they are so numerous, and so important in the criticism of the Greek Testament, it would be proper to quote each manuscript by name, and not merely to quote, as Wetstein has done, the general title *Codices Latini*. We might use the abbreviations *Lat. Verc. Foroj. &c.* and thus carefully distinguish them from Greek manuscripts⁸. The voluminous and valuable publications of Sabatier and Blanchini deserve in particular to be collated, and should be

be examined with much more attention, than Mill and Wetstein bestowed on Latin manuscripts? In quoting the *Codices Græco-Latini*, the Latin text must be carefully distinguished from the Greek; but if we use only a general expression for both, we quote only one witness, where we ought to quote two, and leave it undetermined which of them we mean¹⁰.

10. The extracts from the Armenian, Coptic, and Arabic versions likewise must be more correct, than they have hitherto been¹¹. What I have to observe in regard to extracts from the works of the fathers I have already mentioned, ch. ix. § 4. The writings also of the *literati* in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, who have formed collections of various readings, should be quoted in evidence, if the manuscripts themselves are no longer known. ,

11. Lastly I would recommend, that the evidence for the readings of the text should be quoted, as well as the authorities for the various readings. It is true, that a critical edition of the Greek Testament would in that case be much more laborious to execute, as well as more voluminous, and expensive to the purchaser. Hitherto therefore it has been the usual practice, except in very particular cases, to quote only the authorities for the various readings, and to leave the words of the text unsupported by any evidence whatsoever. But this method is attended with a two-fold disadvantage. The one relates to the text itself; for when those, who are unacquainted with sacred criticism; observe that many manuscripts are quoted in favour of a various reading, they conclude that it is supported by more numerous, and by better authorities, than the reading of the text; whereas it frequently happens, even in such cases, that the evidence in favour of the text, though not quoted, is still more numerous and more respectable. I admit that no one could be guilty of this mistake, who was not wholly ignorant of the criticism of the New Testament: but since many, who belong to the class of *literati*, are really in this predicament, some method should be devised, to prevent them

them from falling into error¹². The other disadvantage relates to the various readings themselves: for it often happens that the reading of the text is found only in a very few manuscripts, and sometimes in no manuscript at all; which does not immediately appear, when the evidence in favour of the text is wholly neglected. We should draw a too hasty and certainly ungrounded inference, if, because ten manuscripts were quoted in favour of a various reading, we concluded that all the other manuscripts, which contain the part of the Greek Testament in question, were in favour of the text: yet Whitby has fallen into this error in writing against Mill, because he was unacquainted with Mill's general plan. But when thirty or forty manuscripts are quoted against the text, it makes a very material difference, whether the number in its favour amounts to fifty, or only to ten, is confined to two or three, or perhaps reduced to nothing. To make this matter clear, I will produce an example. Wetstein quotes forty-five manuscripts, against the authenticity of the two verses, Acts ix. 5, 6. Now the whole number of manuscripts quoted by Wetstein in the Acts of the Apostles amounts to sixty-nine: if therefore we deduct those which are against the common text, there remain twenty-four, which have not been quoted against it. Of these twenty-four therefore, we might suppose that at least ten contained the passage in question: whereas the real fact is, that it is contained in not a single manuscript hitherto collated¹³. Another example is Acts x. 6. of which Wolf says, 'verba hæc in *nonnullis* codicibus desiderantur:' but they are really wanting in all¹⁴. And with respect to the former instance, all that can be gathered from Wetstein's quotation is, that forty-one manuscripts omit the two verses, and that in four, its place is supplied by other interpolations¹⁵. A third example may be taken from Rom. ii. 5. where Wetstein does an injury to the reading, which he actually prefers. The common text is ἀποκαλυψιως δικαιοκρισιας, for which he proposed to substitute ἀποκαλυψιως και δικαιοκρισιας. It is true, that he quotes thirty-one manuscripts

manuscripts in favour of the latter reading, to which I have added four more : yet from these circumstances alone we do not immediately perceive the reason, why it ought to be preferred. But we perceive it immediately on consulting Bengel ; for he produces the authorities in favour of the common reading, without *καί*, and among these authorities there is not a single manuscript. Bengel therefore has brought the matter to a clear decision¹⁶. The inconveniencies, of which I have here complained, might be totally removed, if the authorities in favour of the text were quoted first, and then the authorities for the various readings : whereas the common method of quoting only on one side leaves us frequently in a state of uncertainty. If it were necessary to produce another instance, I would recommend to my readers to take *αὐτὴν ἀνέστη*, Acts vii. 27. and see if they can form a judgment, from the evidence produced by Wetstein or Griesbach, whether the common, or the various reading is entitled to the preference¹⁷.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE MARKS OF DISTINCTION, AND DIVISIONS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

SECT. I.

*Of the points, and other distinctions of pause among the
Greeks.*

HAVING thus acquainted ourselves with the various sources, which are necessary to be attained, before we can determine the true and genuine reading of the New Testament, a question arises, whether certain marks in the New Testament, which are not letters, belong to the readings of the New Testament ; whether those notes or marks were used by the Apostles, and are
to

to be received by us, whenever they are confirmed by sufficient manuscripts, and other critical authorities?

The marks in question, are those stops or points, which we call comma, colon, full stop, and note of interrogation, the iota subscriptum, and the two aspirations. If the Apostles themselves added these points to the words, we are bound to receive them, as they stand in some manuscripts, and in almost all the printed editions of the New Testament. But if they do not proceed from the Apostles, then no manuscripts, and no printed edition will oblige us to receive them; they will be considered as explanations of the ancients, from which we may depart, upon discovering something, which appears to us more satisfactory.

As the interpretation of the New Testament often depends upon these points, it is a question of importance.

SECT. II.

The points in the New Testament are modern.

THE subject of the punctuation of the New Testament has been amply discussed by G. Fr. Rogall, in his *Dissertatio de auctoritate et antiquitate interpunctionis in Nov. Testam. Regiom. 1734*. I shall make great use of this work in the present section, though I find myself under the necessity of differing from him sometimes in opinion.

It is certain, that, in the time of the Apostles, the Grecians used points or stops¹. A point at the top was equivalent to our full stop; in the middle it signified a colon; and at the bottom, it amounted either to our semicolon, or comma. They are thus described by Dionysius the Thracian, who lived at Rome in the time of Pompey, in his treatise on grammar^{*}; and by Diomedes, in his second book *De oratione*². But it is likewise certain, that these points were not used in common, but only

^{*} See Fabricii *Bibl. Græca*, L. V. c. 7. Tom. VII. p. 26.

only in the schools of grammarians, who endeavoured thereby to facilitate the reading of Homer to their scholars. They laid a great stress upon the points, and some spent their whole lives in teaching them, and noting them in books.

Rogall endeavours indeed to prove, from the ninth book of Anastasii Sinaitæ *Contemplationes anagogicæ* in *Hexæmeron*, that they were used in other books. The passage, which he quotes, is *postquam Moses dixit: 'Et ædificavit Dominus Deus costam:'* magnus Clemens (Alexandrinus) *faciens perfectum punctum, et tunc versus faciens initium, subjunxit: 'Quam accepit Adam in mulierem.'* Et mihi videtur pie admodum attendisse distinctionem. Nam Theodotion quoque sic distinxit idem verbum. But from these words nothing further is to be gathered, than that Clemens Alexandrinus made use of a point, in explaining the words of Moses differently from the common acceptation, in order to render his new exposition more intelligible to the reader. Nor is much to be concluded from what he says of Theodotion, since that translator of Scripture was probably no other than a grammarian, and assisted his translation of the Old Testament by points, as other grammarians did the works of Homer. The Apostles on the contrary were not grammarians by profession; and most of their writings now extant are Letters, some of which were written to intimate friends. Is it credible, that they would accurately mark these with points, which were not in use any where but in the schools? This at least is certain, that the ancient fathers, in cases which relate to grammatical construction, do not appeal to points, but merely to the general context.

Even if we admitted that the Apostles wrote with points, it would be of no consequence to us, as those points are no longer in existence. For our most ancient manuscripts are without points, and in the modern manuscripts which have them, they were not copied from ancient documents, but were added by the transcribers of their own authority³.

There

There was another method of dividing discourse, by writing in one line as many words, as might be in some degree intelligible, when joined together; these united were called *ενημα*; we should call them a comma, or sentence. We shall have occasion to make further mention of them hereafter, and we shall find, that the ancients did certainly divide the New Testament into those sentences, of which they reckoned 2522 in St. Matthew, 1675 in St. Mark, &c. But it is no necessary consequence, that the Apostles wrote their epistles in the same manner; and if they had, yet a doubt would remain, which words belonged to each sentence, since the ancient manuscripts, which we have of the New Testament, are not written in these sentences⁴.

Some again used no other distinction of pause, but that of placing a point, or leaving a blank, where the sense of the period ended. This is the case of several manuscripts of the New Testament, and particularly of the Alexandrine. Possibly these distinctions ought not to be rejected wholly: and it is not unlikely, that the Apostles sometimes made use of them. But it is pity, that they who have delivered to us extracts from these manuscripts, do not point out where these stops were made⁵.

The whole of this subject then may be reduced to the following propositions:

1. Our point, colon, comma, and note of interrogation, are modern, and of no authority.
2. The Apostles probably denoted by a point, or a blank, where the sense of a discourse terminated.
3. Whoever desires to know, with some degree of probability, where these points or blanks were placed, must consult the most ancient manuscripts, and the versions which were made from the most ancient manuscripts. And even this will lead him no further than to a small degree of probability.
4. The best rule for determining the proper place of a point or stop in the New Testament, is to follow the most approved exegetical rules, in explaining each passage.

S E C T. III.

Origin of the present points in the New Testament.

IF it be asked, whence come the present points in the New Testament, their history is briefly this :

It is possible, and perhaps probable, that some were used in the first collection, that was made of the books of the New Testament. In the most ancient versions I have met with instances of false translation, which seem to have been occasioned by an improper arrangement of the stops, and where different translators have differently attempted to evade the difficulty, which that false arrangement occasioned. There is a difficulty attending Acts x. 1, 2, 3. as it is at present stopped. This difficulty some have attempted to remove, by leaving out *ω*, while others, among whom may be reckoned the Syriac and the Latin translator, have rendered the passage as if they had found *ουτος ειδεν* in the third verse; the one having *ܐܘܬܪ ܒܝܕܐ*, the other, is *videt*. Now the whole passage would be clear, if we divided the Greek text in the following manner: *Ανὴρ δὲ τις ἦν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος, ἐκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπειρῆς τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Θεὸν σὺν παντὶ τῇ οἰκῇ αὐτοῦ, ποιοῦν τε ἐλεημοσύνας πολλὰς τῇ λαῷ. Καὶ δέομενος τοῦ Θεοῦ διαπαντός, εἶδεν ἐν ὁραματι, κ. τ. λ.*⁶ It is therefore not impossible that a very early mistake in the pointing occasioned these differences. But as the thought is new, I will not be positive, but submit it to the consideration of the learned.

In the fourth century, Jerom began to add the comma and colon to the Latin version; and they were then inserted in many more ancient manuscripts.

In the fifth century, Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, divided the New Testament into lines. This division was regulated by the sense, so that each line ended where some pause was to be made in speaking. And when a copyist was disposed to contract his space, and therefore crouded the lines into each other, he then placed

placed a point, where Euthalius had terminated the line⁷.

In the eighth century, the stroke was invented which we call a comma⁸. In the Latin manuscripts, Jerom's points were introduced by Paul Warnfried and Alcuin, at the command of Charlemagne.

In the ninth century the Greek note of interrogation (;) was first used⁹.

At the invention of printing, the editors placed the points arbitrarily, probably without bestowing the necessary attention; and Stephens in particular varied his points in every edition.

As this section is only an extract from Rogall's Dissertation, I refer the reader to that for a proof of this history. It will there appear, how little stress is to be laid upon the present points in the New Testament, and how much they are mistaken, who argue the connection or disjunction of words from the consent of all the editions.

I will subjoin an observation with respect to the Codex Alexandrinus, because the marks of distinction in this MS. have been very accurately described, and lie open, at present, to the view of every reader. According to Woide, it has not only the full stop, comma, and colon, but likewise a kind of semicolon¹⁰. In the beginning of a new section it has likewise longer letters, which are prefixed, not always to the first word in the section, but sometimes to the first word in the next line: for instance, Mark v. 25.

αυτον· και ηγειρησεν

Ρυθμισματος τε ηδωδεκα. See Woide's preface, § 30, 31.

S E C T. IV.

Of obscure passages in the Greek Testament, which might be rendered clear by a better arrangement of the stops.

MANY obscurities in the text of the Greek Testament have been occasioned by an improper position of the stops, and it is the duty of every commentator

to remedy this inconvenience by occasional alterations, and not servilely to adhere to the present arrangement. Bowyer, in his *Critical Conjectures of the New Testament*, has noted likewise the conjectures of the learned, in regard to the position of the stops ¹¹. It is true, that variations in the stops do not properly belong to the class of what critics call, in the strict sense of the word, various readings; for these are determined by actual evidence, whereas no evidence can well be produced with respect to the stops, since the most ancient manuscripts were without them ¹². But Bowyer has acted very judiciously in collecting the opinions of the learned on the one as well as on the other, and by so doing he has rendered his work indispensable to the commentator, as well as to the critic; though the former perhaps might have wished that the conjectural emendations, in regard to the stops, had been separated from those which respect the readings.

Of passages in the Greek Testament, which have suffered through false stopping, the following is a remarkable instance, and is noted by Bowyer. Matth. v. 34. is commonly stopped in the following manner, *εγω δε λεγω υμιν, μη ομοσαι ολως μητε εν τω ηρανῳ, κ. τ. λ.* where a colon being placed after *ολως* confines it to *ομοσαι*, and makes the sentence expressive of a command to take an oath in no case whatsoever; a command, which, if strictly followed, would in a great measure loosen the bands of society. The person who signs himself R. in Bowyer's *Critical Conjectures* ¹³, proposes therefore to reject the colon after *ολως*, for which we might substitute a comma, and point the passage as follows, *εγω δε λεγω υμιν, μη ομοσαι ολως, μητε εν τω ηρανῳ, κ. τ. λ.* According to this arrangement the meaning of the passage would be, 'But I command you by no means to swear, either by heaven, for it is his throne, or by earth, for it is his footstool,' &c. The command of Christ therefore applies particularly to the abuse of oaths among the Pharisees, who on every trivial occasion swore, by the heaven, the earth, the temple, the head, &c. but it implies no prohibition to
take

take an oath in the name of the Deity, on solemn and important occasions.

Numerous examples of this kind may be found in Bowyer, to which I will add the four following: Luke i. 78, 79. ἐπισκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὑψους, ἐπιφαναι τοῖς ἐν σκοτει, κ. τ. γ. ‘the day spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness,’ &c. is a very extraordinary sentence, because the expression ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὑψους seems to involve a contradiction. But this inconvenience may be entirely remedied merely by an alteration in the stops, and by placing them in the following manner: ἐπισκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ, ἐξ ὑψους ἐπιφαναι τοῖς ἐν σκοτει, κ. τ. λ. for the passage will then be translated, ‘the day spring hath visited us, to shine from on high to those who sit in darkness,’ &c. Another passage, John i. 8, 9, 10. is attended with no inconsiderable difficulty, as the words are stopped at present, which difficulty may be removed by placing the stops as follows: Οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ’ ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός ἡν. Τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, κ. τ. λ. ‘He was not that light, but was to bear witness of that light. The true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, was in the world,’ &c. John xiv. 11, 12. should be stopped in the following manner; Εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτὰ πιστεύετε μοι, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, κ. τ. λ. ‘But if ye believe not on account of the works themselves, I assure you for certain,’ &c. John xvii. 3. where I think Bowyer has proposed a false arrangement, should be stopped in the following manner: ἵνα γινώσκῃς σε, τὸν μόνον ἀληθινόν Θεόν, καὶ, ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν, ὁ χριστός. ‘That they may acknowledge thee, to be the only true God, and Jesus whom thou hast sent, to be the anointed. Of Acts x. 1—3. I have spoken in the preceding section. Rom. i. 1—4. has been hitherto attended with an almost insuperable difficulty, and I have been sometimes induced to hazard a critical conjecture, in order to remove it; but I have since found that the same effect may be produced by a different arrangement of the stops. In order

to make this matter more clear, I will at the same time divide this passage into four portions, different from its present division into verses, and write it in the following manner :

Παυλος, δulos Ιηου Χριστου, κλητος αποστολος, αφωρισμενος εις ευαγγελιον

ΘΕΟΥ, ο προειρηγγελιατο δια των προφητων αυτου εν γραφαις αγιαις,

περι τε ΤΙΟΥ αυτου, τε γενομενου εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ κατα σαρκα, τε ορισθεντος υιου Θεου εν δυναμει·
κατα ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΑΓΙΩΣΤΗΝ, εξ αναστασιως νεκρων τε κυριου ημων Ιηου Χριστου.

Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the Gospel.

Of God, as he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures, which Gospel relates

To his son, who in respect to his human nature was of the seed of David, but in effect was shewn to be the son of God,

Through the effusion of the Holy Spirit, which was given after the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead.

An example of less consequence is 2 Cor. v. 17. Here I would propose to leave out the comma after *χριστου*, and arrange the stops in the following manner : « *τις εν χριστω καινη κτισις, τα αρχαγια παρηλθεν*, 'if any man in Christ is a new creature, old things are passed away.'

No part of the whole Bible has suffered so much from a false arrangement of the stops, as the epistle to the Ephesians, in which many passages have been thus rendered obscure, and even deprived of meaning. Indeed the number is so great as to prevent me from producing examples, since in this epistle alone there are at least two chapters, in which it would be necessary to make a totally new arrangement.

I would divide 1 Tim. iii. 16. in the following manner : *Θεος φανερωθη, εν σαρκι εδικαιωθη, εν πνευματι ωφθη αγγελοις*. 'God was revealed, (that is, made visible to mortals), was punished in the flesh, (namely, in the human

human body, which he had assumed), he suffered for our iniquity, in spirit appeared to angels.' If the reading *or*, be preferred to *θνος*, the meaning of the passage is, 'He, who was revealed to men, suffered in his body, in spirit appeared to angels.' I have observed, ch. iv. § 14. that *ἀνασιν* is sometimes used in the sense of punio¹⁴, and it is particularly applied to capital punishments, to which St. Paul, alludes, Rom. vi. 7. The words *σαφ* and *πρωμα* likewise are used, 1 Pet. iii. 18. in the same sense, as I have here ascribed to them. But, at many of my readers will perhaps doubt of the translation, which I have given of the above-mentioned passage, I propose it only to their consideration, without insisting on its being the true one.

In my remarks on the epistle to the Hebrews, ch. vi. 2. I have proposed another example. Heb. ix. 19. also a difficulty may be removed by translating in the manner, which I have proposed, p. 292. of the new edition, in the postscript. According to that translation, a comma must be placed after *βελιον*.

S E C T. V.

The blank spaces between the words are not genuine.

EVEN the blank spaces at the end of words are not ancient. The Greeks formerly wrote their words without any separation, and the most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament are written in this manner. But those of a later date than the ninth century began to leave a space between the words¹⁵. If therefore it were to be asked, whether Rom. vii. 14. ought to be read *οιδα μν*, 'I know,' or *οιδαμεν*, 'we know,' whether Gal. i. 9. should be *προειρηκαμεν*, or *προειρηκα μν*, whether Philip i. 1. should be read *συν επισκοποις*, 'together with the bishops,' or *συνεπισκοποις*, 'the coadjutors of the bishops;' these questions cannot be decided from our editions of the Greek Testament, nor from manuscripts, nor

from ancient versions, but merely by the sound rules of interpretation. The following is an instance, in which a different division of the letters, from that which is at present received, would make a passage clear, that is now obscure. After all the pains which have been taken by the commentators, the words ο λογος ο εμος ου χωρει εν υμιν are still attended with some obscurity. Perhaps ου χωρει should be written ουχ ωρει, 'non manet,' ωρειω being derived from ωρα, 'tempus.' See Stephani Thesaurus, Vol. IV. p. 795. But as ωρειω is a very unusual word, it did not occur to the transcribers, when the practice was first introduced of writing the words with intervals between them, and they consequently made a false division¹⁶.

S E C T. VI.

The Iota subscriptum is suspicious.

OF the Iota subscriptum*, see Majoris Epist. de Iotorum subscriptione suspecta, eorumque præsertim ex nummis perpetuo exilio. Kiel. 1688.

There is no instance among the ancient Greeks of their writing the iota, in the form of a point, or a small stroke under a letter, except the few instances quoted by Reinesius in his Syntagma antiquarum inscriptionum, which however he has not copied himself. Hence Major conjectures, that it was only added by travellers, who furnished Reinesius with inscriptions from ancient monuments. But we are not concerned about the form of it so much, as about the iota itself; and it cannot be denied, that the ancient Greeks sometimes wrote a common iota in those places, where we write the iota subscriptum, or instead of it, they wrote a figure somewhat resembling the figure (6): and sometimes wholly omitted the

* We commonly call it Iota subscriptum, though in some of the manuscripts it is written over the letters. See p. 23, of the Preface to Hwiid's treatise de codice Lambeciano 34.

the iota ¹⁷. He alleges instances of both ways of writing it. He himself had a medal with the inscription, THAPETH, and Vaillant, Tom. II. numb. Imp. p. 25. describes a medal with the inscription KAICAPI CE-BACTΩ KPHTEC. On the other hand, Cuper, in his *Expositio marmorum antiquorum*, quotes from an ancient monument,

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ

ΘΕΑΙ ΠΑΝΑΓΑΘΩΙ ¹⁸.

It seems to me, that the Greeks, in conformity to their language at that time, omitted the iota in writing; and when they used it, they did this in imitation of antiquity, or it was an Archaism, which was common in medals and on monuments ¹⁹. The most ancient manuscripts, the Alexandrine, for instance, and that of St. Germain, have not the least trace of an iota subscriptum. Nor has the Codex Stephani, according to Griesbach, p. lxvii. of his *Symbolæ*, either iota subscriptum, or postscriptum ²⁰. In the margin of the Philoxenian version likewise the Greek words are written without it: for instance Matth. ii. 17. v. 41. xxii. 29. xxvi. 23. xxvii. 59. Mark xii. 34. &c. Probably therefore the Apostles did not use it; and in answering the question, whether *αναρχη* in Rom. xiii. 5. be the nominative or the dative case, recourse must be had, not to the iota subscriptum, or to the omission of it, but to the rules of construction.

S E C T. VII.

The Spiritus asper is suspicious.

THE Spiritus asper, or that mark, which corresponds to the Latin H, was undoubtedly in use among the ancient Greeks. Their H was at first a Spiritus asper, and was taken from the Hebrew ה, and was retained in the same figure H in the Latin. The Greek H was used in ancient monuments, instead of a Spiritus asper, and the same letter stands for 100, because they wrote the word *ἑκατον* thus, HEKATON ²¹.

But

But it is also certain, that the ancient Grecians did not judge it necessary always to express this aspiration upon their monuments. Thus upon a medal of the Tyrians we find IEPAC^{H} . See the above quoted essay of Major, p. 24. And the Spiritus lenis is not at all to be met with in any Grecian monuments or medals^H.

In those manuscripts, in which these aspirations occur, they are thus expressed^H :

Spiritus lenis ' or J or O
 Spiritus asper ' or L or C

It is therefore very doubtful, whether the latter aspiration was in common use in the time of the Apostles; and it becomes much more doubtful, when we consider, that the most ancient versions so frequently confound $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ with $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon$, that both words seem to have been written without any aspiration.

S E C T. VIII.

All the accents of the New Testament are spurious.

WE come now to the Accents, the difference of which is so often made to determine the different signification of Greek words. The questions upon this subject are two,

1. Whether the ancient Grecians ever pronounced their language according to accent?
2. Whether the accents in the New Testament have been added by the authors of the books themselves, or by others?

As to the first question, some totally reject the accents, on the supposition that they would confound the quantity, as it is determined by the rules of prosody. Hence Beza, Scaliger, Ger. Jo. Vossius, *de arte Grammatica*, Lib. II. p. 174. Isa. Vossius, *de poematum cantu et viribus rhythmī*, p. 23. and Salmasius in *Epistola ad Sarravium* have rejected them. Henrinius

has

has distinguished himself on the same side in a book entitled, *Ἑλληνισμὸς ὀρθωίδος*, seu dissertatio paradoxa, Græcam linguam non esse pronuntiandam secundum accentus, 1664. This last has been answered by Jo. Rud. Wetstein, in his *Dissertatio epistolica de accentibus Græcorum*, printed in his *Dissertationes de linguæ græcæ græca et genuina pronuntiatione*, Amst. 1686. He evinces by sufficient arguments, that the Greeks, long before the birth of Christ, regulated their pronuntiation by accents, very much like those that are now in use *. But he at the same time admits, that there is, in some respects, a difference betwixt the ancient and modern accents; that the old grammarians were at war upon the subject of accents, and never came to a treaty of peace; and that accents were not used, except in the schools of grammarians, who made use of them in reading the old poets ²⁶.

The principal objection, that accents do not coincide with the prosody of the Greek poets, and are therefore to be considered, as a modern corruption of the Greek language, has been removed by the dissertation of Professor Gesner, *De accentuum genuina pronuntiatione*, printed in 1755. His opinion amounts to this, that the accents do not at all determine which syllable is to be pronounced longest; that the accent, for instance, of *ἀσπερας* being placed on the first syllable, does not oblige us to pronounce the word as a dactyl; that as the Greeks spake more musically than we, they pronounced some syllables more distinctly than others; that they raised their tone and dropped it; and that the elevation and fall of the tone was determined by the accents ²⁷. His opinion seems to me very probable, and we need only hear a native of Hungary speak his own, or the German language distinctly, and we shall find, that he pronounces the syllables strictly according to prosodical quantity,

* There are accents in some of the manuscripts which have been discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum. See Hwiid Libellus criticus de codice Lambeciano 34, on the title-page.

quantity, and yet raises some syllables, which are not the longest in the word. I cannot express myself so clearly to the reader, as I might, if my paper could speak ²⁸.

As to the second question, the best advocates for accents have not contended, that the ancient Grecians made use of them in common books, much less in letters, but only in their schools; and they are not at all to be met with in the copies of the New Testament still extant, which are antecedent to the eighth century, and but seldom in those, which are more modern ²⁹. I cannot therefore admit, that the accents in the New Testament were written by the Apostles. They were probably first added by Euthalius, in the year 458. See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 73.

S E C T. IX.

Of the ancient and modern chapters.

THE ancients divided the New Testament into two kinds of chapters, some longer and some shorter. See Simon's Hist. crit. du Texte du Nov. Test. ch. 33. and Martianay's Prolegomena to the edition of the old Latin version of St. Matthew. The longer kind of chapters were called in Greek *τιτλοι*, and the Latin breves, and the table of the contents of each brevis, which was prefixed to the copies of the New Testament, was called *breviarium*. The shorter chapters were called *κεφαλαια*, capitula, and the list of them was called *capitulatio*.

This method of dividing is of very great antiquity, and Simon, p. 427. refers to some of the earliest fathers of the church, who make mention of it. It appears to have been more ancient than Jerom, among other arguments, from this, that he expunged a passage out of the New Testament, which makes an entire chapter; it is that which I have printed in this Introduction at the end of chap. vi. sect. 9. This was before his time the twentieth brevis, and the seventy-fifth capitulum, in the old Latin version.

But

But there were formerly many of these divisions, and none of them was received by the whole church. St. Matthew, for instance, contains, according to the old breviaria, 28 breves, but according to Jerom 68. Jerom divides his Gospel into 355 capitula, others into 74, others into 88, others into 117, the Syriac version into 76, and Erpenius's edition of the Arabic into 101. One of these divisions, however, was more approved than the rest, for Eusebius regulated his canon of the four Gospels by it, and Jerom likewise made use of it. Tatian is said to have been the author of it, with respect to the breves, and Ammonius, who lived at Alexandria in the third century, with respect to the capitula³⁰. See Rumpæi Com. critica ad libros Nov. Test. p. 132. According to this division St. Matthew contains 68 breves, and 355 capitula; St. Mark 48 breves, and 234 capitula; St. Luke 83 breves, and 342 capitula; and St. John 18 breves, and 231 capitula. All the Evangelists together 217 breves, and 1126 capitula³¹.

The division of the epistles was later, and all that is observable in them is, that the number of the chapters is continued in one series throughout St. Paul's epistles, because they are considered as one book³².

But this whole division was laid aside, and the famous Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro introduced the chapters now in use³³. This eminent commentator lived in the twelfth century, and published a *Biblia cum postilla*. This is the first Bible divided into the usual chapters, which he subdivided again by adding in the margin the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, for the convenience of quotations and references³⁴. As Rumpæus has treated fully of this matter in his *Comm. crit. ad libros Nov. Test.* sect 35. I shall add nothing further upon it, except only this, that our chapters are only helps for the more easily finding passages quoted from the New Testament, but that whoever reads the Bible by single chapters, will be often in the dark, and at a loss for the meaning of the Apostles, since the chapters often end abruptly in the middle of a connected discourse: for instance Eph. v. 1. and Col. iv. 1.

S E C T. X.

Of the ancient division of the New Testament into lines, or verses.

THE ancients had two kinds of verses, one of which they call *στίχοι*, and the other *ῥήματα*.

Στίχοι were only lines, which contained a certain number of letters, and therefore often broke off in the middle of a word. It was by these stichi or lines, that the size of books was measured. Josephus's twenty books of Jewish Antiquities contained 60,000 of them, though in Ittigius's edition those books consist of no more than 40,000 broken lines. If I remember right, Rogall, in his *Dissert. de interpunctione Nov. Test.* mistakes these lines for commas³⁵.

In order to understand this, we should have a clear idea of the ancient manner of writing. They divided their leaves very exactly by lines, upon which they wrote; each leaf had the same number of lines, and each line the same number of letters. We still discover in some manuscripts the lines by which they wrote. Six or eight of these leaves were joined together, and the former were called *ternio*, the latter *quaternio*. See Simon's *Hist. crit. du Texte du N. T.* p. 420. and Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 2. It was easy by these means to determine with great accuracy the size of books.

ῥήματα were lines which were measured by the sense. Of these I have treated already in the 2^d section. Simon, in his *Hist. crit. du Texte du Nov. Test.* detects a strange error of Croius in his *Observationes sacre in Nov. Test.* notwithstanding Rumpsius transcribes from Croius, that these *ῥήματα* were words. It is surprising that these men could, without being astonished at what they wrote, affirm, that St. Matthew contained 2522 words, and 2560 verses. According to an ancient

written list, which we have in Simon, p. 423. there were of these *ὑπομνήματα* ³⁶ in

| | | | | |
|----------------------|--------|------|---------------------|------------|
| St. Matthew | - - - | 2600 | 1 Epist. to Timothy | 208 |
| St. Mark | - - - | 1600 | 2 Epist. to Timothy | 288 |
| St. Luke | - - - | 2900 | Epistle to Titus | - 140 |
| St. John | - - - | 2000 | Epistle to Philemon | 50 |
| The Acts | - - - | 2600 | 1 Epistle of Peter | - 200 |
| Epist. to the Romans | | 1040 | 2 Epistle of Peter | - 140 |
| 1 Epist. to the Co- | } 1060 | | Epist. of James | 220 |
| rinthians | | | 1 Epistle of John | - 220 |
| 2 Epist. to the Co- | } 1070 | | 2 Epistle of John | - 20 |
| rinth. 70, or rather | | | 3 Epistle of John | - 20 |
| Galatians | - - - | 350 | Epist. of Jude | - - 60 |
| Ephesians | - - - | 375 | Revelation | - - - 1200 |
| Colossians | - - - | 251 | | |

Total 18,612

Though I have transcribed this list, I have no inclination to warrant it; for the many round or even numbers render it very suspicious.

It was the custom formerly to place these lists at the end of the books, that the reader might see whether any thing had been omitted by the copyists. And in this respect it may be affirmed, that if the primitive Christians did not number the words, they numbered the letters of the New Testament ³⁷.

SECT. XI.

Of the present verses.

THE Verses, into which the New Testament is now divided, are more modern, and an imitation of the division of the Old Testament; Robert Stevens, the first inventor, introduced them in his edition of the year 1551. He made this division on a journey from Lyons to Paris, and, as his son Henry tells us, in the preface to the Concordance of the New Testament, he made it inter equitandum. I apprehend this must mean, that when he was weary of riding, he amused himself with

with this work at his inn. The wild and indigested invention of the learned printer was soon introduced into all the editions of the New Testament ; and it must be confessed, that, in quoting and consulting the Bible, there is great use in the division into verses. At least no Concordance could have been made, if the New Testament had not been subdivided into smaller parts. But the interpretation of this sacred book has suffered greatly by this division. For, not to mention that Stephens often ends a verse at the wrong place, against the sense of the passage, the division itself is quite contrary to the nature of the epistles, which are connected ; whereas separate verses appear to the eyes of the learned, and to the minds of the unlearned, as so many detached sentences. Hence arose the custom of explaining each verse separately, which has sometimes produced a very false interpretation. Rud. Wetstein and Chr. Fr. Sinner have shewn this inconvenience, in particular dissertations, *De distinctionibus Nov. Test.* and Rumpæus, in his *Comm. crit. in Nov. Test.* sect. 37. enumerates the other complainants on this head, among whom we must reckon Mr. Locke, in his essay for the understanding of St. Paul's epistles. It is to be wished, that the verses had been formed, not from the sense, but from the number of letters, like the *stichi* of the ancients, for in that case, they could not have done such violence to the meaning of the author. However, it is now become necessary, unless we resolve to render useless all the theological works hitherto published, to abide by Stephens's division, and only to take care, in editions of the New Testament, not to break off the line with the verse. The verses may be continued without interruption, and the Bible may be rendered equally useful for references, by printing the numbers in the margin, as Bengel has done in his edition of the Greek Testament³⁸.

END OF VOL. II. PART I.

INTRODUCTION
TO
THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY
JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS,
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TRANSLATED FROM THE
Fourth Edition of the German,
AND
CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,
AND
A DISSERTATION
ON THE
ORIGIN & COMPOSITION OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

BY
HERBERT MARSH, D.D. F.R.A.S.
LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

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VOL. II. PART. II.

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N O T E S.

C H A P T E R VII.

*Critical review of the ancient versions of the
New Testament.*

S E C T. I.

PAGE I.

1. **I**N the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1699, Vol. xxi. p. 359—365, is an essay entitled, A calculation of the credibility of human testimony. This hint has been taken by the learned Knittel, who in his commentary on a fragment of Ulphilas, p. 169—197, has examined by mathematical rules the evidence, for and against the readings of the Greek Testament, and applied for that purpose even Algebraical series.

PAGE 3.

2. Dr. Michaelis, the father of our author, who devoted his whole life to the study of the Polyglot, cautions every collector of various readings not to take them from the Latin translations of the Oriental versions, but he censures not these translations, so highly as our author. *Istæ interpretationes Latinæ sunt, vel ad sensum magis quam ad literas et verba comparatæ, vel suis subinde laborant nævis.*

C. B. Michaelis Tractatio critica de var. lectionibus N. T. § 32.

PAGE 4.

3. See Frabricii Bibliotheca Græca, Tom. IV. p. 191—203, and Waltoni Prolegom. v. x. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi. An accurate account of the versions of the Bible, both ancient and modern, is given in Walch's Bibliotheca Theologica, Tom. iv. p. 47—166. But the most complete description, especially of the various editions, is in Le Long's Bibliotheca sacra, ed. Masch, Pars II. Tom. I. II. III. This excellent edition, which is by far the best, was published at Halle, in 6 Vols. 4to, 1778—1790.

S E C T. II.

PAGE 4.

1. Dr. Hirt's Orientalische Bibliothek, or Oriental Library, was a periodical publication begun in 1772 and closed in 1773, it was printed at Jena, and consists of 8 vols. 8vo. Extracts will be given from this work whenever our author particularly refers to it.

PAGE 5.

2. The Syriac name **ܫܡܝܬܐ** signifies not only simplex, but rectus, being derived from **ܫܡܝܬܐ** extendit. It is probable therefore that the Syrians intended to express, by Peshito, the correct or faithful version.

PAGE 6.

3. Instead of the expressions **ܫܡܝܬܐ** sacerdos, **ܫܡܝܬܐ** or **ܫܡܝܬܐ** princeps sacerdotum, and **ܫܡܝܬܐ** sacerdotium; which are used in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the Arabic version published by Erpenius, the words **ܫܡܝܬܐ**, **ܫܡܝܬܐ** and **ܫܡܝܬܐ** are rendered in the Arabic of the Polyglot by **ܫܡܝܬܐ**, **ܫܡܝܬܐ**, and **ܫܡܝܬܐ** in the epistle to the Hebrews, as well as in the other books of the N. T. When our author says that the sense of sacerdos is not ascribed to **ܫܡܝܬܐ** in the Arabic Lexicons, he must mean those, which were written by
7 native

native Arabs, for this sense is given it in the Lexicon Heptaglotton.

4. Our author here observes that *yrw* when followed by the prefix א signifies 'to obey.' The direct or oblique government therefore of *yrw* is attended with the same distinction, as in the Latin word *ausculto*.

5. The title of this work is, I. D. Michaelis *Grammatica Syriaca*, Halæ 1784.

PAGE 7.

6. That the Syriac translator of the Epistle to the Hebrews rendered *υις μὲν εἰ σὺ, ἐγὼ σημεῖον γεγονῆκα σὺ* ch. i. 5. by *ܕܢܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܢܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬܐ* without having recourse to the Syriac version of Psalm ii. 7. is not only possible, as this is the literal and obvious translation of the Greek, but even probable, because the words immediately preceding are *ܐܬܝܬ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬܐ* *fixit Deus*, whereas in the passage of the Psalm we find not *ܐܬܝܬ* but *ܕܡܢ* dominus.

7. Heb. i. 13. the reading is *ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬܐ* sub pedibus tuis, Psalm cx. 1. *ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬܐ* pedibus tuis.

8. It is true that the Syriac text Heb. ii. 6—8. is so different from the Syriac text Psalm viii. 5—8. (viz. to the beginning of v. 8.) that they are undoubtedly independent translations. But the reason which our author assigns, for the necessity of a new translation in the epistle to the Hebrews, is not so obvious, for whoever compares the Greek and Syriac texts, Psalm viii. 5—8. will find that they express precisely the same sense, and that the whole difference consists in the difference of the idioms.

PAGE 8.

9. Moses brought with him two manuscripts of the Syriac version. Storr de vers. Syr. p. 19. But these two MSS. were probably not duplicates of the whole Syriac Testament, but only two different volumes, the one containing the Gospels, the other the Acts and the epistles. The former is still preserved in the imperial library at Vienna, and noted Codex Lambecii 258, as

is related by Adler in his *Bibliscli-critische Reise*, p. 13. Le Long, in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 101. ed. Paris. 1723, or P. I. p. 189. ed. Boerner, relates on the authority of Masius, that it was written at Mosul on the Tigris.

10. Widmanstad, in the preface to his edition of the Syriac N. T. sign. a * * * 3, (the pages of the preface are not numbered) relates that he began to learn the rudiments of Syriac in 1529 from Theseus Ambrosius, a learned civilian, who had been instructed in that language by the three Syrian priests, Acurius, Moses, and Helias, who were sent as deputies from Syria to the Lateran council held under Leo X.

11. In support of the assertion that Widmanstad was assisted by Postell, Dr. Hirt appeals to his *Cosmographia*, in præf. ad Imperatorein Ferdinandum, Basileæ 1561, 4to.

PAGE 9.

12. The edition of Widmanstad has no date on the title page, which is the reason why many of the learned, not excepting Schaaf, were led into error by the date annexed to the arms of the printer. But no doubt can be made that 1555 is the true date, as it is repeated in several places. 1. The preface addressed to the Emperor Ferdinand is subscribed Viennæ Austriacæ v. Id. Januar. Anno M.D.LV. 2. The address of the Emperor printed immediately before the Gospel of St. Matthew is signed, Anno a Christo nato M.D.LV. 3. At the end of the Gospel of St. Matthew, fol. 34, we find Viennæ Austriacæ xiiii Februarii, Anno xvi^{ta} a Christi nativitate sæculi quinquagesimo quinto. The date 1555 is likewise repeated at the beginning and end of the other Gospels, at the end of the Epistles of St. Paul, and of the Acts of the Apostles, at the beginning of the Epistle of St. James, and lastly at the end of the volume is, Ad hunc exitum perductum est divinum hoc opus anno a Christi nativitate M.D.LV. xxvii. Septembris. In those copies, in which the arms of the printer are not stamped, the reverse of the title-leaf is a blank page.

13. The

13. The German title of this work is *Nachricht von einer Hallischen Bibliothek*. It was a periodical publication by Dr. Baumgarten, printed between the years 1748 and 1751, in eight vols. 8vo. But the account there given of the Widmanstad edition, is not so accurate, as that given by Dr. Hirt.

14. The account given by Dr. Hirt of the Widmanstad edition of the Syriac N. T. is in his *Orientalische Bibliothek*, Vol. II. p. 260—288. Vol. III. p. 257—268. Vol. IV. p. 317—341, and Vol. V. p. 25—40. In the second of these places the description is critical, in the other three chiefly historical: but as the nature of the subject hardly admits an extract, and a translation of the whole would swell these notes to a disproportionate size, I must confine the description to the few following particulars. The first six lines of the title-page are Syriac, in the Estrangelo character, the two last of which are printed in smaller letters. They are immediately followed by the Latin translation *Liber sacrosancti Evangelii de Jesu Christo Domino et Deo nostro*. *Reliqua hoc codice comprehensa pagina proxima indicabit*. Under this translation is *Div. Ferdinandi Rom. Imperatoris designati jussu et liberalitate, characteribus et lingua Syra Jesu Christo, vernacula, divino ipsius ore, consecrata, et Johanne Evangelista Hebraica dicta scriptorio prelo diligenter expressa*. At the bottom of the page is another line in the Estrangelo character, with the Latin translation, *Principium sapientiæ timor Domini*. The work is handsomely printed in quarto. At the end of this Syriac N. T. (that is, immediately after the first epistle of St. John, the two last epistles with that of St. Jude, and the book of Revelation, as well as the second epistle of St. Peter, making no part of the Syrian canon) are two tables of lessons, the one from the Gospels, the other from the epistles, appointed to be read in the Syrian church on Sundays and holy days throughout the whole year. Lastly, the two celebrated passages John vii. 53—viii. 11. and 1 John v. 7. are wanting. This rare and valuable edition therefore may be considered as a perfect

pattern of the genuine Peshito, which cannot be said of any subsequent edition. This is likewise confirmed by Adler in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, who after having described eight MSS. of the old Syriac version says, p. 19. In paucis quæ evolvi locis nullam ab editione Viennensi discrepantiam reperi. The origin and progress of this edition may be seen at length in *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra*, ed. Masch, Pars II. Vol. I. p. 71—79.

15. This catalogue of Errata is printed at the end of the Preface, immediately before the Gospel of St. Matthew, and contains only those, which had been made in the four Gospels. With respect to the various readings printed in the midst of these Errata, Widmanstad himself in the page immediately preceding them makes the following remark, Propter pauca quædam loca inter typographicas emendationes notata hoc signo*, in quibus libri Syrorum a nostris discrepant, vel ob historiam adulteræ apud Johannem, quod et in Græcis exemplaribus non infrequens est, prætermisam, opus totum per calumniam ne reprehendito. Bruns observes that Widmanstad could mean by nostris, libris only Greek and Latin MSS. or editions; that the passages which are not in his edition have been found in no manuscript of the Syriac version, and that when admitted into later editions, they have either been translated into Syriac by the editors themselves, or copied from more modern Syriac versions, by which means the genuine Peshito has been disfigured. The differences of which Widmanstad speaks are omissions in the following verses: Matth. x. 8. xxvii.

35. Luke xxii. 17, 18. and the omission of the story of the adulteress, John viii. 1—11. It may be likewise remarked that a list of Errata is likewise printed immediately before the epistles of St. Paul, none of which is marked with an asterisk: but before the three catholic epistles is no list either of errata or various readings. Widmanstad therefore thought no apology necessary for the omission of 1 John v. 7.

16. Mulleri Symbolæ Syriacæ were printed in 1673, 4to: but the work is very difficult to be procured.

17. These

17. These four texts are printed in parallel columns, so that they form a kind of Polyglot.

PAGE 10.

18. This charge is made by Simon in his *Histoire critique des versions du N. T.* ch. 14. where a description is given of the edition of Tremellius. But Dr. Hirt, who has examined with great accuracy the editions of the Syriac version, asserts in his *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 191. that the charge is ungrounded. Besides, Professor Bruns, in his essay on the editions of the Syriac version (*Repertorium*, Vol. XV. p. 158.) observes that Tremellius frequently quotes, in the margin of his edition, the Heidelberg MS. by name, and that in almost every book of the New Testament. He produces likewise examples, in which Tremellius has deviated from the text of Widmanstad, on the authority of this MS. and relates that at the end of the work is a list of passages, to which Tremellius prefixed the following superscription, *Loci quidam in quorum scripturâ partim peccarunt operæ, partim codex Viennensis ex Heidelbergensi est emendandus.* That this manuscript was brought from Heidelberg to Rome, where it is at present preserved in the Vatican, is related by Le Long in his *Bibliotheca sacra*, T. I. p. 184. ed. Boerner. or Tom. I. p. 99. ed. Paris. 1723. Müller, in his dissertation on the Syriac version, p. 40. relates on the authority of Rutgher Spey, that it was at that time nine hundred years old.

19. *Repertorium*, Vol. XV. p. 157.

20. That Tremellius used Hebrew instead of Syriac characters was rather a matter of necessity than choice, as no Syriac types at that time existed, except those of the Imperial printing house in Vienna. Hirt's *Or. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 294.

21. To the notes which have been already taken from this part of Hirt's *Or. Bibl.* may be added, that in the edition of Tremellius those books are omitted, which are not in the edition of Widmanstad. Likewise John vii. 35.—viii. 11. and 1 John v. 7. though with this difference,

that Tremellius has left a vacant space for these passages, in the former of which he has the following note, *Vacat hæc pagina quod historia de adultera in interpretatione Syriaca non exstat*: in the latter, *Totum septimum versiculum Syrum Testamentum omittit, sicut etiam multi Græci codices, qui ita restitui posset*. He then takes the liberty to subjoin his own Syriac translation of this verse, which subsequent editors have inserted in the text, as a part of the genuine Peshito. In other instances Tremellius has departed from the text of the Vienna edition, when supported by the authority of the Heidelberg manuscript. (*Repertorium*, XV. 158.) And even without the authority of any Syriac MS. he has made alterations in *Matth. x. 8.* and *Luke xxii. 17, 18.* (*Repertorium*, XV. 156, 157.) For a further description of this edition of Tremellius, see *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 408.

22. By the *Biblia Regia*, our author understands the Antwerp Polyglot, published in 1569—1572, in 8 vols. folio, of which a description is given in *Le Long's Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 340—349. See also P. II. Vol. I. p. 83, 84.

23. This is related by Simon in his *Hist. crit. des vers. du N. T.* ch. 14. and he adds that Postell procured it for Bomberg. It is probably, therefore, the same as that which is known under the name of the *Codex Coloniensis*, from which Rapheling selected various readings. This MS. consists of two volumes; the first contains the four Gospels, and forms of prayer to be used in the ceremony of baptism: the second contains the Acts, the first epistle of St. James, the first of St. Peter, and the first of St. John, and lastly, the fourteen epistles of St. Paul in the usual order. The subscription at the end of the MS. is partly effaced, so that the year, in which it was written, cannot be determined: but in a Latin note added by Postell, is said, *In lingua Christi hoc est Syriaca hoc volumen scriptum anno Alexandri 1500.* For this information I am indebted to Professor Paulus. This manuscript was afterwards purchased by
N. Heinsius,

N. Heinsius, from whose hands it came into the Bibliotheca Colbertina. See Le Long's Bibliotheca sacra, Tom. I. p. 99. ed. Paris. 1723, or ed. Boerner, Lipsiæ 1700, P. I. p. 188. At present it is preserved in the University Library at Leyden, where it is marked Num. 1198. See p. 410, N°. 26. of the Leyden Catalogue, published in 1716, folio.

PAGE 11.

24. Textus Syriacus ex editione Widmanstadii Viennæ 1555 emissus exscriptus cum MSto. Coloniensi est collatus.

Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 348.

25. No MS. of the Peshito has been discovered in which this verse is found, though in the Amsterdam MS. (which is however of no authority, it being written in 1700) it is added in the margin. See Adler's Versiones Syriacæ, p. 33. This excellent work was published at Copenhagen in 1789, 4to. A collation of this Antwerp edition, with that of Widmanstad, is given in Hirt's Or. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 245—260. Vol. VI. p. 453—484. Vol. VII. p. 267—270. and Vol. VIII. p. 443—465. under the title Collatio Widmanstadii cum bibliis Regiis Antwerpiensibus.

PAGE 12.

26. It is most probable that the octavo Antwerp edition of the Syriac N. T. was intended as a continuation of Plantin's Hebrew Bible, printed in 1573 and 1574, because it has no title-page, the only superscription being *וְיִשְׂרָאֵל חַדְשָׁה*, printed over the first chapter of St. Matthew, and is of the same octavo size, and printed with the same types. See Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 80.

27. This Codex Viennensis is nothing more than the Vienna edition, published by Widmanstad, as I have been informed by Professor Paulus, who has examined the copy of the Antwerp octavo edition in the Weimar library. It is interleaved, and on the blank pages a
former

former proprietor of this copy has noted several, but not all the readings, in which the Vienna and Antwerp editions differ, annexing to them sometimes the word *Austriacum*, at other times *Viennense*. Its critical value therefore is not so great as our author conjectures. Professor Paulus likewise mentioned that this copy has no title-page, which confirms the account given in the preceding note.

28. Dr. Hirt quotes here the title of this scarce edition. *Novum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum, Syriace, Antwerpiae ex officina Christophori Plantini Architypographi Regii M.D. LXXV.* He observes, that the same books and passages are wanting, as in the preceding Antwerp editions, and that beside the 380 pages of text, there are seven leaves of various readings collected by Rapheling from the Cologne MS. As I am in possession of this edition, as well as that of Widmanstad, I will add, that the Latin title is preceded by a Syriac title in Hebrew letters *ܬܠܬܐ ܕܥܡܬܐ*, that the various readings occupy not seven leaves, but nineteen pages, and that Nun, the Syriac prefix to the 3^d. Fut. is not changed into Jod, as in the edition of Tremellius.

29. The Syriac text in the Paris edition of 1584, is printed, like the Antwerp editions, in Hebrew letters without points.

30. To prevent mistakes, it is necessary to observe, that the person whom our author here calls *Le Fevre*, is the very same *Guido Fabricius de la Boderie* mentioned N°. 3. His French name was *Guy le Fevre de la Boderie*. A description of this edition may be seen in *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra*, ed. *Masch*, P. I. p. 410.

PAGE 14.

31. See *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. *Masch*, P. I. p. 391. and P. II. Vol. I. p. 84.

32. Professor *Bruns* here observes, that even the errors of the press, which had been noted by *Tremellius*, were transferred from his edition to that of *Hutter*. From many

many examples, he has selected the following, Matth. xiii. 23. xvi. 21. xx. 23. xxvi. 55. 61.

33. Polyglotta Londin. Tom. VI. p. 51—56.

34. See Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 82. A list of readings, in which the editions of Trost and Plantin differ from that of Widmanstad, is given by Hirt, in his Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 259—268.

PAGE 15.

35. For a description of this MS. see Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 97. It was afterwards deposited in the University Library at Leyden, where it is marked N°. 18. among Scaliger's manuscripts. Vid. Catalogum bibliothecæ publicæ academiciæ Lugduno-Batavæ, p. 405.

36. This work was printed at Leyden in 1648, 4to. and re-printed at Amsterdam, with additions from the author's manuscript in 1693, fol. The date therefore assigned by our author must be an erratum.

37. Pococke made use of only one Syriac manuscript, which he found in the Bodleian library, as appears from the title, *Epistolæ quatuor, Petri secunda, Johannis secunda et tertia, et Jædæ fratris Jacobi una: ex celeberrimæ bibliothecæ Bodleianæ Oxoniensis manuscripto exemplari nunc primum depromptæ, et characteribus Hebræo, versione latina notisque quibusdam insignitæ. Opera et studio Edvardi Pococke, Angli-Oxoniensis. Lugduni Batavorum, 1630, 4to.* In the first page of the preface he describes this manuscript in the following manner, *Continebat eas pulcherrimum exemplar MS. bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, una cum Actis Apostolorum, et Epistolis cæteris catholicis, eo ordine, quo in Græcis solent codicibus, dispositæ.* This manuscript is probably that which is now marked in the Bodleian library A, 2909, 126, and described by Uri in his Catalogue of the Bodleian MSS. p. 5. N°. 19. among the Syriac manuscripts: for this is the only Syriac manuscript in the Bodleian library, which corresponds to Pococke's description. A mistake which Le Long had made in
regard

regard to this MS. is rectified by Ridley, sect. 12. N^o. 14. Namely, Le Long had asserted that the manuscript, from which Pococke printed the four catholic epistles, was preserved in the library of Bishop Moore, which library was afterwards purchased by George I. for the University of Cambridge. On which Ridley remarks, ' Cantabrigiam profectus hunc codicem pervolvi, quem pessime descriptum deprehendi: non Philoxenianam, sed Simplicem exhibet versionem, juxta hunc igitur non prodierunt quatuor quæ desunt epistolæ canonicæ studio Cel. Pocockii; et non quatuor tantum istas sed omnes septem epistolas canonicas ibi frustra quæsiveris.' This manuscript is now marked in the University Library of Cambridge Ff. 2. 15. I have been informed by Professor Paulus, that among the MSS. formerly in the possession of Dr. Pococke, is a perfectly fresh copy of these four Syriac catholic epistles written in Hebrew letters, which he supposes to be a transcript, which the learned editor had made for his own use in the publication of the work: and this conjecture of the learned Professor is confirmed by what Pococke himself says in the second page of his epistle dedicatory, ' Perlegebam avide has epistolas; inde nec transcribere tam suo, quam Ebræo vocalibus ad Syrorum normam ornato caractere, gravatus sum.'

38. See rather Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 96, 97.

39. See Walchii Bibliotheca theologica, Tom. IV. p. 170. and Waltoni Prolegomena, p. 89.

40. For that reason, in Widmanstad's edition, which may be considered as a copy of the manuscript sent to Europe by the Syrian Patriarch, the words are not pointed throughout.

PAGE 16.

41. With respect to this passage, we find in the London Polyglot, Vol. V. p. 440. the following remark. Tota hæc pericope sequens in omnibus exemplaribus Syriacis adhuc editis deest, quam ex instructissima Reverendissimi

Reverendissimi Præsulis J. Usseri Archiep. Armachani bibliotheca depromptam exhibemus. Since that time, no one has ever heard of this manuscript of Ap. Usher, nor is it enumerated in the Catalogue of Usher's manuscripts, printed in the *Catalogi MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*, Tom. II. P. II. p. 16—48.; but it must have been one of the later copies of the Philoxenian version, in which the story of the adulteress is added in the margin. For I have collated the Syriac text, John viii. 1—11. as printed in the London Polyglot, from Ap. Usher's MS.; with the text of the Paris manuscript of the Philoxenian version, printed in Adler's *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 57. and found that the six first verses agree, word for word, and letter for letter, and that in the following verses are only four trifling differences in single words. I have likewise collated the text of this passage in the London Polyglot, with that of the Codex Barsalibæi, printed in White's edition of the Philoxenian version, Tom. I. p. 559. and here again found so remarkable a coincidence, as to leave no room for doubt, that all three MSS. contain the text of one and the same translation of this passage. The editors therefore of the London Polyglot have printed, as a part of the old Syriac version, a passage which is found only in the later copies of the new. It is wanting not only in the Peshito, but in the genuine copies of the Philoxenian (Adler's *Vers. Syr.* p. 55.) and was added in the latter as a marginal scholion, the translation being ascribed in Ridley's Codex Barsalibæi to Mar Abba, in the Paris manuscript to one Paul a monk. It may however be remarked, that the passage is found in the *Versio Syra Hierosolymitana*, which will be described in the sequel.

42. A description of it may be seen in *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 86.

PAGE 17.

43. Dr. Hirt, in his *Or. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 321. says that those copies belong to the genuine edition corrected by Gutbier himself, in which the figures, prefixed to the
verses

verses in the Gospel of **St. Matthew**, are smaller than in the other Gospels, and that those, in which the figures are of equal size, are a re-impression. I have a copy of this edition, which, according to the preceding criterion, is the genuine, which has not only a Latin title-page, with the date 1664, but likewise a copper-plate engraved by Iselburg, and adorned with various figures, in the middle of which is a Syriac, as well as a Latin title, with the date 1663. Perhaps this is likewise a mark of the genuine edition.

44. See *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 81.

45. Prodiit Novum Testamentum Schaafianum jam anno 1708, et ipsa præfatio Kal. Martii ejusdem anni data est, quapropter editionem ad annum præcedentem retulimus, dum prima exemplaria annum 1708 in fronte ostendunt. Frequentiora sunt ejusdem editionis exemplaria, quibus novus titulus 1709 præmissus est. Editio secunda Lugduni 1717 priori emendatior et auctior.

{ *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch,
 { P. II. Tom. I. p. 89, 90.

PAGE 18.

46. To the editions of the Syriac New Testament enumerated by our author, may be added, *Novum Testamentum Syriacum et Arabicum*, Romæ 1703, Tom. II. folio. It was published by the Propaganda, for the use of the Maronite Christians in Syria, but it is probably of no value to a critic.

S E C T. III.

PAGE 19.

1. Our author here means Dr. Ridley's Codex 3, or Codex Barsalibæi, which he has described in the 13th and 14th sections of his *Dissertatio de versionibus Syriacis*.

2. These examples were communicated by Dr. Ridley
 to

to our author; but a more complete catalogue of instances not only from the Acts, but also from the epistles of St. Paul, may be seen in the 14th section of his *Diss. de vers. Syriacis*. He has produced none from the Gospels, because these are the Philoxenian version, and cannot therefore be applied with so much propriety, in correcting the printed text of the Peshito.

3. Our author is not accurate in saying that ܠܠܚܬܝܢ is used for *πᾶσι λεγῶ*, for it is the translation of *πᾶσι* alone, *λεγῶ* being rendered by ܠܡܢ, and it seems to be immaterial in the present instance, whether for *πᾶσι* we read ܠܠܚܬܝܢ ‘omnibus vobis,’ or ܠܠܚܬܝܢ ‘omnibus illis.’

4. Acts i. 12.

5. Our author is mistaken in saying that *κοινωνία*, Acts ii. 42. is translated by ܠܡܢܬܝܢ, for *κοινωνία* is translated by no substantive, but is expressed in the participle ܡܠܬܝܢܬܝܢ ‘communicantes,’ and ܠܡܢܬܝܢ: ܡܠܬܝܢ is the translation of *τῇ κλάσει τε ἄρτε*.

6. Our author can mean only in comparison with the author of the Philoxenian version.

7. The Erpenian Arabic, like the old Syriac translator, has expressed *κοινωνία* by no substantive whatsoever, and it is here likewise implied in the verb ܡܬܬܝܢܬܝܢ. Our author's argument therefore is not only without force, but devoid of meaning. His intention is to shew that ܠܡܢܬܝܢ, Acts ii. 42. is not the word that was used by the old Syriac translator, but the result of a modern scholion: the argument for this opinion may be stated in the following manner. In the Syriac version, for *τῇ κλάσει τε ἄρτε*, the printed text is ܠܡܢܬܝܢ: ܡܠܬܝܢ, ‘in fractione eucharistiæ;’ but the Erpenian Arabic translator, who translated the Acts immediately from the Syriac, has simply ܠܡܢܬܝܢ: ܡܠܬܝܢ, ‘in fractione panis.’ It is probable therefore that the genuine reading, which the Arabic translator found in the Syriac, was some word simply expressive of bread, such as ܠܡܢܬܝܢ, for instance, the usual translation of *ἄρτος*. This seems to be the
clearest

clearest statement; but the argument is at best of little weight, as the word *ευχαριστια*, though adopted in the Syriac, does not appear to have been ever adopted in Arabic. (Lex. Hept. p. 58.) The Arabic translator therefore could not have used it, even had he found it in the Syriac version. That 'eucharistia' had not acquired the sense of the modern word 'Eucharist' in the time of the Syriac translator, depends on the age in which he lived, and we may rather apply this very word, to which no critical objection can be made, as an argument that the old Syriac version was not made in the first, or even before the middle of the second century, than, presupposing its high antiquity, condemn the word as spurious.

8. That the Erpenian Arabic translator has used a phrase expressive of Corpus Christi, and not *خبز* 'panis,' which is found in the same passage in the Arabic of the Polyglot, is rather a proof that he actually found *احد ههنا* in his copy of the Syriac version, than simply *حسب* 'panis,' which he has usually translated by *خبز*.

PAGE 20.

9. *احد به احد* is not necessarily an interrogation, for though rendered in the London Polyglot 'quomodo autem dixit?' it may with equal propriety be rendered 'quemadmodum autem dixit.' See Schaaf's Lex. Syr. in voce *احد*. Nor is it an argument, that the Arabic translator has used *كَيْفَ* قال, for *كَيْفَ* is used both affirmatively and interrogatively. Lex. Hept. p. 1720.

10. Perhaps this is an erratum for *لكبار* 'superbia.'

PAGE 21.

11. This task has been in some measure executed by Professor Adler, in the first part of his *Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana. Hafniæ, 1789, 4to.* But as this learned writer has mentioned those MSS. only which he had himself examined, the catalogue might be augmented by many others. Le Long,

in his *Bibliotheca sacra*, Tom. I. p. 98—102. ed. Paris. 1723, or ed. Boerner, P. I. p. 183—192. has also mentioned several Syriac manuscripts of the New Testament. The Syriac manuscripts of the N. T. preserved in the different libraries of England and Ireland, are described in the *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*, Oxoniæ 1697, fol. Those which are preserved in the Bodleian library are described in the following work. *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicum manuscriptorum orientalium*, vid. *Hebraicorum, Chaldaicorum, Syriacorum, Æthiopicorum, Arabicorum, Persicorum, Turcicorum, Copticorumque catalogus*, jussu curatorum præli academici a Joanne Uri confectus. Pars prima, Oxonii 1787, folio. Those in the royal library in Paris are described in the first volume of the *Catalogus Codicum MStorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ, Parisiis* 1739—1744, 4 tom. folio. The manuscripts in the Vatican and Medicean libraries are described in the catalogues published by the Assemani, the one printed at Rome in 1756, in 3 vols. folio, the other at Florence in 1742, folio. The Vienna manuscripts are described by Lambecius, in his *Commentaria de augustissima Bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi*, in eight books or volumes, folio, printed at Vienna in 1665—1679, and re-printed with considerable additions by Kollar in 1766—1782. The Leyden manuscripts are described in the *Catalogus librorum tum impressorum quam MStorum Bibliothecæ Lugduno-Batavæ*. *Lugduni apud Batavos* 1716, folio: and in the Supplement printed in 1741, folio.

PAGE 23.

12. The arrangement is the same as in our canon, except that the three catholic epistles of St. James, St. Peter, and St. John, (the other four, with the book of Revelation, being not admitted, at least in the time of Ebed Jesu) are placed before those of St. Paul. But Widmanstad has a different arrangement, the three catholic epistles being printed at the end, and those of St. Paul before the Acts of the Apostles, in the same manner as in Wetstein's Greek Testament.

S E C T. IV.

PAGE 23.

1. Bengel's remark, with respect to the Syriac version, is the following, *Coptica versio et Syriaca valde inter se, et cum Latinis congruunt: ambæ autem permultis in locis Græcos codices a Latinis desertos ita sequuntur, ut fere pro immediatis haberi mereantur.* Our author's reference to p. 409. of the *Introductio in crisin N. T.* is perhaps an erratum, for this treatise, as printed in the second edition of Bengel's *Apparatus criticus*, has only eighty pages. It is there p. 44.

S E C T. V.

PAGE 24.

1. See Note 8 to chap. vi. sect. 10.

PAGE 25.

2. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. ix.

PAGE 27:

3. That one of the old Latin versions was made by a native Syrian, seems highly improbable. See Note 1 to the following section, and the Notes to the twenty-fourth section of this chapter.

4. See Michaelis *Curæ in Versionem Syriacum Act. Apost.* p. 175. compared with Note 1. to sect. 29. of this chapter.

5. This is what Griesbach calls *Recensio Constantinopolitana*, and is the model, after which our common printed editions have been regulated.

PAGE 28.

6. A modern manuscript of the Syriac New Testament, written in the East Indies in 1700, and sent by the Bishop of Malabar to Schaaf the editor of the Syriac Testament,

Testament, is now preserved in the library belonging to the Gymnasium in Amsterdam. See Adler's *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 31.

S E C T. VI.

PAGE 29.

1. Our author here alludes to his hypothesis, that one of the old Latin versions was made by a native Syrian, that this Latin version was made at the end of the first century, and that this Syro-Latin translator had recourse in different passages to the version of his own country. Hence it follows, that the Syriac version of the N. T. was made before the expiration of the first century. But the premises themselves rest on very unstable ground, for, 1. It is improbable that a native Syrian would undertake the task of a Latin translator, and still more improbable that the Latin translation of a foreigner should have been received in a country where Latin was the native language. 2. It is impossible to shew with any colour of argument, that even the oldest Latin translations, such as those for instance contained in the Codd. Vercellensis and Veronensis, published by Blanchini, were made in the first century.

2. The necessity of a Syriac translation in the first century is not so obvious as our author contends, for in all the great cities of Syria Greek was at that time the current language. But if we admit the usefulness of such a translation, we must not conclude a *posse ad esse*; for on the very same principles we might infer, that the Anglo-saxon version was made in the same century in which Austin the monk introduced the Christian religion into England, a version which its most zealous advocates place no higher than the year 700. Besides, it is a matter of fact, though frequently denied, that in the early ages of Christianity, as well as in the later times of the Roman hierarchy, not all the books of the New Testament were permitted to be read indiscriminately by the laity in general; and as most of the Syrian priests in the

two first centuries understood Greek, a translation was unnecessary.

PAGE 30.

3. It is well known that the works of Melito no longer exist, if we except a few detached fragments preserved by Eusebius in the 4th book of his Ecclesiastical History, and his evidence for the antiquity of the Peshito rests on the authority of the following scholion, printed in the Roman edition of the Septuagint, Gen. xxii. 13. and there ascribed to Melito. *Ο Συρος και ο Εβραιος κρημαμενος φησιν, ως σαφεστερον τυπων τον Γαυρον.* Now admitting this scholion to be genuine, which is however a matter of doubt, does it follow that *ο Συρος* denotes the Peshito? Nay; it is impossible that the Peshito can be meant; for this version, Gen. xxii. 13. has a word not expressive of *κρημαμενος*, but of *κατεχομενος*, the reading of the Septuagint. But the scholion is probably spurious, and written long after the death of Melito; for when the Greek fathers quote *ο Συρος*, they understood not the Syriac version, but a work written in the fifth century. See Döderlein's essay, entitled, *Quis sit ο Συρος Veteris Testamenti interpretes*, published at Altdorf in 1772. After all, were the scholion genuine, and the old Syriac version intended to be expressed, the only inference that could be deduced would be, that the Syriac version of the Pentateuch existed before the close of the second century.

4. Our author here quotes Beausobre Hist. du Manicheisme, without referring to either volume, chapter, or page. But as he quotes it in support of the opinion that Manes was ignorant of Greek, he has acted prudently in not specifying the place, since Beausobre entertains a directly contrary opinion, which he supports by very good arguments. See his Hist. de Manichée et du Manicheisme, Tom. I. p. 95. The argument therefore for the antiquity of the Syriac version, drawn from the pretended ignorance of Manes, falls to the ground.

5. But as the same Syrian tradition, which refers the version of the New Testament to the first century, refers that of the Old Testament to the age of Solomon, it affords

affords at least a presumption, that one part of the tradition is as fabulous as the other.

PAGE 31.

6. This argument shews only, that the Syriac version existed before the middle of the fourth century.

PAGE 32.

7. The foregoing arguments prove nothing; for these four catholic epistles, with the book of Revelation, were even in later ages not admitted into the canon of the Syrian church, as appears from the list of canonical books given by Ebed Jesu who died in 1318. (*Assemani Bib. Or. Tom. III. P. I. p. 8*). The Peshito therefore would contain precisely the same books, whether made in the first, or the fourteenth century. Nor were they contained in the manuscript, which the Syrian Patriarchs sent to be printed in Europe, and from which Widmanstad's edition was taken.

8. This proves only that the Syriac translator understood his original, and that he made a proper distinction between the language of the primitive, and that of the hierarchical church.

9. This argument affords only a presumption that the Syriac version was made before the seventh century, when the irruption of the Saracens extirpated the Syriac, and introduced the Arabic in its stead.

10. See Ridley de vers. Syr. sect. 7. and Storr de vers. Syr. sect. 2—9.

11. The complete edition of the works of Ephrem was published at Rome in 1732—1747. in 6 vols. folio, under the following title, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quæ extant Græce, Syriace, et Latine*. The first volume of his Syriac works is the fourth volume of the whole work, and contains Ephrem's commentaries on the Pentateuch, and the historical books of the Old Testament; but he has interspersed a great number of quotations from the Syriac version of the N. T. It is necessary to observe, that among our author's references are several errata, for neither p. 37 nor 395 contain

quotations from the New Testament, and for Matth. xxii. 40. Ephes. ii. 19. and Luke i. 78. must be read Luke vi. 31. Ephes. ii. 11, 12, 13. and Luke i. 71.

PAGE 33.

12. That the old Syriac version is quoted by Ephrem, no one will deny. It is certain therefore that it existed in the fourth century, but as Ephrem is the oldest evidence, that can be produced, of its antiquity, it must remain a matter of uncertainty, whether it was made one, two, or three centuries previous to that period. And it is surely better to confess our ignorance on a subject, where we can arrive at no certainty, than subscribe to the fabulous legends of the Syrians. *Sed detur hæc venia antiquitati.*

The arguments hitherto alleged in these notes, with respect to the antiquity of the Syriac version, are merely negative, and shew only the invalidity of those arguments, which our author produces in favour of the hypothesis, that the Syriac version was made in the first century. But positive reasons may be advanced, which shew the hypothesis to be wholly ungrounded. No man could think of translating the Greek Testament, before its several parts were collected and united in a volume, or which is the same thing, before the sacred canon was formed. Now the ancient legend, that the canon was formed at Ephesus before the close of the first century, has been long rejected as unsupported by any authority whatsoever, and various writers, especially Griesbach in his *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, Sect. 2. § 12, and Semler in his *Commentarii historici de antiquo Christianorum statu*. Tom. I. p. 35—39. have shewn that the canon was not formed before the middle of the second century. Previous to that period therefore the Syriac version cannot possibly have existed.

S E C T. VII.

PAGE 33.

1. This answer is not perfectly satisfactory. The word in question is printed in the Widmanstad edition, not as our author has written it, but ܩܘܥܝܢܐ. Now it is well known that the Widmanstad edition is an exact representation of the Syriac MS. from which it was printed, and that only those words are pointed, in which doubt might arise, in the same manner as in the Syriac manuscripts. But Quoph has here a Revotzo, the first syllable therefore was designed to express not Cus but Ques: and even if we admit that Rish is a mistake for Dolath, how shall we account for the insertion of the Nun, if ܩܘܥܝܢܐ is the word intended to be expressed? It seems therefore more reasonable to conclude, that *quæstionarius** is the word actually meant by the old Syriac translator; for ܩܘܥܝܢܐ, as written in the Philoxenian version, has a totally different orthography from the word used in the Peshito. Besides, in the Philoxenian version, Matth. xxvii. 65. ܩܘܥܝܢܐ is marked with an asterisk, that refers to ܩܘܥܝܢܐ written in the margin, which leads to the conclusion, that Thomas of Harkel altered here the reading of the former version, on the authority of the Greek MSS. with which he collated it. (See White's edition, p. 153.) Nor is it necessary to adopt the hypothesis of Simon, in order to rescue the antiquity of the Syriac version, for Vossius was totally mistaken in saying in the place, to which our author refers, 'Infirmæ Latinitatis reperiuntur vocabula, quale est quod occurrit, Matth. xxvii. 65.' *Quæstionarius* is not infimæ, but mediæ latinitatis; it is used by Jerom in his Commentary on Joel ch. ii. and though he is the first author, in whose works it is actually found, there is no necessity for sup-
posing

* As pointed in Widmanstad's edition, the word expresses 'quæstionarii' in the plural, on account of the Ribbui, which is an additional argument that the singular noun 'custodia' was not meant: at least, that the person who added the Ribbui did not take it in that sense, if it was not added by the translator himself.

probable that the Syriac translator intended nothing more than a literal translation of *ἐχέτω*, as *ܥܬܐ* signifies, not only tenuit, but cepit, and habuit.

2. If it was the intention of the Syriac translator to strengthen the expression of St. Paul, in order to recommend a state of celibacy, as our author conjectures, he has defeated his own purpose by using a word expressive of weakness, for if the recommendation of celibacy betrays weakness, the contrary inference must be deduced. But it is probable that the Syriac translator intended to express by *ܡܠܟܘܬܐ* 1 Cor. vii. 6. what St. Paul meant by *κατὰ συγγνωμὴν*, namely, 'unsupported by divine command,' in opposition to *κατ' ἐπιταγὴν*.

3. It is probable that the Syriac translator found this, either as scholion in the margin of the Greek manuscript, from which he translated, or even in the text itself, for Chrysostom quotes 1 Cor. vii. 7. in the following manner : *Θεῶν γὰρ πάντα ἀνδρὶ εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἐγκρατείᾳ*. (Chrysostomi Opera, Tom. X. p. 160. ed Montfaucon.) This circumstance is unfavourable to the high antiquity of the Syriac version, though on the other hand it is possible that *ܡܠܟܘܬܐ* itself was obtruded on the Syriac text, long after the version was made.

4. Yet it appears from the title prefixed to the Gospel of St. Matthew, in a manuscript of the Persic version, which formerly belonged to Dr. Pococke, that the Persians, at the time at least when that manuscript was written, believed that St. Matthew's Gospel was translated into Syriac at Antioch. See Wheloc's edition of the Persic version, in the page immediately preceding the second title-page. The Latin translation of this Persic title is, *Evangelium Matthæi, quod in urbe Palæstinæ lingua Hebraica dictum est, Antiochiæ vero Syriace conscriptum*.

PAGE 40.

5. Griesbach is of a very different opinion. See his *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, Sect. I. § 12.

PAGE 41.

6. It is true, that *Θεε μου, Σει μου, ινατι με ιγκατελιπες*, the Greek translation of Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani, is not rendered by the Syriac translator, Matth. xxvii. 46. but in the parallel passage, Mark xv. 34. the Greek translation is re-translated into Syriac.

PAGE 42.

7. See also the Notes 41—51. to that section.

8. Our author's conjecture receives additional force from the circumstance, that the Syriac translator has even departed from the Greek text, and expressed, not *της σφουδας αυτης*, but *της σφουδας της*.

PAGE 43.

9. *ܠܚ* signifies exaudivit, respondit, opitulatus est.

10. Bethphage is mentioned only three times in the N. T. and in these three instances not the least notice is taken of its distance from Jerusalem. There is no necessity therefore for ascribing to Bethphage a sense of which it is incapable, for though *ܠܚ* might signify a valley, or a road between two mountains, like the Arabic *وادي*, yet *ܠܚ ܕܒܬܦܗܓܐ* can have no other meaning than 'the habitation of the valley.'

11. *ܠܚ* signifies convenit and has no particular reference to the conflux of waters. Besides not this word, but *ܕܡܢ* corresponds to the Syriac *ܕܡܢ*, which signifies 1. opprobrium. 2. misericordia.

PAGE 45.

12. The Syriac translator, for *ακ εστι Κυριακον διειπρην φαγειν*, 1 Cor. xi. 20. expresses, non, sicut justum est die Domini, comeditis et bibitis.,

13. Schaaf's translation is generally esteemed correct.

S E C T. IX.

PAGE 46.

1. Griesbach, in the Preface to his Greek Testament, p. 14. says, Versio Syriaca ad juniores codices e variis recensioibus interpolatos reficta minoris pretii est quam multis videtur.

PAGE

PAGE 48.

2. This appears from the very Preface to the *Pseudo-critica Millio-Bengeliana*. The omissions therefore which our author supplies at the end of this section are not to be considered as faults.

PAGE 49.

3. But *αναθαρρος* is rendered in these two passages by two different words.

4. See Blanchini *Evangeliarium quadruplex*, P. II. p. 315. The Codex Vercellensis is here defective.

PAGE 50.

5. The Cod. Cant. has *ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα κρατήσας ἡγεί-
πει αὐτὴν*.

6. *Evangeliarum quadruplex*, P. II. p. 319.

7. But even in Widmanstad's edition, fol. 38. *ن* in this passage, though in other respects unpointed, is written with a Ribbui over the Nun. The plural therefore was intended to be expressed in the original MS. from which he took his edition, and the mark, by which it is denoted, is to be ascribed to the Syrians themselves, not to the punctuation of modern editors.

8. Namely, the Codex Vercellensis, Mark ii. 1. has *Cum introisset iterum in Capharnaum post dies, cognitum est, quod indomo esset*. *Evangel. quadr. P. II. p. 320*.

9. Namely, the Syriac version has *ܕܠܕܐ*, the Brixianus has inter quatuor.

10. The Cod. Cant. is quoted for *διὰ* by Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach, but the Cod. Stephani *β* is not quoted by the two last mentioned critics, on the supposition that this MS. is the very same with that, which Beza presented to the University of Cambridge.

S E C T. X.

PAGE 51.

1. See Ridley de vers. Syriacis, sect. 10.

2. Unde factum est, ut cum Syri articulo emphatico careant, qui Græcorum articulo præpositivo *ο, η, το* respondeat

respondeat, quem Hebræi per suum π exprimunt felicissime, hic noster, potius quam ut emphasin articuli Græci omiserit, pronomen tertiæ persone $\omega\iota$ passim substituerit, quod alioqui proprie valet *exivros* vel *avros*.

Ludov. de Dieu Præf. in Apocal. Syr.

PAGE 52.

3. As if *μυστηριον* were compounded of *μυσος*, *ηρα*, and *αιμα*, as Ridley has observed.

4. The erratum is not to be ascribed to the writer of the MS. but to the editor de Dieu. In the MS. itself it is written ܕܠܬܐ , which de Dieu copied without observing the point under the Dolath, and concluded therefore that the Ribbui, which merely denotes the plural, included also the point of a Rish. For this information I am indebted to Professor Paulus, who has examined this manuscript in the University Library at Leyden. He likewise mentioned that it is very neatly written on silk paper, in the modern round Syriac character. It is marked N° 18. among Scaliger's MSS. See p. 405. of the Leyden Catalogue, published in 1716. folio.

5. It is extraordinary that our author, who was educated in Halle, and whose father was Professor there above fifty years, should be able to give no further account of this MS. of the Syrian liturgy. On the supposition, that a knowledge of it might lead to some discoveries with respect to Scaliger's MS. from which de Dieu printed his edition, I have made the necessary inquiries, and am indebted for the following information to Professor Eberhard, and Dr. Schulze. It is actually in the library of the Orphan-house, and preserved not among the Syriac, but the Chaldee manuscripts, because it relates to the forms of Baptism, according to the Chaldee ritual. It is of the octavo size, very neatly written on vellum, in the modern round Syriac character, has on the first page a Syriac title, written partly in red and partly in black ink, consisting of thirteen lines, (two of which have been erased) which import merely the contents of the work. On the following page is a Latin title

title ab antiquâ manu, namely, Ordo Baptizandi juxta ritum Chaldæorum lingua Chaldaicâ, jussu Ill^{mi}, et Rev^{mi} D. Julii Antonii Sanctorii tituli S^{ci} Bartholomæi in insula S. R. E. presbyteri Card^{is} descriptus per Gaspar de Malavar Indum, servum olim deinde familiarem et diaconum Rev^{mi} D. Haaman Ignatii, olim Patriarchæ Jacobitarum, unum ex præceptoribus linguæ Chaldææ et Arabicæ in Collegio Neophytorum. Romæ mense Julii M.D.LXXX. The MS. therefore is very modern, and was written not in the East, but in Rome, and Caspar, or Gaspar, though a native of India, was one of the transcribers employed by the Propaganda. If therefore the Leyden MS. from which our common editions of the Syriac Revelation have derived their origin, was written by the same person, as there is reason to suppose, from the coincidence of the name and country of the copyist, Scaliger's manuscript must have been brought not from the East, but from Italy. See the following Note 7.

PAGE 53.

6. A Syriac catalogue of the works of Mar Aba, printed in Assemani Bib. Orient. Tom. III. P. I. p. 75. seems unfavourable to this conjecture; for though it is there said that Mar Abba translated the Old Testament from Greek into Syriac, and wrote commentaries on several of the epistles, yet no mention is made of a translation from any book of the New Testament. On the other hand Asseman quotes (Tom. II. p. 412.) a passage from an Arabic writer, who says that Mar Abba translated both the Old and the New Testament. No copies however of this version have been hitherto discovered, unless Scaliger's MS. of the Revelation, published by de Dieu, be considered as a fragment of it.

7. Codex anno 1582, Romæ descriptus ab autographo pervetusto ab ipso, ut perhibetur, Thoma Heracleensi exarato anno 622. Ridley de Vers. Syr. sect. 12. See also Adler's Vers. Syr. p. 78. who has there printed a specimen of this MS. and adds omnino eundem exhibit contextum

contextum qui in editionibus nostris typis expressus legitur. It follows therefore that Scaliger's MS. and the Florence MS. contain the text of one and the same version. But if we go a step further, and conclude from the subscription of the Florence MS. that they contain a part of the Philoxenian version, we involve ourselves in a difficulty, which Alder himself has felt, who contends that the style of the Philoxenian version is very different from that of the Revelation in the two above-mentioned manuscripts. Now all that the subscription of the Florence MS. imports is, that it was copied from an Autograph which Thomas had written with his own hand. This he might have done, though it were not translated by Polycarp, the author of the other books of the Philoxenian version; and the subscription, though it mentions the transcriber, leaves us wholly in the dark with respect to the translator. On the other hand, if the subscription imports that Thomas was not only the transcriber, but the translator, it is not extraordinary that the style of his translation should be different from that of Polycarp; and in that case we must make a distinction between the Philoxenian, and the Heracleian version. There is the following passage in Pococke's preface to his edition of the four catholic epistles, *Unum monere liceat Dionysium quendam (ita se vocat) qui commentariis Syris has una cum cæteris canonicis, et Actis Apostolorum, necnon Apocalypsi illustravit, in præfatione ad secundam Petri monere 'Epistolam secundam Petri non fuisse versam in linguam Syram cum libris, qui diebus antiquis redditi sunt; ideoque non inveniri, nisi in translatione Thomæ Episcopi, qui cognominatus est Heracleensis secundum nomen Heracleæ civitatis suæ.'* But after all the subscription itself is extremely suspicious; the autograph, from which the Florence MS. was copied, no longer exists, we have no other authority than the bare word of the copyist, and his veracity is at least dubious, since Ridley's Codex Heracleensis contains even the four catholic epistles which are wanting in the Peshito; but not the

the Revelation, whence it is reasonable to conclude that this book was never published by Thomas of Harkel.

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8. Professor Adler, on the contrary, in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 78. says of the printed Syriac version of the Revelation, *A genio Philoxenianæ versionis tantum differt, quantum a simplice. Accusativum quidem ut Philoxenus per Δ præfixum exprimit, sed tot Græcis verbis civitatem, vel potius peregrinitatem non dedit; voces vel phrases origine Syriacas Syriace reddidit, nulla superflua explicatione addita, ut cap. i. 8. conf. vers. Philox. Matth. xxvii. 46. Marc. v. 41. xiv. 36. verba composita non expressit ut συγκαινωνος, cap. i. 9. ἰαζομαι, conf. Philox. συλλογισμενος, Marc. iii. 5. ιεροφδοι, ix. 6. et alia multa, nomine propria more Syrorum non ad Græcorum pronuntiationem scripsit, verbo, literis non tam anxie inbæsit quam Philoxenus. Statuimus hanc Apocalypseos versionem ab alio quidem quam versio Syriaca vulgata Evangeliorum factam esse, sed Philoxenum auctorem non agnoscere.*

9. It is to be hoped that the curiosity of the learned will shortly be gratified, by the completion of Professor White's edition of the Codex Heracleensis. It will then appear, whether the Syriac version of the four catholic epistles wanting in the Peshito, which was published by Pococke, from a MS. in the Bodleian library, has the same text as the MS. of Ridley.

Since the first edition of these Notes was printed, Dr. White has published the Philoxenian version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles. Another volume containing the Epistles of St. Paul is shortly expected.

PAGE 55.

10. This is a necessary consequence, if the four catholic epistles, published by Pococke, and since admitted into the Syriac Testament, are no part of the Philoxenian version.

11. Dr.

11. Dr. Hassencamp's Remarks on our author's Introduction to the N. T., which relate only to the latter part of the first edition, were published at Marburg in 1767, under the following title, *Anmerkungen über die letzten Paragraphen des Herrn Hofrath Michaelis Einleitung ins N. T.* In the 34th and 35th pages, to which our author refers, Dr. Hassencamp quotes one example from the Syriac works, and five from the Greek works of Ephrem, in which different passages are introduced by the Syrian father from the second epistle of St. Peter; p. 42. he relates, that in Ephrem's Commentary on Genesis (Vol. I. p. 136. of his Syriac works) are expressions which appear to have been borrowed from the epistle of St. Jude, and that in the 3^d vol. of his Greek works the whole epistle of St. Jude is inserted. Now it must be observed, that the object of Dr. Hassencamp was merely to shew that the four catholic epistles, which were not admitted into the Peshito, were still acknowledged as divine by the Syrian fathers. But the present question in our author's Introduction relates to a totally different subject, namely, whether a Syriac version of these four epistles existed in the time of Ephrem; and this question remains wholly undecided. For though it appears that the Peshito existed in the time of Ephrem; because his Syriac quotations correspond with it, yet, as no other Syriac quotation has been produced from his works, in which a passage from these four epistles is alleged, than *ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*, 2 Pet. iii. 10. and even this short passage differs from the printed text, we can only conclude that he copied not from our present version, but we are left wholly in the dark, whether in quoting he translated for himself, or copied from some version already made. The Greek quotations decide nothing in the present question, for they shew only that the original was known to Ephrem. See Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. I. p. 44.

12. This inference is wholly ungrounded, for the existence of a Syriac version of the four catholic epistles is by no means necessary to procure them the title *ܡܬܝܬܝܢ*.
The

The passage in the Greek works of Ephrem, to which our author refers in the note, (where it must be observed that he means the Roman, not the Oxford edition) is, λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, μείζονα τῆς αὐτοῦ ἔχω χαράν, ὡς ἀκούω τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα περιπατεῖν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, where Ephrem quotes the fourth verse of the third epistle of St. John, which agrees with our printed text of the Greek Testament, except that the latter, instead of μείζονα τῆς has μείζοτεράν τῶν. It follows, therefore, that the Syrian father acknowledged the third epistle of St. John to be a part of holy scripture: but for the inference, that this epistle was already translated into Syriac, there seems to be no foundation, unless it could be shewn that Ephrem was unable to quote from the original, the contrary of which is known to be true. If it be argued, that an epistle, dignified by a Syrian father with the title ἡ γραφή, though not admitted into the canon of that church, would hardly have remained untranslated till the end of the fourth century, it may be answered, that no one will deny its possibility, or even probability, but evidence must be produced before it can be asserted as a fact.

13. By Philoxenian, our author here means the common printed text of the Revelation, but it appears from Note 8, that it is at least a matter of doubt whether this title can with propriety be applied to it.

14. سِرْمُو signifies 'sermo, oratio,' without any reference to metre. But Asseman, in his *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. I. p. 59. speaking of the compositions of Ephrem, quotes an Arabic passage relative to this subject, in which the correspondent word مبامر is used, and which he translates 'carmina.'

15. Dr. Hassencamp has here again, in his *Remarks*, p. 7—11. quoted from the works of Ephrem passages relative to the book of Revelation, with the same view as he had quoted passages relating to the four catholic epistles: but he draws no inference whatsoever with respect to the existence of a Syriac version of the Revelation in the time of Ephrem, nor from these premises

alone can any such inference be deduced. For it appears only that Ephrem was acquainted with the book of Revelation, not that he had a Syriac version before his eyes; and the same remarks, which were made in Note 11, are applicable in the present instance. The oldest writer, of whom it can be positively affirmed that he quoted from a Syriac version of the Revelation, is Jacob of Edessa, whose quotation will be examined at large at the end of this section; but how many years it was written before his time, we have at present not sufficient data to determine. Perhaps if the Syriac works of Ephrem were examined with more attention, some light might be thrown on a subject, which is now obscure.

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16. This quotation begins in the middle of the third verse, ends before the close of the sixth, and only the latter half of the fourth verse is quoted. I have copied, not from the transcript in our author's Introduction, in which are several errata, but from the Syriac works of Ephrem, and the original edition of de Dieu. The letters, which are printed with the Syriac text in reference to the notes, are placed at the end of each word to be noted, but in our author's German edition the marks of reference are placed in some cases before, in others after the word to be noted, which creates no small confusion. It is necessary to observe, that our author, in comparing the quotation of Jacob with the text of the same passage as it stands in the edition of de Dieu, presupposes throughout, that the latter is a part of the Philoxenian version, and this very hypothesis has led him to the supposed discovery of what he calls Philoxenian precision in some cases, where no such precision is visible. Those who adopt a different hypothesis, must for the term 'Philoxenian precision,' substitute 'precision of the author of the version published by de Dieu;' but it must be at the same time remarked, that Professor Adler, in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 79. absolutely denies that the same anxious exactness, which the author of the Philoxenian

Philoxenian version betrays, is visible, at least in so high a degree, in the Syriac printed text of the Revelation.

17. In the sixth verse Lomad is likewise prefixed to ܠܠܐ in the quotation of Jacob, it is therefore no distinguishing mark of the version published by de Dieu. But it does not appear to be an instance of precision, since ܠܠܐ corresponds more precisely to the Greek, than ܠܠܐ, though Lomad is frequently used in the Philoxenian version, as well as in the version of the Revelation, to denote the accusative. With respect to ܐܝܢܐ, 'omnino,' which our author says is added paraphrastically, though it is difficult to comprehend in what the paraphrase consists, it is necessary to observe, that not only this word, but likewise the words ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ, are peculiar to the quotation of Jacob, at least in this particular position, though our author has inserted them in the same part of the passage quoted from de Dieu. But I have omitted them in the copy of the printed text, as making no part of the third verse, for they are found in that part of the fourth verse, which is here not quoted, and are the translation of *κατασκευασθη χυσις*. It seems then, that Jacob quoted from memory, as he has inserted in the third verse, a phrase which belongs to the fourth; and this very circumstance is favourable to Storr's hypothesis, though the learned critic has not observed it himself.

18. It is true that *καθημαι* is translated by ܐܝܢܐ; 'equivitavit' in the old Syriac version, John xii. 15. but ver. 14. *καθημαι* is translated by ܐܠܐ, the very word, which is used in the printed text of the Revelation, and which our author censures as not being so good a translation as the word used by Jacob.

PAGE 57.

19. 'Inter oculos' is in Syriac ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ, and ܐܝܢܐ signifies rather 'domicilium oculorum,' though ܐܝܢܐ is frequently written contracted ܐܝܢܐ, as Gen. i. 4.

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20. But if Jacob quoted from memory, as appears from Note 17, a perfect coincidence is not to be expected; and the foregoing inquiry leaves the question undecided.

21. It is true that these words are in the text of de Dieu, but they are not in the position which corresponds to their place in the quotation of Jacob, who has them in the third verse, whereas in the text of de Dieu they are in that part of the fourth verse, which is not quoted here. Our author has inserted them in the third verse, but as this is not warranted by the text of de Dieu, I have omitted them.

S E C T. XI.

PAGE 58.

1. Chorepiscopus, τῆς χώρας ἐπισκοπός. See Mosheim de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum M. p. 137.


PAGE 60.

2. To prevent mistakes, it is necessary to observe that Ridley received from Amida, or as it is at present called Diarbekr, four manuscripts, the second and third of which, according to his arrangement, are copies of the Syriac New Testament. His Codex 2, or Codex Heracleensis, contains the Philoxenian version throughout, and is that which was collated by Wetstein, and published by White. His Codex 3, or Codex Barsali-bæi, has the text of the Philoxenian version in the Gospels, though with additions not found in the original Philoxenian: but in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the epistles, it has the text of the Peshito. This is what our author means by Ridley's second manuscript.

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3. An extract from this part of our author's Or. Bibl. is unnecessary, because he himself has given it at the end of this section. But as he has not quoted all the examples, they will be supplied occasionally in these notes.

4. Professor Adler's description of the Roman manuscripts of the Philoxenian version may be seen in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 59—74.

5. The only copy of the Syriac subscription to the Philoxenian version, which had been at that time published, was in Assemani *Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 93.* and in the third plate, annexed to p. 541. of the first part of Blanchini *Evangeliarum quadruplex*, where a fac simile is given of this subscription as written in the *Codex Angelicus*, though a Latin translation of the subscription of the Florence MS. had been published by Le Long in his *Bibl. sacra*. That the Latin translations, which had been published by Asseman, Wetstein and Storr, differed from each other, is by no means extraordinary, since they translated from the subscriptions of different MSS. in which the Syriac text itself varies; Asseman from the *Codex Angelicus* (*Bibl. Or. Tom. II. p. 95.*) Wetstein from the *Codex Heracleensis* (*Prol. p. 112.*) and Storr from the *Codex Parisinus* (*De Vers. Syr. p. 44.*) The Syriac text of the first and third of these MSS. as also of the *Codex Assemanianus 1*, is printed in Adler's *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 45—47. that of the second is here printed by our author from the Oxford edition. He has annexed to it a German translation, but I have substituted Wetstein's Latin translation, because the latter, if we except a single word, which is not warranted by the original, and which I have therefore omitted, adheres more closely to the Syriac than our author's German translation. I have likewise inserted the translation of , and of the last clause, which Wetstein had omitted as having no immediate reference to the history of the Philoxenian version. But there is one expression

6. A description of these three manuscripts is given by Adler, who calls them Codd. Assemaniani, 1, 2, 3. in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 63, 64. 76. Of the second he says, *Omnibus, quos laudavi, codicibus præstat codex Evangeliorum Assemanianus 2.* But of the third, he says that they are mistaken, who suppose it to be Philoxenian, for it contains the text of the Peshito, and the error has been occasioned by the absurdity of the transcriber, who has annexed to the old Syriac version the subscription of the new, which he has at the same time strangely altered and perverted. To prevent mistakes, it may not be improper to add, that in several dissertations on the Philoxenian version, in that for instance written by Professor Storr, and published in the seventh volume of the *Repertorium*, the very best which has hitherto appeared, these three MSS. are quoted by the title *Codices xi. xiv, xv.* because they were thus noted in the library of Joseph Simon Asseman, who bequeathed them to Evodius Asseman, as appears from the account communicated to White, p. 641. 645. 648. of his edition of the Philoxenian version. But by Evodius Asseman they must again have been differently numbered, for Adler, who examined them in his library, says of the first, '*adser-vabatur inter codices Syriacos Assemanianos numero ix.*' of the second, '*numero x.*' unless we suppose that there is an erratum in one of the two accounts. Where they

they have been deposited since the death of Evodius Asseman is unknown.

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7. For that reason Adler, p. 47. suspects them to be spurious. It may be likewise remarked as a peculiarity in the Codex Angelicus, which our author has not noted, that the date 819. of Alexander is there omitted.

8. Professor Storr conjectures (*Repertorium*, Vol. VII. p. 14.) that the genuine reading is 'duo exemplaria Græca,' as found in the Cod. Ridl. Par. and Asseman. 1. that 'tria' was noted in the margin of the subscription in the Asseman, 1. by some critic, who had observed the following note in the Phil. vers. Matth. xxviii. 5. relative to the word Nazarene. 'In tribus exemplaribus Græcis et uno Syriaco, antiquo illo, non inventum est nomen Nazarenum,' (p. 154. of White's edition) and that hence, in later transcripts, 'tria' was inserted in the text of the subscription, as in the Codd. Angel. Asseman. 2, 3.

9. The first explanation of Asseman seems to be the best, for according to the latter, there is not only a tautology, but a very forced construction.

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10. The Paris MS. has [ⲁⲛ], but Adler, p. 48. says of this whole passage, 'Hæc verba additamenta esse quis non sentit?'

11. This conjecture is founded on the following passage in the description communicated to White by Evodius Asseman, (p. 647.) 'Ad calcem evangelii S. Johannis calligraphus describit epigraphen Thomæ Heracleensis, quam in præcedenti codice retuli.' But as the word ⲙⲟⲗ is in some MSS. retained, in others omitted, this general assertion of Asseman, that the two MSS. have the same subscription, leads to no positive conclusion, with respect to the word ⲙⲟⲗ in particular. Unfortunately we are deprived of the means of determining the question, for since the time that Asseman wrote this

letter, not only the subscription, but the latter part of St. John's Gospel, from chap. xviii. to the end, has either been stolen from this MS. or by some accident has been lost. See Adler's *Vers. Syr.* p. 65.

12. I have here taken the liberty, for our author's German translation, and a part of the Syriac text, which he has so intermixed with the translation as to create confusion, to substitute the Latin version of Evodius Asseman, printed in White's edition of the Philoxenian version, p. 649. The last part of the subscription, which was not communicated by Asseman, may be seen in Adler's *Vers. Syr.* p. 77.

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13. This remark implies that the edition of Thomas, and that of the year 616, were two different editions, the improbability of which will appear from Note 23.

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14. For an account of these marginal readings, see Storr de *Vers. Syriacis*, sect. 25. 28. and Adler's *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 79. Whether all the marginal notes proceeded from Thomas, or whether many of them are not to be ascribed to a later critic, or critics, is a subject, on which the learned are still divided. The use of the obeli and asterisks, which Thomas appears to have adopted from Origen's Hexapla, is described in White's Preface to the Philoxenian version, § 6. This learned writer is of opinion, that they were designed to shew the difference between the Philoxenian text and the Greek MSS. with which it was collated. Wetstein and Storr, on the contrary, suppose that they were intended to point out the difference between the new and the old Syriac versions. All three agree in the opinion, that the readings in the text, marked with asterisks, were taken from Greek MSS., but to this Professor Adler objects, (*Biblisch-critische Reise*, p. 107.) and relates that readings are very frequently marked with asterisks, where it is expressly said that they are not in Greek MSS. He
5 adds,

adds, that they are used in so indiscriminate a manner, as to make it difficult to determine their real design. At present however (in 1801) the reader may consult Dr. White's *Præmonitio de asteriscis et obelis in codice Ridleiano usurpatis*, which is prefixed to his edition of the Philoxenian version of the Acts and the Catholic Epistles.

15. This Syriac word our author, with Wetstein, and most other German writers, expresses in European characters by Charkel, because *ch* in German, has nearly the same guttural sound as *ܫ* in Syriac. Ridley has imitated Wetstein, as being unacquainted with the German pronunciation, but as *ch*, when pronounced by an Englishman, has not the least similarity to the Syriac Heth, which the Germans express by Cheth, I have written the word Harkel, in the same manner as Asseman has followed the Italian orthography, and written it Harchel. The Latin word adopted by Asseman, and received by subsequent Latin writers to express the Syriac ܡܚܠܐ, by no means corresponds to the Syriac name, which ought to be expressed in Latin by Harcelea, and the adjective should be written not Heracleensis, but Harcelensis, or contracted Harclensis, as Adler has written it. Besides, the word Heraclea is attended with this very material inconvenience, that most readers are led by it into the error of supposing it to be a city called by the Greeks *Ηρακλεια*, whereas it was a paltry town or village in the East, of which the Greeks had no knowledge.

16. See Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. II. p. 91. Not. 1.

17. This word is written in Syriac ܡܚܠܐ, Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. II. p. 92. but he says, p. 91. *Syris hodie ܡܚܠܐ et ܡܚܠܐ appellatur.*

18. For that very reason he cannot have been the new editor of the Philoxenian version, since a contemporary of Philoxenus would hardly have undertaken a new edition of a version just published.

19. That

19. That Asseman had really historical evidence on his side, appears from the following passage of Bar Hebræus, quoted in *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. II. p. 334. Sub hæc tempora (scil. anno Græcorum 927, vel Christi 616) Thomas Heracleensis cœnobii Taril monachus, qui a puero in Kenserinensi monasterio literis Græcis excultus postea Mabugi episcopus fuit, exagitatus autem a Domitio Melitensi in Ægyptum profectus est, habitavitque in Anton Alexandriæ, in sacro Antoniarum monasterio, ubi memorabili diligentia sacrum Evangeliorum codicem, et reliquos Novi Testamenti libros admodum exacta et accurata emendatione restituit, post primam versionem Philoxeni Mabugensis studio elaboratam. This account of Bar Hebræus, who was undoubtedly the very best historian the Syrians ever had, agrees so exactly with the subscription of the Philoxenian version in the copies now extant, that there seems no longer room for doubt. To the testimony of Bar Hebræus, may be added the evidence of an anonymous Syriac writer, quoted by Asseman in his *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. II. p. 90, 91. who confounds indeed, in his relation, the cities of Germanicia and Mabug, but expressly asserts that the Thomas of Harkel, who corrected and published the Philoxenian version, lived in a century subsequent to the age of Philoxenus. We must conclude therefore, that the bishop of the name of Thomas, who was alive in the year 533, and died at Samosata, had no connexion whatsoever with the new edition of the Philoxenian version:

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20. For the sake of perspicuity, it is necessary to transcribe the whole passage which Asseman has quoted from Bar Hebræus. Atque hi characteres sunt ætatis Thomæ Heracleensis, qui primam Novi Testamenti versionem a Mar Philoxeno Mabugensi elaboratam emendavit. Verum annus quo Aba ordinatus est, nimirum sub Chosroe Anuscervano octo supra septuaginta annis præcedit eum, quo Biblia in Anton Alexandriæ a Thoma emendata sunt,

sunt, videlicet Græcorum nongentesimum vigesimum septimum. Alius igitur fortasse extitit Thomas doctor, ante Thomam Heracleensem. Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 411. This account again confirms what was related in the preceding note, and there is no contradiction or difficulty whatsoever. For it is evident that Mar Aba was not a contemporary of Thomas of Harkel, and it is the more extraordinary that our author should confound the preceptor of Mar Aba with the editor of the Philoxenian version, as the former is expressly called, in the page above quoted, Thomas quidam Jacobita.

21. Here our author seems to have misunderstood Professor Storr, for though this learned writer is of opinion that not all the marginal readings are to be ascribed to Thomas of Harkel, yet he assumes not two different editions, one by Thomas, another in 616, for he maintains that they are one and the same. Hanc versionem Syriacam sæculo sexto factam, et *sequenti* a Thoma Heracleensi cum codicibus Græcis comparatam, &c.

Storr de vers. Syr. sect. 22.

22. See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 113.

23. It appears from the foregoing description, that our author assumes four editions of the Philoxenian version. 1. The original edition of the version made by Polycarp, under the patronage of Philoxenus in the year 508. 2. The edition by Thomas of Harkel, who collated it with Greek manuscripts at Alexandria. 3. The edition of 616, likewise at Alexandria, of which the editor is not mentioned. 4. The edition of Barsalibæus in the twelfth century.

Other critics on the contrary contend, that what are here called the 2^d and 3^d editions, are in fact one and the same. The question may be best determined by a proper explanation of the above-quoted subscription to this version. The first edition is clearly distinguished from the second by the words, 'Collatus fuit postea a me Thoma.' The third likewise seems to be distinguished from the second by the words, 'Iterum scriptus est et collatus in loco dicto anno 927 Alexandri (616 Christi).'

But

But as no date is annexed to the second part of the subscription, in which mention is made of the collation of Thomas, it is possible, and even probable, that the date 616 refers not only to the time, in which the transcripts were taken, but likewise to the time, in which the editor Thomas lived. This conjecture derives additional force from the circumstance, that the transcripts were made at Alexandria, where the Syriac language was unknown, and where copies would not have been taken of the Syriac version, but on some such extraordinary occasion as that of the residence of Thomas of Harkel in that city, with a view of collating Greek manuscripts. Instead, therefore, of translating the word ܡܠܟܐ by 'iterum,' the whole subscription would become intelligible if we translated it by 'porro;' and it is certainly capable of this sense, because the correspondent Chaldee word ܡܠܟܐ, signifies not only iterum, but amplius, and ulterius. A word expressive of porro, has a very proper reference to ܡܠܟܐ 'primum,' in the first part of the subscription, which applies to the original translator, and to ܡܠܟܐ 'postea,' in the second, which relates to the new editor Thomas, whereas if ܡܠܟܐ be supposed to refer to a third editor, and be explained 'iterum,' or 'secunda vice,' it seems to involve a contradiction. But, setting this argument aside, it cannot be denied that the words ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ admit at least the sense of 'porro scriptus est,' and in that sense they will have reference not to a new editor, but to the transcriber who was charged with taking copies of the edition of Thomas; and 'collatus est,' which is not followed by 'exemplaribus Græcis,' as in the second part of the subscription, can have no reference to a new collation, but relates merely to the comparison of each copy, which the transcriber had taken, with the original delivered to him by the editor, in order to correct the errata. That this explanation is agreeable to the truth, is probable, because it removes every difficulty: but the following considerations put the matter out of doubt. In the sentence immediately following the date 616, the writer speaks in the first person, 'quantum

tam molestiam habuerim: he speaks also in the first person in the second part, '*collatus est a me Thoma,*' whereas the account given in the first part, relative to the original translator, is delivered in the third person. It necessarily follows therefore, that '*collatus est a me Thoma,*' and '*quantam molestiam habuerim,*' refer to one and the same person, and that the whole subscription was written by Thomas himself: for had it been composed by a later editor, he would have used the third person in speaking of Thomas, as well as in speaking of Philoxenus. If it be still objected, that the whole may be a composition of two different subscriptions, that of Thomas ending with the words '*monasterio sancto Antoniano,*' and that of the new editor beginning with '*Porro scriptus est et collatus,*' we may reply, 1. That a new editor would have mentioned his own name, which he could have done, if really an editor, with the same propriety as Thomas. 2. That he would probably have retained the whole of the subscription written by the former editor. But the third part of the subscription contains no new name, and the subscription written by Thomas could hardly have ended with '*monasterio sancto Antoniano,*' for in that case there would have failed, what was seldom omitted in subscriptions of this kind, both the date and the usual benediction.

It seems then that there are only two editions of the Philoxenian version. 1. The original translation as it proceeded from the hands of Polycarp in the year 508. 2. As revised, corrected, and re-published at Alexandria by Thomas of Harkel in 616. The single copy of the four Gospels, with the alterations of Barsalibæus in the twelfth century, is hardly entitled to the name of a new edition. All the manuscripts, which have the above-mentioned subscription, belong of course to the second edition; but as the Codex Florentinus, described by Adler in his *Vers. Syriacæ*, p. 52—55. has neither this subscription, nor the marginal readings, it is perhaps a copy of the first edition. It may be likewise remarked, as Adler says of this manuscript '*contextus ab Harclensi recensione*

recensione parum differre videtur,' that Thomas of Harkel acted probably in his edition of the new Syriac version, as Griesbach has done in his edition of the Greek Testament, altering the text in those cases only where it was manifestly erroneous, and referring the other readings to the margin.

A catalogue of manuscripts of the Philoxenian version is given by Ridley, *De vers. Syr.* sect. 12. and he has described his own manuscript sect. 13. Storr has described the Paris manuscript in his *Dissertation de vers. Syr.* sect. 23—29. and the Bodleian manuscript sect. 30—32. It is described also in Uri's Catalogue, N°. 16. among the Syriac manuscripts. A very accurate and critical description of Italian, and other manuscripts of this version, is given by Adler in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 52—79. who has at the same time corrected several mistakes in Ridley's catalogue. Professor Paulus likewise published at Helmstadt, in 1788, a small pamphlet, entitled, *Accuratio manuseriptorum, quibus versio N. T. Philoxeniana continetur, catalogus, cum quibusdam ad viros eruditos questionibus*. But though every one must be curious to read what is written by so learned an author, the pamphlet is so scarce, that it is at present not to be procured. Lastly, it may be observed, that since Ridley's *Codex Heracleensis* contains the text of the Philoxenian version, in the Acts and in the Epistles, as well as in the Gospels, it is the only known manuscript which contains the whole of this version, not excepting the celebrated *Codex Angelicus*. See Adler's *Vers. Syr.* p. 74.

24. Our author here alludes to Storr's *Dissertatio de versionibus Syriacis*, published in 1772, in which is a particular chapter *De versionis indole*, p. 81—100. but it is extraordinary that he makes no mention of the very best critical description that has been hitherto given of the Philoxenian version, likewise written by Professor Storr, and published in 1780, in the seventh volume of the *Repertorium*.

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25. See the Notes to sect. 6. particularly Note 12.

26. Our author has here given the same examples as in his Introduction, with the addition of two others, *λεπτα*, Mark xii. 42. and *καταμικον*, Mark xiv. 13. which the author of the Philoxenian version has retained, and written in Syriac characters.

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27. Here again are given the same examples, to which are added some other instances of this ridiculous mode of translating, for instance *συλλυπημένος*, Mark iii. 5. by *ܐܡܝܢ ܥܡ ܥܡܝܢ* 'simul et contristatus,' in order to express the Greek *συ*, and *εφοβος*, Mark ix. 6. by *ܥܡ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ* 'e timore,' in order to express the Greek *ε*.

28. An example of this kind, which our author gives in his Orient. Bibl. is *Φαρε*, which in one instance is written *ܦܐܪܐ*, according to the Oriental orthography, in another *ܦܐܪܐܐ*, in imitation of the Greek.

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29. Literally 'in loco loco,' that is 'in singulis locis.'

30. Namely, with the Codex Alexandrinus, Mark v. 7. 11. with the Codex Collegii Novi, ch. v. 15. with the Montfortianus, ch. i. 31. the Parisinus sextus, ch. viii. 17. and Stephani octavus, ch. vi. 24. xiv. 43.

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31. Our author should rather have said in all the manuscripts of the Philoxenian version at present known, except the Codex Barsalibæi, and the Codex Parisinus, in which last MS. it is not in the text, but only in the margin. (Storr de vers. Syr. p. 55.) Whether the Codex Barsalibæi has it in the text, or in the margin, Dr. Ridley has not related. Asseman, in his catalogue of the Medicean library published at Florence in 1752, had asserted that the passage was contained in the Codex Florentinus, but Adler, who has carefully examined this MS.

MS. says in his Vers. Syr. p. 55. Deest certe et in nostro, et omnibus quos vidi utriusque versionis Syriacæ exemplis.

32. Storr says only *paullo* aliter, quam versionis exemplar Usanianum, e quo locus venit in editiones plures. And this trifling difference is such as to leave no room for doubt that the translation of this passage, as it stood in A. Usher's MS. whether in the margin or in the text, was the very same version, as is found in the margin of the Paris manuscript. This appears from Note 41 to the second section of this chapter.

33. That is, the Codex Heracleensis.

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34. The Codex Barsabæi.

35. Because the word would then be in statu emphatico, and could have no reference to ἐν in which case the passage of the Philoxenian version would literally express $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$, $\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\phi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\eta\ \eta\ \epsilon\alpha\pi\eta$.

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36. See Note 13. to Chap. vi. sect. 8. Also Adler's Vers. Syr. p. 64, 65.

37. In addition to those selected by Wetstein, a very complete collection of the various readings of the Philoxenian version of the four Gospels, in reference to the Greek text, has been communicated by Professor Storr in the tenth volume of the Repertorium, p. 1—58. And in the seventh volume of the Repertorium, p. 3—5. 27—38. 51. 75. he has corrected the mistakes, which had been made by Wetstein. Of the marginal readings Professor Adler has given a very accurate collation in his Vers. Syr. p. 79—134; of which he says, quantum pretium hisce variis lectionibus e codicibus collectis, qui septimo sæculo præstantiores jam haberentur, tribuendum sit quisque facile judicabit.

S E C T. XII.

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1. The only translation hitherto discovered of Mar Abba, or Paul the monk, is the story of the adulteress in the Cod. Barsalibæi and Codex Parisinus. An Arabic writer, quoted by Asseman in his *Orient. Bibl. Tom. II. p. 412.* relates that Mar Abba translated into Syriac both the Old and New Testament, but no copies of this version are at present known. With respect to Paul the monk, it is difficult to determine who he was, or whether he translated more than the above-mentioned passage in the Paris manuscript. Asseman, though he has a long list of Bishops of the name of Paul, mentions only three monks of that name (*Tom. III. P. I. p. 286. 489. 498.*), but no translation is ascribed to any one of them, nor even to any Bishop of that name, except to Paul of Tela. If we suppose these two persons to be one and the same, the story of the adulteress must be the only part of the New Testament which he translated, for Bar Hebræus ascribes to Paul of Tela a translation only of the Old. See *Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 48.* After all, the tradition recorded in the Paris MS., which ascribes the translation of John viii. 1—11. to Paul, is probably false, if it be true that Mar Abba translated the passage in the Codex Barsalibæi, for both MSS. have the text of one and the same translation. See Note 41 to sect. 2.

2. The *Horreum mysteriorum* of Bar Hebræus has never been published, and the only few extracts which we have of this celebrated, and, as is said, valuable work, are those which have been given by Asseman in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis.*

3. It is well known that the reading of the printed Syriac text Acts xx. 28. is *ecclesiam Christi*, but in the *Codex Syriacus Vaticanus 21*, Adler found the reading *ecclesiam Dei.* See his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 17.

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4. Asseman, in his *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. II. p. 283. says, 'Præterea duæ aliæ Syriacæ, præter simplicem cui presse inhæret, versiones identidem (scil. in Horreo mysteriorum) citantur, nimirum Heracleensis et Karkaphensis, hoc est Montana, qua videlicet incolæ montium utuntur.' Now as the words *Heracleensis* and *Karkaphensis* are immediately preceded by 'præter simplicem,' it seems from this description that the *Karkaphensis* was a version as distinct from the simplex, as the *Heracleensis*. But several critics have supposed it to be only a particular edition of the Peshito, or even nothing more than the name of some celebrated MS. of that version, because our author asserts that the *Karkaphensis* was used by the Nestorians, who are known to have adhered to the Peshito. But this assertion is grounded on no authority; for Asseman, Tom. III. P. II. p. 379. where he speaks of the Eastern Nestorians, makes no mention of the *Karkaphensis*, and, Tom. II. p. 283. where he speaks of the *Karkaphensis*, he says only that it was used by the inhabitants of the mountains; without determining to what party they belonged. It is true that in the sentence immediately following that, which is quoted at the beginning of this note, he speaks of the variæ lectiones Nestorianorum, but this sentence he introduces by the word *Demum*, which excludes all connection between them and the *Karkaphensis*. The preceding supposition is confirmed by an observation, for which I am indebted to Professor Paulus, that in Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* T. II. p. 500. is described a Chaldee MS. with the following title, *Onomasticon, seu Lectiones Vet. et Nov. Testamenti juxta traditionem Karkaphitarum, hoc est Syrorum in montanis habitantium*. Professor Adler, on the contrary, contends that the *Karkaphensis*, or as some write it *Carcufensis*, is not a distinct version from the versio simplex. The question can never be decided with any certainty, till the extracts are collated, which Bar Hebræus has given of this version in his *Horreum Mysteriorum*;

orum; a work which was never printed, but it is preserved in manuscript in the Medicean library, and described in the catalogue of Ewaldius Asseman. There is also a MS. in the Bodleian library containing the Syriac works of Bar Hebræus, noted Codex 6. among Huntingdon's manuscripts, and described T. I. p. 279, N° 5752 of the *Catalogi MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*. It is also described in Uri's Catalogue, N° XXV. among the Syriac manuscripts.

5. Professor Adler's biblical and critical journey to Rome, or, according to the German title, *Biblisches Reise nach Rom*, was published at Altona in 1783. But he has given the most complete description of this MS. in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 137—202. published at Copenhagen in 1789. The eighth copper-plate annexed to this important work contains a fac simile of the characters of the MS. being a copy of Mat. xxvii. 12—22. As the description is given in Latin, and therefore intelligible to every reader, an abstract may appear unnecessary, but as the MS. is of great importance, contains a version hitherto unknown, and this treatise, which is the only one where an account of it is to be found, may be difficult to be procured in England, I will extract the few following particulars in addition to what is mentioned by our author, who published the fourth edition of his *Introduction* before Adler's *Versiones Syriacæ* appeared, and who therefore could communicate no more, than what he had received in letters from Adler, during his residence in Rome.

The manuscript is written on thick vellum, consists of 196 leaves of the quarto size, and each page is divided into two columns. It appears from the subscription that the transcript was taken in a monastery at Antioch in the year 1030. Its characters approach more nearly to the Hebrew than the ancient Syriac, in Dolath the point is omitted which distinguishes it from Rish, and the letters F and P, both of which are expressed in the common Syriac Alphabet by *ⲡ*, are here denoted by two separate characters. In confirmation of the opinion that the dia-

lect, in which it is written, was that spoken in Jerusalem, Adler produces a variety of Greek words adopted in this version, many of which are used indeed in the Philoxenian, but most of which are found in the writings of the Talmudists, and in the Talmud of Jerusalem. He likewise gives an alphabetical list of Oriental words, that are peculiar to the Jerusalem dialect. In addition to the remark which our author has made that the status emphaticus is expressed not by | as in common Syriac, but by |., and that the 3^d pers. of the future is denoted not by Nun but by Jod, characteristic marks which distinguish the East from the West Aramæan dialect, may be added that the pronoun of the third person affixed to plural nouns is not ܐܢܐ as in the common Syriac or West Aramæan, but generally ܐܢܐ. Various exceptions however must be made, which Adler ascribes to the negligence of the transcriber, p. 147. *mox Syriacæ orthographiæ vel grammaticæ adhæret, mox in alia omnia abit; cui amanuensis inconstantia vel negligentia illud etiam tribuo, quod prima persona futuri interdum Jud, vel Nun præformativum habeat, quod ab omnibus orientali-um linguis prorsus alienum est.* After having given a specimen of this MS. taken from Matth. xxvii. 3—32. he observes, *satis constat ex his speciminibus dialectum esse incultam et inconcionam Chaldaicæ, similiorem quam Syriacæ; orthographiam autem vagam, inconstantem arbitriam, et ab imperito librario rescribendo et corrigendo denuo impeditam.* He then gives a long and accurate collation of the readings of this version with those of the most ancient and best Greek MSS. the result of which inquiry with respect to the Cambridge and Vatican MSS. is the following, Itaque inter CLXV. varietates, undecies sequitur versio Hierosolymitana solum codicem D, eundemque, uno alterove alio accedente quatuordecies, vel plurimis affinibus Cantabrigiensi suffragantibus quinquagies quater. Summa LXXIX. Vaticano autem calculum addit soli ter, et, aliis variorum ordinum libris concinentibus, bis et octogies. Summa LXXXV. The story of the adulteress, which is omitted in

in the Peshito and Philoxenian, is found in this version, which passage is printed by Adler, p. 190. and on which he observes, *concinit fere cum codice Cantabrigiensi*: and Matth. xxvii. 17. it expresses, *quem vultis e duobus dimittam vobis, Jesum Bar Rabban, an Jesum qui dicitur Christus*, (see Note 23 to the 11th section of the preceding chapter.) Lastly, with respect to the antiquity of this version, the learned writer closes his account in the following manner. *Ostendimus eam antiquissimis auctoritatibus suffragari, perantiquos codices Vaticanum et Cantabrigiensem plerumque sequi, Patribus quoque Origeni, Chrysostomo, aliis, non raro adstipulari: quæ faciunt ut magnam quoque versioni antiquitatem auctoritatemque tribuere velimus. Obstare quidem videtur dialectus, inculta non solum et barbara, sed multis quoque vocabulis exoticis referta, græcis atque adeo latinis, quæ vix usu recepta fuerint apud Judæos ante sæculum post Christum natum sextum. Sed tamen, cum eandem dialectum reperiamus in Talmude Hierosolymitano, qui ex plurimorum, ni fallimur, eruditorum consensu circa sæculum quartum absolutus fuit (libris enim Cabbalisticis Bahir et Zohar immerito tam remota antiquitas a Judæis tribuitur), non impedit quo minus interpretationem nostram eodem circiter tempore, vel saltem intra quartum et sextum sæculum Hierosolymis editam fuisse statuere audeamus. In point of antiquity therefore it holds a middle rank between the Peshito and the Philoxenian. The readings of this important version, which had been extracted by Adler, are quoted by Professor Birch in his edition of the Greek Testament under the title Versio Syra Hierosolymitana.*

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6. Professor Adler has adopted the title *Versio Hierosolymitana*, but Father Georgi has proposed another title, that of *Versio Syriaco-Assyriaca*, to which Adler objects. See *Epistolæ*, una R. P. Antonii Georgii *Eremitæ* Augustin. Procuratoris generalis, altera Jacobi Georgii Chr. Adleri in quibus loca nonnulla operis

Adleriani de versionibus Syriacis examinantur: Hafnise 1791.

S E C T. XIII.

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1. The best accounts of the Coptic version are given in Simon *Histoire Critique des versions du Nouveau Testament*, ch. 16. in the Preface to Wilkins's edition of the Coptic N. T. published at Oxford in 1716, in *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra*, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. sect. 10. and particularly by the learned Woide in a German essay printed in 1778, in the third volume of the *Kielische Beyträge*, p. 1—100. The whole of this essay, which contains not only historical but critical accounts of the Egyptian versions both Coptic and Sahidic, highly deserves to be translated into English, a task which I shall perhaps undertake when the present work is completed, and will in the mean time, as a supplement to our author's description, select some few remarks relative to the New Testament.

2. Niebuhr, in his description of Arabia, p. 86. relates, that though the Gospels are still read in the Coptic version in the public service, it is not understood even by the priests, and that immediately after the lessons have been read in Coptic, the same are read in Arabic, which is the present language both of the upper and the lower Egypt.

3. Woide published likewise at Oxford, in 1778, a Coptic and Sahidic Grammar under the following title, *Christ. Scholz Grammatica Ægypti utriusque dialecti, quam brevavit, illustravit, edidit C. G. Woide*. An excellent Coptic Grammar was also published at Parma in 1783 under the title, *Didymi Taurinensis literaturæ Copticæ rudimentum*.

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4. Woide, p. 97. of the essay above-quoted, contends that the Egyptian version used by Antonius in the third century

century was written not in the Sahidic but the Coptic; because it is related by Palladius, that Antonius lived in a monastery of Alexandria, where the former was not understood. He concludes therefore, as Antonius actually read an Egyptian version of the Bible, and was so ignorant as to understand only the dialect of his own country, (for Athanasius says of him *μη μεμαθηκε γραμματα*) that the Coptic version existed before the middle of the third century. See Wilkins's Prolegomena, p. 5. and Renaudot *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Tom. I. p. 205. 209. But admitting that Antonius read the Bible in the Coptic, we must not immediately conclude that it was the very same Coptic version which is contained in the MSS. from which Wilkins published his edition: for this is a question which we have not at present sufficient data to determine. Woide's arguments for the antiquity of an Egyptian version of the N. T. are given p. 76—100, but none of them, except that which has been just quoted, apply to the dialect of the lower Egypt in particular. His most satisfactory proof is the following. The rules of Pachomius for the conduct of the Egyptian monks, a work which was afterwards translated into Greek, and also into Latin by Jerom, was written in Egyptian. Now one of these rules is the following: 'All persons admitted to the order of monk, if unable to read, shall learn the letters of the A. B. C. that they may be able to read and write: after which they shall learn every day by heart some passages of scripture.' Men therefore of such profound ignorance would not have been able to read the Bible, unless they had a translation in their native language. Ludovicus Pickius, or according to his French name, Louis Picques, who was acquainted with the Coptic language, refers this version to the fifth century. See Mill's Prolegomena, sect. 1509. The arguments for the antiquity of the Sahidic version in particular, which Woide refers to the second century, will be given in the following section. Dr. Münter likewise has published a Dissertation on the antiquity of the Coptic version. It

was printed at Copenhagen in 1790, under the title; *F. Munteri Dissertatio de ætat. versionam N. T. Copticarum*, 4^{to}.

5. Abest in versione Coptica quæ est in Cod. 336, non ab eâ quæ est in Cod. 329: item in Arabica versionis Copticæ translatione.

Millius ad Johan. vii. 53.

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6. Marshall had even prepared the four Gospels for the press, but died before they could be printed. See *Le Long Bibl. sacra. ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 187.*

7. The following is the title of this work, *Novum Testamentum Ægyptium vulgo Copticum ex MSS. Bodleianis descripsit, cum Vaticanis et Parisiensibus contulit, et in Latinum sermonem convertit David Wilkins, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter. Oxonii 1716, 4to. mmsj.* The MSS. used by Wilkins in the publication of this edition he has described in the second chapter of the *Prolegomena*. They are also described in Uri's Catalogue, p. 319, 320. For an account of other manuscripts of the Coptic version see *Le Long Bibl. sacra. Tom. I. p. 140—144. ed. Paris. or P. I. p. 284—296. ed. Boerner.* Uri's Catalogue, p. 318—322, the Catalogues MSS. *Bibl. Regiæ, Vol. I. p. 71. and Note 11 to sect. 3. of this chapter.* With regard to the antiquity of the Coptic manuscripts, Montfaucon in his *Palæographia Græca, Lib. IV. cap. 7. p. 313*, says, *Libri Coptici, qui supersunt, non admodum vetusti sunt, nullumque hactenus vidi, qui annos plus quam quingentos præferret.* But Wilkins in his *Prolegomena, p. 6.* says that the *Codex Huntingtonianus 17.* is dated 'the year of the martyrs 790,' that is the year of Christ 1074.

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8. Woide collated with the printed text of Wilkins a Berlin MS. of the Coptic version, as far as relates to the Gospel of St. Mark, a copy of which had been communicated to him by Scholz; but it does not appear that
this

this collation has ever been published. Professor Alter in his edition of the Greek Testament, published at Vienna in 1787, in two vols. 8vo. has given, Vol. I. p. 751—806. *Variæ lectiones in quatuor Evangelia collectæ ex editione versionis Copticæ a Wilkins editæ*, which he has selected with great diligence and accuracy: and Vol. II. p. 921—940. *Variæ lectiones in Apocalypsin ex versione Coptica*.

9. Millii Proleg. §. 1462. See also § 1508.

10. Beside these readings, which Wilkins in his Prolegomena, p. 11—40. had erroneously quoted from the Coptic version, Woide, p. 44—50. of the above-mentioned essay, has given likewise the following.

Matth. xx. 34. Wilkins quotes the Coptic for ‘per-spexerunt,’ on which Woide observes that the Coptic verb admits likewise the sense of the Greek *αναβλεπω*. But Wilkins has rightly observed that the reading *αυτων* *οι οφθαλμοι* is omitted in the Coptic.

Mark iii. 21. ‘Deliquium animi patitur. Græcus *εξατη*.’ Woide observes that the Coptic noun properly expresses *εκστασις*.

Mark vi. 27. Pro *αποχθηναι* Coptica versio habet ‘ut amputaret.’ Woide answers that the Coptic translator appears to have read ‘*αποαποχθηναι*, auferri caput ejus.’

Mark vi. 51. ‘Mirabantur.’ Rather ‘perterrebantur.’

Luke v. 5. ‘Expandemus retia.’ Woide observes that the Coptic reading is ‘dimittemus retia.’

Acts xi. 4. ‘Ante illos.’ Read ‘apud illos.’

Acts xiii. 22. ‘Occiso illo. Græcus *μεγασησας αυτον*.’ Woide observes that the reading of the Coptic is the same as in the Greek.

Rom. iii. 27. ‘Pro *εξεκλεισθη* noster legit muta facta est.’ Woide replies, that the Coptic admits indeed that sense, but that it also expresses *συνεκλεισαν αυτην*, which amounts to the same as *συνεκλεισθη*.

1 Cor. ix. 26. Wilkins translates the Coptic word for *πυκνω* by ‘do,’ saying that it signifies ‘pugno,’ only when it is followed by a preposition expressive of ‘contra.’ But Woide observes that the Coptic verb is used in the sense

sense of pugno, Zechariah xiv. 14. without any such preposition.

1 Cor. xiii. 3. 'Ut comburam, uti et Græcus καυθῆσθαι. Woide says that the Coptic version expresses ἵνα καυχήσῃμαι.

2 Cor. i. 12. 'Sanctitate et justitia.' Græcus legit ἀπλοῦς καὶ εὐκλειής. Woide observes that the Coptic expresses ἀγιότης καὶ ἀληθεία.

Phil. iii. 2. 'Immolatum circumcisionis,' pro τῇ κατὰ τομήν. Woide replies, that the Coptic corresponds to the Greek.

1 Tim. vi. 11. 'In humilitate.' Græcus, Arabs, et Æthiops, non addunt. Woide says that the only difference between the Coptic and the Greek readings is, that the latter is πραότης, the former ἐν πραότητι. But he acknowledges that there is more in the Coptic than in the Greek text, namely, that two different words are used expressive of πραότης, one of which he supposed to have been originally a scholion.

Heb. xi. 12. 'Arefacto corpore,' pro νενεκρωμένῳ. Woide conjectures that here is an erratum in the Coptic text, and that the true reading is a word expressive of καθαιρούμενος.

2 Pet. i. 9. For τυφλὸς ἐστὶ, μωπάζου, Wilkins quotes the Coptic as having a different reading, which Woide denies.

Rev. i. 6. 'Regnum spirituale,' pro βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἡρεῖς. But Woide asserts that the Coptic expresses βασιλεία, ἱερατεῖα.

Rev. x. 2. Wilkins quotes the Coptic for 'virtus,' where βίβλαριδιον is in the Greek. Here Woide conjectures that there is an error of a single letter in the Coptic word; which alteration being made, it would signify 'liber.'

Rev. xvii. 10. Wilkins quotes the Coptic for 'reliquus non est,' where the Greek is οὐκ ἔστιν. But Woide says that the Coptic word admits not the sense of reliquus, and that it signifies πτωχός, ἐκεῖνος, and ἑτέρος.

Rev. xix. 10. Where the Greek is τῆς προφητείας.
Wilkins

Wilkins quotes the Coptic for 'justitia.' On which Woide observes that the Coptic expresses rather *πνευμα αληθειας*, than *πνευμα δικαιοσυνης*.

Woide has likewise produced a list of readings which Wilkins had quoted as differing from the Greek text, where both the Greek and the Coptic in fact agree. They are taken from the following verses: Matth. iii. 16. xi. 25. xii. 5, 6. xxiv. 7. Mark iv. 1. Luke ii. 52. vii. 9. John xx. 1. Rom. vii. 25. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

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11. Beside the foregoing examples alleged by our author, Woide, p. 51. has given the following, in which Wilkins has erroneously translated: Matth. v. 47. 'quid mali facitis.' Read, 'quid magis facitis.' vi. 2. 'inse-ricordias.' Read, 'misericordiam,' or rather 'eleemosy-nam.' viii. 13. 'mundatus est.' Read, 'sanatus est.' xvii. 15. 'præcessit.' Read, 'prævenit.' Mark i. 27. 'quæ est ista doctrina nova?' Read, 'quid est hoc? doctrina nova est.' Luke i. 70. 'usque in sæculum.' Read, 'a sæculo.' i. 76. 'præcedes ambulare.' Read, 'præcedes' alone. xxi. 16. 'occidemini ab illis.' Read, 'occident e vobis.'

12. As the account here given is written in Latin, a translation is unnecessary. It has the following title, *Variae lectiones Epistolarum Johannis et Judæ, e versione Ægyptiaca utriusque dialecti collectæ*. The manuscript used by Woide is in the Bodleian library, and marked, as Woide says, *Codex Huntingtonianus 394*.

S E C T. XIV.

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1. The most complete account of the Sahidic version of the New Testament is given in the above-mentioned essay of Woide, and in the following learned and valuable work, *Friderici Münteri Commentatio de indole versionis Novi*

Novi Testamenti Sahidicæ. Accedunt fragmenta epistolarum Pauli ad Timotheum ex membranis Sahidicis Musei Borgiani Velitris, Hafniæ, 1789, 4to.

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2. Since the publication of our author's Introduction, a part of St. John's Gospel has been printed at Rome in 1789, under the following title, *Fragmentum Evangelii St. Johannis Græco-copto-thebaicum sæculi iv. Opéra et studio F. Augustini Antonii Georgii Eremitæ Augustiniani*. It was taken from a Greek-Coptic manuscript in the possession of Cardinal Borgia, the Greek text of which Professor Birch has collated, and quoted in his Greek Testament, under the title *Codex Borgianus* 1. To this may be added the fragments of the epistles to Timothy, mentioned in the preceding Note. The learned Woide published proposals in 1778, for an edition of several fragments of the Sahidic version, comprehending about a third part of the New Testament, under the following title, *Fragmenta N. T. juxta interpretationem dialecti superioris Ægypti, quæ Thebaidica, seu Sahidica appellatur e MSS. Oxoniensibus descripta quæ latine reddet, et simul etiam de antiquitate et variis lectionibus hujus interpretationis disseret C. G. Woide*. The learned editor survived not the publication of his work, but he had prepared the greatest part of it for the press, and a part of it was already printed before his death. It has been completed by Dr. Ford, who published at Oxford in 1799, under the following title, *Fragmenta Novi Testamenti e versione Ægyptiacâ dialecti Thebaidicæ, Sahidicæ, seu superioris Ægypti*. Some fragments of the Sahidic version of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John have been likewise published by Mingarelli in the following work, *Ægyptiorum codicum reliquiæ, Venetiis in bibliotheca Naniana asservatæ. Bononiæ, 1785, 4to*. Manuscripts, or rather fragments of manuscripts of the Sahidic version of the N. T. are preserved in the libraries of Rome, Paris, Oxford, Berlin, and Venice. Those, which have been used by Woide,
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he describes p. 55. of his Essay on the Egyptian Versions. They are the following, Codex Askewanus, Cod. Brucianus, Cod. Parisinus 44, and the Codices Huntingtoniani 3, 4, 5, 393, 394, in the Bodleian library. A list of manuscripts, containing fragments of the Sahidic version, is also given in Munteri Specimen versionum Danielis Copticarum Romæ 1786, 8vo.

3. Our author, in the third volume of his Orient. Bibl. has printed a collation, which had been communicated by Woide, of the Sahidic version, and the Codex Cantabrigiensis in the Acts of the Apostles. The Sahidic manuscript used by Woide was the Codex Huntingtonianus 394. The collation is as follows:

Ch. i. 2. The Sahidic version has the addition *κηρυσσιν το ευαγγελιον*, but with this difference, that it is placed before *ους εξελεξατο*, where the Cod. Cant. has *ος εξελεξατο και εκλευσε κηρυσσιν το ευαγγελιον*.

V. 3. After *συναλιζομενος*, both have *μετ' αυτων*.

V. 5. At the end of the verse, both have *ως της πεντηκοστης*.

Ch. ii. 41. Both omit *ασμενως*.

Ch. v. 4. Cod. Cant. *ποιησαι το ποτηριον*. The same is expressed in the Sahidic.

V. 5. Both omit *ταυτα*.

V. 31. At the end of the verse, both add *εν αυτη*.

V. 35. Cod. Cant. *ειπε τε προς τις αρχοντας και συνδρους*. The same is expressed in the Sahidic.

Ch. vi. 2. After *ειπον*, both add *προς αυτες*, and v. 5. *ουτος* after *ο λογος*.

V. 8. At the end, both add *δια τε ονοματος τε Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου*.

V. 14. Both omit *βλασφημα*.

V. 48. *ναοις* is omitted in both.

V. 58. After *επιθεσταν*, both add *αυτον*, which is likewise found in the Syriac and the Coptic.

Ch. viii. 1. After *διωγμος μεγας*, both add *και θλιψις*, and at the end of the verse *οι μειναν εν Ιερουσαλημ*.

V. 22. Both have *κυρις*, also the Coptic.

V. 28. *αναγινωσκων*.

Ch. x.

Ch. x. 23. After *εισκαλισαμενος αυτος*, they add *ο Πα-
τρης*, as also the Syriac.

Ch. xi. 29. Both omit *Καισαρος*.

Ch. xiii. 33. Both have *τον Κυριον Ιησυν Χριστον*.

Ch. xv. 1. *και τη θει Μυστιως περιπαλεις*.

V. 20. At the end of the verse, both add *και οσα μη
θελεις εαυτοις γινεσθαι, ελεοις μη ποιεις*.

V. 23. After *γραφαντες*, both add *επιτολην*, like the
Syriac and the Vulgate.

Ch. xvi. 9. After *εως*, both add *κατα προσωπον αυτη*.

V. 10. For *ως δε το οραμα ειδεν*, both have *διαγενοθεις δε
διηγεσαστο το οραμα ημιν*, a remarkable coincidence as
being peculiar to them alone.

Ch. xvii. 5. *εξαγαγειν*.

V. 21. After *επιδημουντες*, both add *εις αυτας*.

Ch. xviii. 12. After *τη Παυλη*, both add *επιθεντες τας
χειρας αυτη*. But the Cod. Cant. has a still farther ad-
dition.

V. 19. After *αυτες εισελθον*, the Sahidic version ex-
presses *τω πιοντι σαββατη*, which is found also in the
Cod. Cant. though with a different construction, as may
be seen in Mill, or Wetstein.

Ch. xix. 2. Both have *ε πνευμα αγιον λαμβανουσι τινες*,
a remarkable reading peculiar to them alone.

V. 5. After *Ιησν*, both add *Χριστν*.

V. 25. After *ανδρες*, both add *συντιχονται*.

V. 37. After *ταυτας*, both add *εθαδε*.

Ch. xx. 4. For *Ασιανοι*, both express *Ερρισιοι*.

V. 24. After *διαμαρτυρασθαι*, both add *Ιουδαιους και
Ελληνι*.

V. 34. Both have *αι χειρες με*.

Ch. xxi. 1. After *Πατερν*, both add *και μερν*.

V. 25. After *εθων*, both add *οδε εχουσι πληην προς σε*.

V. 40. After *επιτρεψαντος αυτου*, both add *τε χιλιαρχν*.

This remarkable agreement between the Sahidic ver-
sion and the Cod. Cant. which was first discovered by
Woide, may lead to very important conclusions. With
respect to our author's reference to the tenth vol. of his
Orient. Bibl. see Note 12, to the foregoing section.

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Those who would examine this subject more minutely, may have recourse to Münter de indole versionis Sahidicæ, p. 10—75. This learned writer observes likewise the coincidence of the Sahidic version with the Codex Stephani *. Lastly, Woide has given a very accurate collation of the Sahidic version in the Gospel of St. Matthew, with the common printed Greek text in the above-mentioned essay, p. 57—75.

4. These have been already given in the preceding Note.

5. It is extraordinary that our author should assert that the Sahidic version omits *εως*, Acts xvi. 9. as Woide, in the very catalogue which he himself has printed, and which is translated in the preceding Note, quotes the Sahidic version in that passage for *εως κατα προσευχον αυτη*, which reading Mill has quoted at full length from the Cantabrigiensis. The addition therefore of *κατα προσευχον αυτη* is in this instance the distinguishing mark of the Sahidic version, and the Cambridge manuscript, and shews the analogy between the readings of the Egyptian, or Alexandrian, and the Western edition of the Greek Testament. But the Edessene edition appears to have no connection with the present example, as the Syriac version has not the addition above-mentioned.

6. The Sahidic version, according to Woide, was made in the second century. His principal argument is drawn out at full length, p. 80—94. of the essay quoted Note 1. to the preceding section. It is grounded on two Sahidic manuscripts, one formerly in the possession of Dr. Askew, the other brought from Egypt by the celebrated Bruce: both of which are, I believe, at present in the British Museum. The former contains a work entitled Sophia, and written by Valentinus in the beginning of the second century. That Valentinus wrote a book with this title, appears from the testimony of Tertulian, in the second chapter of his treatise adv. Valentinum; and that this manuscript contains that very work, Woide endeavours to shew by several arguments; the principal of which is, that psalms are found in it, which belong not to the sacred collection;

p. 178; and an Arabic version of this kind was actually published at Rome in 1752, by Raphael Tuki, bishop of Arsan. With respect to those which are written in parallel columns with the Syriac and the Coptic, of which copies exist in the royal library in Paris, it is reasonable to suppose that they were not made from the Greek, but immediately from those ancient versions, to which they were added as a mean of understanding them, after the languages, in which these were written, had ceased to be spoken. For the same reason, those annexed to the Greek text were probably taken immediately from the Greek. But of these Greek-Arabic manuscripts, only two have hitherto been discovered; namely, that in the University library at Leyden, mentioned in the following note, and another in the library of St. Mark at Venice, described in Birch's *Prolegomena*, p. 56.

3. Simon not only appeals to this catalogue in support of the assertion that a Greek *Lectionarium*, accompanied with an Arabic translation, is preserved in the University library of Leyden, but confirms the account by a letter from Le Moine, Professor of Divinity in that University. The manuscript is described by Wetstein, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 63. under the title *Codex Scaligeri*, and is quoted in his various readings as the *Codex Evangelistariorum* 6. See also p. 410. N° 38. of the *Leyden Catalogue*, published in 1716, folio.

4. It is possible that the Christian religion was practised in Arabia, as well as in other countries of the East, but it never was the established religion of the country, as in Syria and Egypt, for even the temple of Mecca was a Heathen temple till the time of Mohammed. A translation of the Bible therefore into Arabic was wholly unnecessary before the conquests of the Saracens, when the Arabic became the vernacular language of Christian countries.

5. An Arabic version therefore might have existed before the time of Mohammed; but that it actually did exist, this argument affords not even a presumption.

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6. Our author must here have mistaken Walton's meaning, for Walton expressly declares that his arguments against the antiquity of the Arabic version, relate to that version only, which is printed in the Paris and London Polyglots. See his fourteenth Prolegomenon, sect. 17.

7. It is not true that the proper names in the Bible must necessarily be expressed by all Arabic writers according to one and the same orthography. The word Joshua, for instance, is written by Saadiah, in his Arabic version of the Bible, **يهشوع**, but in the Koran **يوشع**, which last orthography is followed by the author of the Arabic version of the Old Testament printed in the Paris Polyglot. This is one of the examples produced by Walton, to shew that this version was made after the time of Mohammed.

8. There is no necessity for having recourse to this argument, in order to answer the objection derived from the Arabic translation of **τοπος**, Luke xi. 31. for it is absolutely false that **τοπος** is there translated by **قبلة**, since not only in the Erpenian and Polyglot editions, but likewise in the Roman edition of the Gospels, **τοπος** is translated by **تېمن**, which signifies, 1. Regio Tenian. 2. Auster. Whether this word, which is used also in the Syriac, and there written **ܬܝܡܢ**, can be used as an argument that the printed Arabic version of the Gospels was taken immediately from the Syriac, deserves perhaps to be examined, but it belongs not to the subject of this note.

9. This answer rather corroborates than confutes the objection, for it affords a presumption that no Arabic version of our four canonical Gospels at that time existed.

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10. Admitting Mohammed to have been ignorant in matters of chronology in the highest possible degree, and that he would have perverted the accounts of the four

Evangelists, even if their Gospels had been known to him, it does not appear how this ignorance can be used as an argument for the existence of an Arabic version.

11. Our author has shewn, that the arguments against the possibility of an Arabic version before the time of Mohammed are of no weight, but he concludes too hastily from the possibility to the probability of its existence before that period. It appears from Note 4, that there was no necessity for an Arabic version before the seventh century, we are therefore not warranted to ascribe to any of the Arabic versions of the New Testament a higher antiquity than that period. It has been shewn above, that, though Christianity was not only propagated, but even established in Syria before the close of the first century, no certain historical evidence can be produced of the existence of a Syriac version before the fourth century: from a country, therefore, where Christianity was not the established religion, though single converts and single societies were scattered in different parts of it, we have no reason to expect a version of the Bible in so early an age. Lastly, admitting the probability, we can arrive at no certainty, for the oldest historical accounts extend no further than the tenth century, when Rabbi Saadiah Gaon published an Arabic version of the Pentateuch. If a conjecture is allowable on a subject where history leaves us in the dark, we may suppose that most of the Arabic versions were made during the period that elapsed between the conquests of the Saracens in the seventh century, and the crusades in the eleventh, especially about the middle of this period, when the Syriac and the Coptic, though they had ceased to be living languages, were still understood by men of education, and Arabic literature, under the patronage of Al Mamon and his successors, arrived at its highest pitch.

The age in which the Arabic *printed* version, or versions of the New Testament were written, is wholly undecided, for we have no knowledge of the manuscripts, from which the Roman edition of the four Gospels was printed,

printed; and all that we know of the manuscripts used by Gabriel Sionita, in his edition of the Paris Polyglot, and by Erpenius, in his edition of the Arabic New Testament, is, that the former used a manuscript brought from Aleppo, and written in Egypt in the fourteenth century, the latter a manuscript brought from Egypt, in which the Gospels were written in the thirteenth, the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation in the fourteenth century. See Millii Prolegomena, § 1295. and the first and last pages of the preface of Erpenius, compared with Note 8. to the following section. But we are left wholly in the dark, with respect to the century in which the versions themselves were made; for though the four Gospels in the manuscript of Erpenius are ascribed to one Nejulumam, either as the author or the new editor of a version made before his time, yet no accounts have hitherto been discovered of this author or editor, nor has Asseman, in his *Bibl. Orient.* made the least mention of any person of this name.

12. It is true that a bishop of the name of Hippolytus lived in the beginning of the third century, and wrote a treatise entitled, *Apologia pro Apocalypsi et Evangelio Johannis*: but that his See was in Arabia is mere conjecture. See *Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. I. p. 15.*

S E C T. XVI.

PAGE 84.

1. When Mill quotes readings from the Arabic version, he evidently means that, which is printed in the London Polyglot. See his *Prolegomena*, § 1295, 1296. 1472.

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2. From this coincidence no other inference can be drawn, than that the Arabic version of the Gospels, printed in Rome in 1591, was made before the eleventh century,

century, for to that age the origin of the Druses is referred. See Note 21. to chap. iv. sect. 5.

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3. Simon relates, in his *Hist. crit. des Versions du N. T.* ch. 18. that he had compared the Arabic version of the four Gospels printed at Rome, and afterwards reprinted in the Polyglots, with an Arabic translation of the Coptic version, and found them dissimilar, but that on comparing it with an Arabic translation of the Syriac version, he observed a great resemblance. The inference therefore deduced by the French critic was not wholly without foundation. Nor did he contend that they were one and the same version, but that they were different Arabic translations of the same Syriac, in which case a total coincidence was not to be expected. Our author on the contrary asserts, that the Arabic and Syriac versions of the Gospels are so dissimilar, that the former could not possibly have been taken from the latter. The same is asserted by his learned father, in his *Tractatio critica*, § 29. though, as well as our author, he gives no examples, for which he refers his readers to Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1296. But Mill's authority is here of little weight, for he confesses himself that he could compare only the Latin translations, and the few examples, which he has produced, relate only to proper names, one of which our author himself contends was interpolated into the Arabic in later ages. It must likewise be observed, that not one of his examples is taken from the Gospels, which alone are the subject of the present paragraph. Till a statement therefore has been made, representing the agreement and disagreement of the Roman-Arabic version of the Gospels, both with the Greek and the Syriac, in order to determine on which side the scale preponderates, we are at liberty to withhold our judgment, as no assertion can be admitted without authority.

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4. Gabriel Sionita, a Maronite by birth, from the neighbourhood

neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, and one of the principal editors of the Paris Polyglot, relates that he made use of a manuscript written in Egypt in the fourteenth century, but it does not appear that he was acquainted either with the name of the author, or with the age in which he lived. See Millii Prolegomena, § 1295. and Waltoni Prol. xiv. § 23. And it is related in Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 357. that it was brought to Paris immediately from Aleppo. Also in the third preface to the first volume of the Paris Polyglot, signed by Bertet and Moreau, is the following passage, ‘Gabrielem Sionitam——Syriacum et Arabicum textum ex antiquis Syrorum et Arabum manuscriptis, quos ex *Palastina* allatos penes se habet,’ &c. From this manuscript, therefore, the Arabic version of the Acts and of the Epistles was taken, which was first printed in the Paris, and re-printed with additions in the London Polyglot. But our author himself acknowledges, that this version of the Acts and the Epistles can lay claim to no high antiquity, because the Greek word *πρωτοτης* is there adopted, and written *استقب*, though he endeavours to weaken the force of the arguments, which his father had brought against it.

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5. The Arabic version, printed in the London Polyglot, is not a bare re-impression of the text of the Paris edition, as appears from Waltoni Proleg. xiv. § 17. and Millii Proleg. § 1295.

6. See Note 3. The example given by our author in this paragraph, like those produced by Mill, is not taken from the Gospels.

7. With respect to the Polyglot Arabic version of the Acts and the Epistles, the following is at least a presumptive argument that they were not taken from the Syriac, though it decides not the question, whether they were taken from the Greek, or the Coptic: namely, that the same Arabic word *كلم* is used for *λεγειν*, even where the Greek word is differently rendered in the Syriac.

Compare with the Greek text the Arabic and Syriac versions Acts iv. 1. and Heb. vii. 1. But it may be doubted whether the same conclusion can be drawn with respect to the Gospels. See Note 8. to the preceding section, and Note 3. to the present section. In confirmation of our author's argument, in favour of the opinion that the Polyglot Arabic version of the Epistles was made neither from the Coptic, nor the Syriac, but immediately from the Greek, may be added that *ελαχιστοτερος*, Eph. iii. 8. which is rendered in the Arabic by *لحقّر ادنبا*, is translated both in the Syriac and the Coptic by only a single word, the one expressive of 'minimus,' the other of 'servus.'

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8. This date is ascribed to the manuscript by Erpenius himself, who says, in the beginning of his preface, that it was written in the year of the Martyrs 1059, or 1342 of the Christian æra, and adds, that it was written in the monastery of St. John in the desert of Thebais. But, what appears to be a contradiction, Erpenius toward the end of the preface, gives a Latin translation of an Arabic subscription in this manuscript, dated 988 of the Martyrs, which is 1271 of the Christian æra. Now there seems to be no other method of reconciling this apparent contradiction, than to suppose, 1. That the subscription, with the date 988 of the Martyrs, is written in the manuscript at the end of the Gospels, and relates to them only, which is evidently implied in what Erpenius himself says relative to this subscription. 2. That there is another subscription at the end of the second part, which contains the Acts, the Epistles, and the Revelation, with the date 1059 of the Martyrs, which relates only to these books, as the former subscription to the Gospels only: and that Erpenius improperly understood the last subscription, as having reference to the whole work. : If this hypothesis be agreeable to the truth, the manuscript used by Erpenius is a compound of two different manuscripts; the one written in the thirteenth, the

the other in the fourteenth century; and it is very consistent with the opinion, that the Gospels in this manuscript were translated either from the Coptic or from the Greek, the Acts and Epistles from the Syriac. The question however can be determined with no certainty, except by those who have access to the manuscript itself, which is preserved in the University library at Leyden; marked 217, among Golius's manuscripts, and is described p. 410. N° 25. of the Leyden Catalogue, published in 1716, folio. For though in the edition of Erpenius there are Arabic subscriptions at the end of each book of the N. T., yet they relate not to the translator or transcriber, but to the time and place where each book was composed by the sacred writers themselves.

9. It is likewise one of the most elegant editions, but it is very difficult to be procured.

10. Our author should have mentioned his authority for this assertion, as Mill in his *Prolegomena* has taken no notice of the edition of Erpenius. I have compared some of his various readings in the Acts of the Apostles, for which he refers to the Arabic, and have found that they agree with the Arabic of the Polyglot, but the number is not sufficient to lead to a positive conclusion. Mill however himself expressly declares, that he took his Arabic readings from the London Polyglot, and makes no exception to the Acts of the Apostles, *Prolegom.* § 1472. Besides, as in this very paragraph he acknowledges that he was unacquainted with Arabic, he could not possibly have used the edition of Erpenius, in which, if we except the title-page, the epistle dedicatory, and the preface, there is not a syllable of Latin in the whole work.

11. In his treatise *de evangeliiis Arabicis*, sect. 7. 14, 15, 16. On the other side of the question may be consulted C. B. Michaelis *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus N. T.* § 28. where examples are given in which the Arabic version of the four Gospels, printed at Rome and re-printed in the Polyglots, differs from that published by Erpenius.

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12. Our author in this part of his *Orient. Bibl.* has printed the Arabic text of John v. 2. as it stands in the Roman, Polyglot, and Erpenian editions, in order to shew the necessity of distinguishing them in quoting the Arabic version. Now with respect to Mill, though his readings are here of little weight, as being taken from the Latin translation, yet he deserves not our author's censure in quoting simply Arabs, because he expressly declares that he means the Arabic of the London Polyglot. But still more extraordinary than his censure of former critics, is the total silence, which he observes in regard to the merits of Griesbach, whose Greek Testament was published ten years before the present edition of his Introduction, and who has very accurately distinguished the three texts by the marks Ar. Rom. Ar. Pol. and Erp. and likewise uses the abbreviation Arr. when all three coincide.

13. Storr on the contrary, in his treatise *de evangelii Arabicis*, § 35. concludes with Erpenius, that Nejulamam was the translator, namely of the Gospels. Of the other books of the N. T. Erpenius adds in his Preface, *Cæterum, an idem etiam reliquos libros verterit, non satis sum certus. Non puto: nam et phrasi nonnihil ab Evangeliiis discrepant, et Syro contextui quam Græco plerisque in locis videntur esse viciniore.*

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14. This is the most plausible argument that has been alledged in support of the opinion, that the Arabic version of the Gospels was taken immediately from the Greek. But as the Roman, Polyglot, and Erpenian editions of the Gospels, contain the text of one and the same version, as our author and Dr. Storr assert, and the Polyglot editions have a pure Arabic expression, why may not the insertion of *Abrubathiki Kolimbithra*, which is found in the Roman and Erpenian editions, be ascribed to some interpolator, who was as anxious to retain Greek words

words as the author of the Philoxenian version? For according to the above-mentioned hypothesis it necessarily follows, that either the Roman or the Polyglot reading, in the passage in question, is the result of an interpolation. It may indeed be objected, that Gabriel Sionita altered the text of the Roman edition to better Arabic, and that hence arose the reading found in the Polyglots; but as he corrected the Gospels by a manuscript brought from Egypt, who will undertake to determine that the alteration in this instance was without authority? Besides, as the manuscript used by Erpenius was brought from Egypt, it is at least possible that the Arabic version of the Gospels was made from some Coptic version, in which the Greek expression was retained, and this possibility alone is sufficient to render the argument inconclusive, with respect to its having been taken immediately from the Greek. This at least is certain, that the words *προβατικη κολυμβηθρα* are retained in the Coptic version published by Wilkins. It may also be observed, that the construction in the common printed Greek and Arabic texts is totally different. The former is *ἐν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβηθρᾷ*, but in the Arabic no expression is used for *ἐπὶ τῇ*, and *προβατικη* is taken in the Nominative, to agree with *κολυμβηθρα*. Here then the Arabic imitates not the Greek, but the Vulgate, which has *Est autem Hierosolymis probatica piscina*. Lastly, in respect to the question, whether the printed Arabic version of the Gospels was taken from the Coptic, or the Greek, or perhaps the Syriac, it may be observed that Erpenius is of the same opinion with our author, and derives it from the Greek. But Le Long and Simon are of a different opinion. Le Long, after having quoted from the Preface of Erpenius the subscription to the Gospels, which has been given p. 90. in this volume of the Introduction to the N. T., adds, ‘*Rectius infert inde R. Simon, cap. 28. hist. crit. versionum N. T. hanc versionem ex Coptica, proindeque ex interpretatione Coptica, potius quam ex contextu Græco emanasse. Visa est tamen illi magis consentanea*’
versioni

versioni Arabicæ quæ adjicitur MSS. Syriacis quam et, quæ MSS. Copticis respondet.

Le Long *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 120. ed. 1723.

15. But if we therefore conclude that the Arabic version actually was made before the time of Mohammed, we are guilty of a *petitio principii*, and presuppose the thing to be proved. In a version of undoubted antiquity, modern words, which are accidentally found in it, must necessarily be ascribed to the interpolation of a later hand; but in a version like the Arabic, of which the antiquity is very uncertain, it is more reasonable to conclude, from expressions not used before the time of Mohammed, that the version itself, in which they are found, was written since that period, than to condemn without authority these expressions as spurious, in order to acquire an argument for the high antiquity of the version.

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16. No part of the Arabic version has been so carefully examined as that of the Acts of the Apostles, according to the edition of Erpenius. Our author, in his *Curæ in versionem Syriacam actuum apostolicorum*, p. 14—42. has given a very accurate collation of the Erpenian Arabic version of the Acts, with the old Syriac version, from which the former manifestly appears, except in a few instances, to have been taken from the latter. For this careful examination he is entitled to the thanks of every critic, and if the other books of the Arabic version, or versions, of the N. T. were examined with the same care, some light might be thrown on a subject, which is at present involved in obscurity, as the Acts of the Apostles is the only part of the printed Arabic version, or versions, of the N. T. on which we can pronounce, with any certainty, as to the source from which it was derived. Many Arabic manuscripts, both of the Old and New Testament, have subscriptions at the end, which express not only the year, in which they were written, but the language, from which they were translated. Unfortunately in the present instance, we
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are destitute of this aid, for we know nothing of the manuscripts from which the Roman edition, and the Paris Polyglot were printed, and all that appears from the subscription to the manuscript used by Erpenius, is that it was written in Egypt; but we can derive from it no certain inference, in respect to the original from which the translation was made.

17. 1 Pet. v. 3. in the Arabic version of Erpenius, can have been translated neither from the Greek, nor from the Syriac, for it has precisely the reading of the Vulgate, which differs both from the Greek word *κληρος*, and the Syriac *ܟܠܝܪܐ*. And what is still more extraordinary, the Arabic translator has taken the word 'clerus' of the Vulgate in its modern ecclesiastical sense. This is no very favourable appearance, either for the antiquity or critical value of the Arabic version of this epistle. In the Arabic of the Polyglots a different translation is given, but it is expressive of the same meaning, 'cleri' being there paraphrased by an expression signifying 'constituti in dignitatibus sacerdotii,' a paraphrase which savours of the Roman hierarchy, and is wholly unwarranted both by the Greek and by the Syriac. But as the printed Arabic version has, according to Storr, been much interpolated, it is more equitable to ascribe these readings to modern interpolations, than to condemn the whole epistle. And that neither the Erpenian, nor the Polyglot version of the Catholic epistles was translated from the Vulgate, appears from the omission of 1 John v. 7. as Walton has observed in his Prolegomen. xiv. § 23. unless we suppose that it was made from a MS. of the Vulgate, of which there are many, where that verse was omitted.

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18. A copy of this scarce edition is preserved in the University Library in Cambridge, and marked Ee, 4, 44. and another in the library of St. John's College in Cambridge, where it is marked T, 5, 17.

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19. Our author means the Paris edition of 1723, in two

two vols. folio; but in the improved edition by Dr. Masch, more certain accounts are given of the Bukarest edition of the Arabic version; P. II. Vol. I. p. 117.; and he has likewise corrected an error, into which Professor Aurivillius had fallen.

20. Of these, as well as of the complete editions of the Arabic version, a description is given in *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 110—137. For an account of the manuscripts of the Arabic version of the New Testament, preserved in the different libraries in Europe, see Boerner's edition of *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra*, P. I. p. 234—240. or Vol. I. p. 120—122. of the Paris edition of 1723; Uri's Catalogue, N° 22—34. of the Arabic Manuscripts, and Note 11. to sect. 3. of this chapter. In the University library at Cambridge are two Arabic MSS. of the Gospels, which formerly belonged to Cyrillus Lucaris. A catalogue of Arabic MSS. has lately been published in Spain, under the following title, *Biblioteca Española de Escritores Rabinos y Arabigos*, por D. Joseph. Castro, Madrid, 1788, 2 tom. folio. Casiri likewise published a Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Escorial, under the title, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, Madrid, 1760—1770, 2 tom. fol.; but I am not certain whether either of these two last-mentioned catalogues contain manuscripts of the Arabic version.

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21. Not so those quoted by Griesbach, of whose merits our author makes no mention. See Note 12.

S E C T. XVII.

PAGE 96.

1. It is extraordinary that our author makes no mention of the celebrated Hiob. Ludolf, or Leutholf, the father of Ethiopic literature in Europe, whose *Historia Æthiopica*, Francofurti 1681, fol. and *Commentarius ad suam historiam Æthiopicam*, Francofurti 1691, fol. contain

contain the most authentic accounts of the Ethiopic version. See also Waltoni Prol. xv.

2. What edition of Chrysostom's works our author means, I know not; but in that, which was published by Montfaucon, the passage, where Chrysostom speaks of the Ethiopic version, is Vol. VIII. p. 10. *Αλλ' ε τα τε ιδιωτε και αγοραματα υτως' αλλα και Συροι, και Αιγυπτιοι, και Ινδοι, και Παρσαι, και Αιθιοπις, και μυρια ιτερα εθνη, εις την αυτων μεταβαλλοντες γλωτταν, τα περι ταυτα δογματα εσφυχθιντα, εμαδον ανθρωποι βαρβαροι φιλοσοφειν.* It may be observed that this passage relates to the Gospel of St. John: but it may be reasonably concluded, that if one Gospel was translated, the others would not have remained untranslated. Chrysostom has however weakened his own evidence in regard to the Ethiopic, or any one version in particular, by the addition of the clause *και μυρια ιτερα εθνη.*

3. Of the author of the Ethiopic version of the N. T. we have no historical accounts. Some critics have conjectured that it was made by Frumentius, a bishop in the fourth century, who first preached Christianity in Ethiopia, to which opinion Mr. Bruce seems inclined to accede. See his Travels to discover the source of the Nile, Vol. I. Book II. chap. vi. p. 491. and Ludolfi Hist. Æthiopica, Lib. III. c. iv. But Ludolf adds as his opinion, 'id' priusquam videam, pro certo non affirmaverim,' though Mr. Bruce says, p. 490. 'the Abyssinian copy of the Holy Scriptures, was in Mr. Ludolf's opinion translated by Frumentius.' The Ethiopic version contains the whole of the N. T. which is divided into four separate parts. 1. The Gospels. 2. The Acts. 3. The fourteen epistles of St. Paul. 4. The seven catholic epistles. The Apocalypse is added as an appendix, and entitled Abukalamsis. Ludolf Hist. Æth. Lib. III. c. iv. n. 21.

4. C. B. Michaelis tractatio critica de var. lect. N. T. § 26.

5. In this reference to Griesbach's Symbolæ criticæ is an erratum, which I have not been able to correct. Perhaps our author means p. 76. and 77. where mention

tion is made of the readings of Origen, and those of the Coptic, Ethiopic, and Armenian versions.

6. The names of the editors who were natives of Ethiopia are mentioned in the Ethiopic subscription printed at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, which Ludolf, in his *Comment. ad hist. Æthiop.* p. 294. has translated in the following manner, *Memores estote nostrum in orationibus vestris sanctis, scilicet fratrum vestrorum, Tesfa-Sionis Malhesini, Tensea-Waldi, et Zaslaski; Petri, et Pauli, et Bernardini; quoniam omnes nos filii sumus patris nostri Tecla Haimanoti, Monasterii Romani Mons Libani dicti.* Though six names are here mentioned, it must not be concluded that there were six editors, for the three first are Ethiopic, the three last, viz. Petrus, Paulus, Bernardinus, are only Latin names adopted by the three Ethiopic editors. See *Le Long Bib. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 154.

7. At the end of the Acts of the Apostles, the editors added an Ethiopic subscription, which Ludolf, in his *Hist. Æthiop. Lib. III. cap. iv. num. 11.* translates as follows, *Ista Acta Apostolorum maxima sui parte versa sunt Romæ e lingua Romanâ et Græcâ in Æthiopicam propter defectum archetypi: id, quod addidimus vel omisimus, condonate nobis, vos autem emendate illud.* It may be here observed, that the word *archetypum* can imply only a single manuscript, which is the source, therefore, from which all our editions of the Ethiopic version of the N. T. have flowed. It is probably preserved in the Vatican, though it does not appear that any one has ever given a description of it.

8. A more accurate Latin translation of the Ethiopic version has been published by Professor Bode, under the following title, *Novum Testamentum ex versione Æthiopici interpretis in Bibliis polyglottis Anglicanis editum ex Æthiopicâ lingua in Latinum translatum.* *Brunsvigæ 1752, 1755, 2 tom. 4to.*

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9. This judgment seems to be too severe, for if the Ethiopic version was made immediately from the Greek,
and

and in an early age, if its readings coincide with the quotations of Origen, and the Greek MSS. of the Alexandrine edition, it seems to be entitled to the same privileges, as other versions of equal antiquity. The principal objection applies not so much to the version itself, as to our printed text, which is probably incorrect, as not being the result of a collation of different MSS. but the very same objection may be made to the old Syriac version, in which, though various MSS. have been used since the original edition of Widmanstad, the alterations that have been made deserve rather the name of corruptions, than of improvements. Griesbach, in his *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, Sect. 1. § 12. says, *Æthiopica et Armenica translationes, quarum neutra alii ulli postponenda est, puriores quidem quam Syriaca ad nos pervenerunt: attamen editorum fides non sine specie in dubium vocatur.* Ludolf likewise, in the preface to his *Ethiopic Lexicon*, published by Wansleb, at London in 1671, 4to. says, *Verendum est ne idem in cæteris Novi Testamenti libris fecerint, quippe Æthiops meus in multis eos differre aiebat ab exemplaribus MSS. patris sue.*

10. This work was published at Halle in 1749, 4to. and is the same, as that to which our author alludes in the first paragraph.

11. Published at Halle in 1767 and 1769, in two vols. 8vo.

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12. Mr. Bruce, in the chapter quoted Note 3. Vol. I. p. 489. relates, that he brought with him from Abyssinia a copy of the Ethiopic version of the Old Testament, which he has deposited in the British Museum, but it does not appear that he brought a copy of any part of the version of the New. He relates, Vol. I. B. II. Ch. 7. p. 493. that copies of the whole New Testament are even in that country extremely scarce, that except in the churches he had never seen a single manuscript which comprehended all the parts of it, and that even the transcripts of the Gospels were in the hands only of men

of the first distinction. Ludolf, in his *Commentar. Histor. Æthiop.* has given a catalogue of Ethiopic MSS. preserved in different libraries in Europe. See also *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Boerner. P. I. p. 158. or Vol. I. p. 130. ed. Paris, 1723. and Note 11. to sect. 3. of this chapter.

S E C T. XVIII.

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1. The title of this work is, *Mosis Chorenensis Historiæ Armeniacæ libri III.* Armeniace ediderunt, Latine verterunt, notisque illustrarunt, Gulielmus et Georgius, Gul. Whistoni filii, Aulæ Clarensis in Academia Cantabrigiensi aliquandiu alumni. Londini, 1736, 4to.

2. A much better description is given in *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. sect. 9.

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3. Published at Helmstädt in 1757, 4to.

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4. This letter is also printed in the Preface to *Moses Chorenensis*, p. 9. and the English translation of it may be seen either in Bp. Watson's *Tracts*, Vol. III. p. 302. or p. 245. of the Cambridge edition of Beausobre and L'Enfant's Introduction, printed in 1779, 8vo.

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5. This is probably an erratum for Eznac, or Eznic: the former orthography is adopted by *Le Long*, the latter by the Whistons, *Moses Choren*, p. 311.

6. Our author is not accurate in saying that the Syriac and Armenian are the only versions in which this addition is found, for it is likewise in the Persian. This however affects not his argument, as the Persian was taken from the Syriac.

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7. Another argument which clearly decides in favour of the opinion that our present Armenian version was not taken

taken from the Syriac (that is, from the Peshito) is, that the former contains those books of the New Testament which were never admitted into the latter.

S E C T. XIX.

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1. They are three distinct editions, for that of 1666, which contains both the Old and New Testament, is in 4to. that of 1668, which includes only the N. T. is in 8vo. and the edition of 1698 is in 12mo. The two first only were printed under the direction of Uscan, but the last is the most beautiful edition. A complete description, particularly of the first of these editions, is given in *Le Long Bib. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. I. p. 173—176. 180. A list of Armenian manuscripts of the New Testament is given in Dr. Boerner's edition of this work, P. I. p. 280. or Vol. I. p. 138. of the Paris edition of 1723. See also Vol. I. p. 76. of the *Catalogus MSS. Bib. Regiæ*, and Note 11. to sect. 3. of this chapter.

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2. The words of Sandius are, *Codex præterea Armeniacus, ante 400 annos exaratus, quem vidi apud Episcopum ecclesiæ Armeniacæ, quæ Amstelodami colligitur, locum illum non legit.* Now our author speaks of this manuscript, as if it was the only one, that was used by the Armenian Bishop, but it is possible, and even probable, that Uscan had more than one manuscript, nor do the words of Sandius imply the contrary.

3. The words of La Croze are, *Ce verset ne se trouve point dans l'Armenien. Je parle ici de l'Armenien manuscrit; car l'Eveque Armenien Uscan l'a fourré dans les éditions de Hollande après l'avoir traduit sur le Latin de la Vulgate.* But La Croze, on reading the Acts of the Council of Sis (held in 1307), published by Galanus, altered his opinion as far as relates to Uscan. For on finding that this verse was quoted in the Acts of that

Council (unless it was inserted without authority by Galanus) he thought it probable that the manuscripts of the Armenian version, which were written since the time of Haitho, might contain that verse. But none of these modern manuscripts have been actually produced in favour of the opinion, whereas we have positive evidence that Armenian manuscripts, written before the time of this council, have not the verse. Thus far I had written in the first edition of these notes: but at present all doubts are removed on the subject, and we know to a certainty that *no* Armenian MS. of the N. T. has the verse. This appears from the following testimony of Professor Alter at Vienna, which he first gave in the Preface to his edition of the Iliad, p. 85. *Plurimum Reverendus Bibliothecarius Meghitarensium, in insula S. Lazari Venetiis, P. Joannes Zohrab Armenus, Viennæ nunc (scil. 1790) negotia agens, mihi affirmavit, se in nullo codice manuscripto Armeno Novi Testamenti, quos tamen multos et varios in Conventus bibliotheca habent, 1 Joh. v. 7. reperisse, illumque in nullo adhuc codice Armeno repertum fuisse.*

4. Since the publication of this Introduction, the fourteen first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel in the Armenian version have been very accurately collated by Bredencamp, and the collation is printed in our author's New Orient. Bib. Vol. VII. p. 142—154.

5. Præfatio ad Mosen Chorenensem, p. 16.

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6. To the Armenian version may be added the Georgian, which was first printed at Moscow in 1743, fol. A description of it is given by the very learned and ingenious Eichborn in his Allgemeine Bibliothek, or Universal Library of Biblical Literature, Vol. I. p. 153—169. The description is taken from an essay on the Georgian version, written in Georgian by a learned Armenian named Avutadil, and translated into Italian by Paolo Leone, who has the title Vescovo Ordinate per la Nazione Armena. This translation was brought by Professor Adler

Adler from Rome. But as it appears from the description, that the Georgian text was altered from the Slavonian in the edition of Moscow, it would be of little value in the criticism of the New Testament. Two MSS. of the Georgian version of the Gospels are preserved in the Vatican. See *Le Long Bib. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 140. ed. Paris, 1723.

S E C T. XX.

PAGE 105.

1. A new Latin translation has been published by Professor Bode, at Helmstädt in 1750, 1751, with a preface containing historical and critical remarks on the Persic versions.

2. These notes are printed in the Appendix to the London Polyglot, p. 57—98. The Persic version of the four Gospels, which is the only part of the N. T. hitherto printed, was taken for the edition of the London Polyglot from a MS. in the possession of Dr. Pococke, and written in the year 1341. See *Waltoni Proleg.* XVI. § 9. It was the *Codex Pocockianus* 126, and is numbered 5453 in the *Catalogi Lib. MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*. Tom. I. P. I. p. 275. for this is the only Persic MS. of the Gospels mentioned in Pococke's catalogue.

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3. In Pierson's preface to this edition is the following passage, *Cum Evangeliiis Persicis edendis D. Abraham Whelocus operam navasset, tres sibi MSS. codices impetraverat, Oxoniensam, Cantabrigiensem, et alterum Pocockianum; quorum uno descripto, cæteris collatis, fusiorem in omnes commentarium destinaverat.* Now Walton, in his 16th *Prolegomenon*, § 9. relates that he himself had knowledge of only three MSS. of the Persic Gospels, one in the possession of Dr. Pococke, the other

two in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge; the first of which was printed in the London Polyglot, is a version different from the two last, and was supposed by Walton to be more ancient. If this account be true, Wheloc must have used manuscripts containing distinct versions; his text therefore is of a mixed nature, and of less value in that respect, as well as in point of antiquity, than that of the Polyglot. Of these three MSS. of the Persic Gospels, used by Wheloc, the Cod. Cantabrigiensis is probably that which is at present marked in the University library Gg. 5. 26. for though there is another Persic MS. of the Gospels in the same library, yet that belonged formerly to Bp. Moore, and was not brought to Cambridge till sixty years after the death of Wheloc. Le Long, in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 134. says that the Cambridge MS. used by Wheloc is preserved in the library of Emmanuel College. But I have examined this MS. and found that it did not belong to Emmanuel college till the year 1681, twenty-four years after the Persic Gospels were printed; for in a blank leaf at the beginning of the MS. is written, *Coll. Em. Cant. Ex dono Richardi Kidder hujus collegii quondam socii, 1681.* The Codex Oxoniensis it is more difficult to determine. Uri, in his Catalogue of Oriental manuscripts in the Bodleian library, enumerates only two Persic manuscripts of the Gospels, viz. p. 270. noted by him 6 and 7. the one formerly in the possession of Laud, the other formerly the property of Hyde. Le Long decides in favour of the former, and in Uri's description of it we find the words *Versio ad verba et mentem Græci textus concinnata*, which words are used by Pierson in the title-page. But in favour of the other manuscript it may be said, that Pierson has likewise in the title-page the following remarkable clause, *Versio Persica Arabicam et Syriacam redolens*, which very words are used by Uri in his description of his Codex 7. among the Persic manuscripts, and they were probably written by some proprietor in a blank leaf of the manuscript itself. The Codex Pocockianus has been mentioned in the preceding note.

4. There are two title-pages to Wheloc's edition, one by Wheloc himself, the other added by Pierson. The former is *Quatuor Evangelia Domini nostri Jesu Christi Persice, ad numerum situmque verborum Latine data*. 1652. The other is *Quatuor Evangeliorum Domini nostri Jesu Christi versio Persica, Syriacam et Arabicam suavissime redolens: ad verba et mentem Græci textus fideliter et venuste concinnata*. Londini 1657. It seems therefore that Pierson, not Wheloc, was of opinion that this Persic version was made from the Greek: or rather it was the opinion of some former proprietor of one of the manuscripts used by Wheloc, as the words 'ad verba et mentem Græci textus concinnata' were probably written on a blank leaf of the manuscript itself.

5. A list of manuscripts of the Persic version of the New Testament is given in *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra*, ed. Boerner, P. I. p. 168—170. or Vol. I. p. 133, 134. ed. Paris, 1723.

S E C T. XXI.

PAGE 108.

1. As our present English translation of the Bible was made in the time of James I. by a society of forty-seven persons appointed for that purpose by royal authority, who were divided into six different companies, which met in Westminster, Oxford, and Cambridge, and none of them probably were sufficiently acquainted with the German to derive any assistance from Luther's translation, it may seem difficult to comprehend how the Germanisms, of which our author speaks, should have been derived from this source: and it may appear more reasonable to conclude, that those turns of expression, which are no longer current in modern writings, were remnants of the Anglo-saxon idiom, of which more traces are visible in the works of that age, than in those of the present century. But it appears from the following circumstances, that our author's assertion is not wholly devoid of foundation.

the New Testament in 1523. 2. A few years previous to this publication, William Tyndal, who had studied both in Oxford and Cambridge, went abroad, spent some time in Germany, was personally acquainted with Luther, settled afterwards in Antwerp, and published an English translation of the N. T. in 1526. 3. John Rogers, who had studied in Cambridge, and spent a considerable time in Germany, where he became a minister of a Lutheran congregation, translated that part of the Old Testament which Tyndal had left unfinished, revised his translation of the New, added notes and prefaces from Luther, and published the whole at Hamburg in 1537, which edition is commonly called *Matthewe's Bible*, *Matthewe* being a fictitious name assumed by Rogers. 4. It is certain therefore that Rogers made use of Luther's version; and it is highly probable that Tyndal did the same, as he first translated those books which Luther had first translated, and began the translation of the prophets only a short time before his death in 1536, which Luther had not finished before 1532. Lastly, it appears from the 14th Rule given by James I. to the translators of our present English Bible, that where the English translations of Tyndal, *Matthewe*, &c. by which last is meant the edition of 1537, came closer to the original than the Bishop's Bible, their mode of translation should be retained.

See *Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica*, Tom. IV. p. 82. and Johnson's historical account of the English translations of the Bible, in *Bishop Watson's Tracts*, Vol. III. p. 67—72. 94—96. See also p. 309. of the preceding work, and Vol. I. p. 418. of *Le Long Bib. sacra*, ed. Paris, 1723.

S E C T. XXII.

PAGE 109.

1. The *Evangeliarium quadruplex* of *Blanchini* consists of two parts, and though it is generally bound in four volumes, yet in quoting it reference is commonly made

made to the part, not to the volume, because the pages are numbered through each part without interruption. A description of the manuscripts used by Blanchini is given by Dr. Semler in his Appendix to Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 635—678.

2. To the MSS. used by Blanchini, may be added a MS. in the imperial library at Vienna, containing parts of St. Mark's and St. Luke's Gospels according to the old Latin version. A complete description has been given of it in Latin by Professor Alter, and published in the third volume of the New Repertorium of Professor Paulus, p. 115—170.

PAGE 111.

3. The reading of the later version, or the Vulgate, is Euroaquilo, whence probably our author conjectures, that the Greek MSS. from which this version was made, had *Ευρακυλων*, the reading of the Cod. Alexandrinus.

4. To the editions of the old Latin version, either of the whole or of part of it mentioned by our author, may be added Dr. Semler's edition of the Latin text of the Gospel of St. John, taken from the Codex Cantabrigiensis. It is printed with his Paraphrasis Evangelii Johannis, 2 tom. 1771, 1772. 8vo. and it will shortly be published by Dr. Kipling, with types resembling the original. For further information on this subject, see Le Long Biblioth. sacra, ed. Masch. P. II. Vol. III. cap. 1.

S E C T. XXIII.

PAGE 112.

1. As the Latin translation was added in order to render the original more intelligible to the inhabitants of those countries, in which Greek was not spoken, it is natural to suppose, that the translation would be adapted to the original, not the original to the translation; and it seems extraordinary, for this very reason, that the latter conjecture could ever occur to a critic so eminent as Wetstein.

2. It

2. It is not impossible that some of these Latin versions were written several centuries after the commencement of Christianity. It is the generally received opinion that the Latin versions, found in the *Codices Græco-Latini*, as well as those published by Blanchini, existed in their present form, before the age of Jerom. But no satisfactory proof has ever been given of this assertion; for though the quotations of Lucifer of Cagliari, and other Latin fathers, who lived before the time of Jerom, frequently coincide with the text of some one of these translations, yet on the other hand they frequently disagree, as Simon himself acknowledges in his *Nouvelles Observations*, P. II. ch. xxi. No one will deny that a Latin version or versions of the New Testament existed, not only in the fourth, but even before the close of the second century, as appears from the quotations of Tertullian. See Semler's Appendix to Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 584. of the ed. published at Halle in 1764. But who will undertake to determine, that the version quoted by Tertullian, is among the number of those which exist at present? The *Codices Græco-Latini* were in general written after the age of Jerom, (see Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, Lib. III. cap. 1, 2, 3, 4.) at a time when the authority of the Vulgate had in a great measure, though not entirely, superseded the use of the more ancient versions. The Latin versions therefore annexed to the Greek texts of these manuscripts, for the private use of those who were unable to understand the original without the help of a translation, may be considered, not indeed as original productions of those ages, in which the *Codices Græco-Latini* were transcribed, but as compositions adapted to the text of each particular manuscript. If this statement be true, the Latin versions in the *Codices Græco-Latini* have a mixed text, which is composed partly of Ante-Hieronimian readings, partly of readings of the Vulgate, and partly of readings which were borrowed from the particular Greek text, to which they were added.

PAGE 113.

3. 'Itala' is perhaps an erratum in the manuscripts of Augustin's works for 'illa,' and perhaps the genuine reading is, 'in ipsis autem interpretationibus illa cæteris præferatur,' &c. This conjecture was made by Bentley, defended by Casley, and adopted by Lardner, Ernesti, and other eminent critics. See the arguments in support of the reading 'illa,' in Lardner's Works, Vol. V. p. 116. ed. 1788, and Ernesti Institutio interpretis N. T. p. 121. ed. 1775. If this conjecture is grounded, the error was occasioned by a transcriber, who read ITLA for ILLA, and supposed it to be an abbreviation of ITALA. But there is an inconvenience attending this conjecture, which consists in the word 'nam,' because if Itala be altered to illa, and the sentence be written 'in ipsis autem interpretationibus illa cæteris præferatur, *nam* est verborum tenacior,' &c. there is something wanting to determine the sense of 'illa:' and if, in order to effect this purpose, we change 'nam' into 'quæ,' as some critics have done who defend the reading 'illa,' we take a liberty which is wholly unwarranted. To avoid therefore the necessity of so violent an alteration, another ingenious conjecture was proposed by Potter. He supposes that Itala is a mistake for usitata, and that the passage stood originally, as written in the most ancient manuscripts, as follows, INIPSIS AUTEMINTERPRETATIONIBUSUSITATA CAETERISPRAEFERATUR, &c.; that a transcriber, after having copied 'interpretationibus,' took the first syllable of usitata, on returning to his manuscript, for the last syllable of the word which he had just written, and of course read the next word ITATA, which he concluded to be an erratum for ITALA, and in this manner produced our present spurious reading.

S E C T. XXIV.

PAGE 114.

1. One might almost suspect that translations, which abound in barbarisms of this nature, were written in the ages of ignorance, and after Latin had ceased to be a living language.

2. Our author, consistently with his favourite hypothesis, explains as provincialisms these deviations from classic purity. But whatever latitude be allowed to this principle, it seems to be insufficient to explain such examples as 'unus scriba,' where the use of unus, not as an adjective of number, but as an article, is so contrary to the genius of the Latin language, that it could never have been admitted, even in the most distant provinces, as long as Latin was a living language. It is an idiom peculiar to the dialects of the North, and could never have occurred to any Latin writer before the ancient tribes of Germany, after their conquests of Italy, had engrafted their language on the Latin, and produced the modern Italian. In short, 'unus scriba' is nothing more than the German *ein schreiber*, and the Italian *uno scriba*, and implies a familiarity with these expressions. These observations are made on the supposition, that our author is right in saying, that in the expressions *unus scriba*, *unus princeps*, &c. the word 'unus' is used as a modern indeterminate article, like the Italian 'uno.' But it was probably used as an indefinite pronoun, and as synonymous to 'quidam,' in the same manner as *τις* is sometimes used for *τις*: since *unus scriba*, Matth. viii. 19. (not vii. 19. as in the German original, an erratum, which by accident I neglected to alter in the translation) is literally translated from *τις γραμματεως*; and with respect to *princeps unus*, Matth. ix. 18. though *αρχων* alone is found in the common editions, yet several manuscripts quoted by Wetstein have *αρχων τις*, and one has *αρχων τις*. See Gesner's Thesaurus, art. Unus, where Gesner quotes 'unus pater familias,' from Cicero de Oratore.

PAGE

PAGE 115.

3. Salmacidus is not quoted by Cicero from Ennius, for the line which he quotes is the following :

Salmaci, da spolia sine sudore et sanguine.

De Officiis, Lib. I. c. 18.

It may be observed, that this example must not be sought in the Vulgate, where we find a different expression, James iii. 11. but in the old Latin version published by Sabatier. Matth. iii. 24. is an erratum in the German original for Matth. iv. 24. which is not altered in the translation, because, though I knew it to be an error, I had not discovered the real place, till after that page had been already printed.

4. See Note 2.

PAGE 116.

5. The first example, which our author produces in favour of his hypothesis, that one of the old Latin versions was made by a native Syrian, is taken from Mark i. 9. where the Codd. Vercellensis and Veronensis for ab Johanne have ab Johannen. The origin of this termination he seeks in the Syriac version, in which Johannes is expressed by ܝܫܗܢܐܢ (Juhanan); but it is surely more reasonable to ascribe it to the ignorance of a copyist in later ages, who knew not whether 'ab' governed an ablative, or an accusative. It is therefore mere accident that the proper name in question ends in both versions with the same letter. Besides, if the Syriac has been the cause of these solœcisms, how shall we explain the origin of Scriptum est in Eseciam prophetam, which is found in the Cod. Vercellensis, Mark i. 1. (Evangelium quadruplex, P. II. p. 310.) for, in Esaia propheta. In Syriac Esaias is expressed by ܐܫܗܝܐ (Esahjo): the false government therefore observable in the Latin, cannot possibly be ascribed to any other cause, than the ignorance of the writer or transcriber. The other examples are selected, with a view of shewing what our author asserts in this paragraph, that there are Syriasms in the Latin

Latin versions, where none are observable in the Greek, and that these idioms are to be ascribed to a native of Syria, who, in translating the Greek Testament into Latin, derived assistance from the version of his own country. The following may serve as a specimen. Mark viii. 17. the common Greek text is *πεπρωμενον εχετε τα καρδια υμων*, which, expressed word for word, is *obtusum habetis cor vestrum*; but the Latin versions in the Codex Cant. and the Brixienensis have *obtusa sunt corda vestra*. Now the use of the verb 'sum' instead of 'habeo,' our author says must be ascribed to the Syriac version, which has here *ܠܚܕܝܐ ܕܠܒܐܝܬܐ ܕܚܕܝܐ ܕܠܒܐܝܬܐ ܕܚܕܝܐ ܕܠܒܐܝܬܐ* *cor durum est vobis*. But what necessity is there for having recourse to the Syriac version, to explain the origin of a phrase, which, instead of being a Syriasm, is better Latin than the literal translation of the Greek? And whoever examines his other examples, will find that they may be all explained, without having recourse to a version, which was perhaps unknown, or at least unintelligible to the authors of these Latin translations. The example which our author alleges in the note from Ridley's Dissertation is inconclusive, as he himself acknowledges.

PAGE 117.

6. If Jewish converts, inhabitants of Italy in the first century, had applied themselves to the translation of any part of the Greek Testament into Latin, which is however mere conjecture, it would be still insufficient to explain what our author asserts with respect to the Syriasm of these Latin versions, since the Jews of those ages who lived in Europe spake no other language than the Greek, and could read the Old Testament only in the Septuagint. If it be replied that a native of Syria might have settled in Rome; and applied himself to the task of translating Greek into Latin, a matter which is in itself almost incredible, we may answer, that no Christian community, either in Rome or any other city of Italy, would have accepted such a translation, where persons could not have
been

been wanting, who were able to translate the original into correct and genuine Latin.

7. The examples, which our author has alleged in his *Curæ*, as proofs that Syriasms are contained in the Latin versions, where none are observable in the Greek, are not wholly satisfactory. One of them has been mentioned in the fifth Note, which no more deserves the name of a Syriasm, than the expression used in the Syriac version the title of a Latinism. That a literal translation of the Greek Testament, which is full of Oriental idioms, as being written by natives of the East, should have the same peculiarities as the original, is by no means extraordinary: and if in some examples expressions are discovered in the Latin versions, which savour of the Eastern idiom, where the Greek phrase is pure and classical, is it not more reasonable, as the translations were made in countries where Syriac was unknown, to ascribe them to the influence of habit acquired by the daily study of a work that is written in Syriac-Greek? The examples of coincidence between the Syriac and the Vulgate, in readings which are found in no Greek manuscript now extant, afford no proof that the one was either taken from, or even consulted in the composition of the other, and shew only that they were translated from Greek manuscripts written in an early age, before length of time had introduced the present variety.

S E C T. XXV.

PAGE 117.

1. Our author here discovers in the Latin versions a knowledge of orthographical minutiae, in regard to Syriac proper names, where no such knowledge is visible. That Capernaum is used in some of them instead of Capernaum is by no means extraordinary, since *καφαρναυμ* is found in Greek manuscripts, and was perhaps the most ancient reading, as it is thus quoted by Origen. Scarioth by no means corresponds to the Syriac orthography,

graphy, which is Scariuto, and this word is so differently written in the Latin versions, in some Iscariotes, in others Scariotes, in others again Scarioth, and lastly, in the Cod. Veronensis, Carioth, that no inference can be deduced from it. At all events there is no necessity for referring to the Syriac, since *Σκαριωτης* is a various reading in the Greek; and even were this reading not in the Greek, why cannot a Latin translator have dropped the initial vowel without the intervention of the Syriac, as well as the Syriac translator without the intervention of the Latin? It is an oversight which is naturally to be expected from an inhabitant as well of ancient as of modern Italy, for the number of words which begin with Sc, both in Latin and Italian, greatly surpasses the number of those, which begin with Sc preceded by a vowel. With respect to the testimony of Augustin, no inference can be deduced from it that Latin versions were made in the first century, for the *prima fidei tempora*, of which he speaks, may relate to the second, as well as the first century.

PAGE 118.

2. The learned and ingenious Eichhorn, in his Introduction to the Old Testament, supposes with more probability that the first Latin version of the Bible was made in Africa, where Latin alone being understood, a translation was more necessary, where the Latin version was held in the highest veneration, and where the language being spoken with less purity, barbarisms might have more easily been introduced, than in a provincial town in Italy.

3. But the Greek Testament could not have been translated into Latin before the canon had been formed, which was certainly not made in the first century. See Millii Prolegomena, § 195. Semleri Commentarii historici de antiquo Christianorum statu, Tom. I. p. 35—39. and Griesbachii Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum, sect. 2. § 12.

S E C T. XXVI.

PAGE 120.

1. It appears, from the fac simile which the editor of the Cod. Boernerianus has annexed to fol. 23. that distinct intervals are between each word; Phil. ii. 4. the reading is distinctly *κατοις κορβις*, and the Latin translation is *singuli laborantes*. The copyist therefore in transcribing from a more ancient manuscript, written without intervals, having by a false division of the two Greek words converted *κορβις* into *κορβις*, altered in consequence of this error the Latin *considerantes* into *laborantes*. But his alteration is incomplete and inconsistent, for he should have changed at the same time *singuli* into *singulis*.

S E C T. XXVII.

PAGE 123.

1. Wetstein, in quoting from the Latin versions which differ from the Vulgate, quotes them indiscriminately under the title *Codices Latini*, but Griesbach has made a very accurate distinction between each individual manuscript, which he quotes by name, and of which he has given a catalogue to the number of seventeen. See his Preface, p. 23, 24. In short, he has shewn himself in this, as well as in every other respect, to be the most consummate critic, that ever undertook an edition of the Greek Testament. To the readings of Latin manuscripts which he has given in this admirable work, may be added those of the *Codex Evangeliorum Latinus Harleii*, and *Codex Epistolarum Latinus Harleii*, which he has communicated in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. 307—382.

S E C T. XXVIII.

PAGE 123.

1. See Millii Prolegomena, § 850—869.

PAGE 124.

2. Examples are given in Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 83.

3. For a description of the Divina Bibliotheca Hieronymi, see Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. III. cap. 1. § 18. or Walchii Bibl. patristica, p. 346.

S E C T. XXIX.

PAGE 125.

1. This is asserted by Mill in his Prolegomena, § 1401. With respect to our author's Note at the bottom of the page, where he produces a passage from Theganus, to shew that Charlemagne collated the Latin Gospels both with the Greek and with the Syriac, I must confess that I have not sufficient confidence in the authority of Theganus, to believe that Charlemagne, or even his secretary Alcuin, understood a syllable of Syriac. It is probable that neither of them understood much of the Greek language, which in those days was very little known in the West of Europe.

PAGE 126.

2. A description of a manuscript of the Vulgate, written in the 13th century, is given in the Repertorium, Vol. XVII. p. 183—206. under the title Notitia codicis manuscripti membranacei e sæculo 13^{to} totius vulgatæ versionis bibliorum SS. proposita a C. L. Bauero. For a general description of the manuscripts of the Latin version, see Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Boerner, P. I. p. 534—574. or Vol. I. p. 234—250. ed. Paris, 1723.

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PAGE 127.

3. A complete account of all the editions of the Vukgate is given in *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. III. cap. 2.

S E C T. XXXI.

PAGE 130.

1. This is an original German name, and is the diminutive of the word *Wolf*: it is written in correct German *Wölfelein*, but corruptly pronounced *Wölfila*, or *Wulfila*, in the dialects of Switzerland, Bavaria, and Austria, to which that of the *Mæso-Goths*, who likewise inhabited the banks of the *Danube*, is nearly allied.

PAGE 131.

2. See also *Lardner's Works*, Vol. IV. p. 137. ed. 1788.

PAGE 132.

3. The works of *Simeon Metaphrastes*, who was born in *Constantinople* at the end of the ninth century, were published at *Paris* in 1556, 8vo.

PAGE 133.

4. The German title of this small treatise is *Versuch einer Erläuterung einer alten Spur der Gothischen Uebersetzung*; it was published at *Halle* in 1764.

S E C T. XXXIII.

PAGE 139.

1. To place this dispute in a clear point of view, it is necessary to observe, that the expression 'German language,' taken in its most extensive sense, (or, as we say, 'Teutonic') and as used by *Fulda*, *Adelung*, and others, who have the most profound knowledge of its antiquity,

antiquity, includes not only the dialects of modern Germany, but all those languages which are spoken from the provinces on the southern banks of the Danube, to the borders of the Frozen Sea. It is divided into two principal classes, the High and the Low German: the former comprehends all those dialects, which are spoken in Upper Saxony, Franconia, Suabia, the circle of the Upper Rhine, Switzerland, Bavaria, Austria, and in ancient times from the source to the mouth of the Danube: probably therefore in the country inhabited by the Mæso-Goths. The second class, or the Low German, comprehends the dialects of Lower Saxony, and Westphalia, the Danish, Swedish, or, as it may be called, Suio-Gothic, in opposition to Mæso-Gothic, Icelandish, Flemish, Dutch, and English, as spoken before it was mixed with Norman-French. This distinction being made, it will appear that many of the arguments used in the controversy, relative to the language of the Codex Argenteus, are merely verbal, and that the opposite parties frequently agree, where they seem to differ. And, what is still more unfortunate, the neglect of this distinction has led to very false conclusions: for instance, a similarity between the language of the Codex Argenteus, and that of the modern High German, has been used as an argument, that the version must be Frankish, as if the language of the old inhabitants of Mæsia were not a dialect of the High German, as well as the Frankish; and on the other hand, a similarity with the Swedish has been used as an argument, that the version is Gothic, as if Suio-Gothic and Mæso-Gothic were the same.

2. The Danes and the Swedes have an indefinite article *en* for the masculine, *et* for the neuter: but when the article is intended to be used definitely, they write it as a termination of the noun, to which it belongs. This peculiarity being not observable in the Codex Argenteus, is an argument that its dialect is not that of the Suio-Goths; but it leaves the question undecided, whether it be Mæso-Gothic, or Frankish.

3. With

3. With this difference, that the Swedes and the Danes never prefix the syllable *ge* or *ga* to the participle, whereas it is sometimes prefixed to it in the *Codex Argenteus*. See p. 49. of Lye's Gothic Grammar, prefixed to his edition of the Gothic version.

4. The formation of German verbs, by prefixing the syllable *ge*, is not peculiar to the dialect of Thüringen, or the writings of Ottfried, but is extremely common in all the dialects of the High German; and a great number of examples are given by Adelung, in his German Dictionary, Vol. II. p. 434. whereas this mode of formation is not used in the Danish or Swedish. Now as the syllable *ga*, which is only a less refined pronunciation, is incessantly applied in this manner in the *Codex Argenteus*, it affords a very strong presumption that its language is not Suio-Gothic, but like the argument mentioned, Note 2. it leaves the question undecided, whether the version was written in the country of the Franks, or in the ancient province of Mœsia.

S E C T. XXXIV.

PAGE 142.

1. The arguments used in this paragraph sufficiently evince that the dialect of the *Codex Argenteus* is that of a nation which, like the Mœso-Goths, bordered on the Greek empire, and therefore not the dialect of the Franks. But it must not be forgotten that the Mœso-Gothic is still a German dialect; it has a verb *Haban* (*habere*), as well as other dialects their *Haben*, and if *Haban* occurs in no instance of the *Codex Argenteus* as an auxiliary, it must be ascribed to the circumstance, that this version is a close copy of the Greek, and that the past time can be expressed in all the German dialects, both with and without the auxiliary. To the influence of the Greek may be likewise ascribed the use of the Dual, and of most, though not all of those words of the *Codex Argen-*

teus, which were never used by those German tribes, that were unconnected with foreigners.

2. The Mœso-Gothic is not the only German dialect in which this word is used. See Lye's Saxon Dictionary art. Sweltan, and Ihre Glossarium Suio-Gothicum art. Swaelta.

3. See the Preface to Ihre Glossarium Suio-Gothicum, p. 6. But many of the words, that are quoted by Bûsbeck, approach much nearer to the modern German, than to the language of the Codex Argenteus, and are rather to be ascribed to the Saxon colonies that were planted in Transylvania and in the neighbouring provinces, some centuries ago, than to be considered as remnants of the Mœso-Gothic.

PAGE 143.

4. These Latin words may be ascribed to the influence of the Roman colony, which Trajan planted in Dacia.

5. In the Gothic version *uþar* is invariably translated by the original German word 'wato,' but Luke vi. 49. where *wtarapoc* is translated by 'flodus,' the word 'aqha' (qh corresponds to the Gothic Ɔ) is written in the margin, but with what intent it is difficult to determine. In the printed editions of the Gothic version it is taken into the text, and compounded with 'flodus.'

6. See Fabricii Bibl. Græca, Vol. VI. p. 599.

PAGE 144.

7. See also Semleri interpretatio loci in Cæremoniali Byzantino, qui το Γεθιμον commemorat. Halæ 1749, 4to.

8. But the arguments, which our author has already produced, are sufficiently convincing, that the version, contained in the Codex Argenteus, was not written within the limits of Germany, properly so called, and that it is exactly such as might be expected from a German tribe, which was settled on the borders of the Greek empire, and in the neighbourhood of a Roman colony.

S E C T. XXXVI.

PAGE 152.

1. These words are not in the edition of the Gothic version published by Junius and Marshall, nor in that printed at Stockholm, but they may be seen in Ihre Ulphilas illustratus, p. 67. ed. Büschen. In Benzel's edition, published by Lye at Oxford in 1750, they are restored to the Gothic text: on which Benzel observes in his note to this passage, 'Evidens legisse nostrum *ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰνὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐ μὴ ποιεῖν δύναμιν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μὲν*, at mirum est nullius nec codicis nec versionis consensum reperiri, quod haud dubie movit Junium, ut verba lectu clarissima ex editione sua expungeret.'

PAGE 153.

2. Various readings from the Gothic version were first quoted by Fell in the Oxford edition of 1675, others were added by Mill, and still more by Wetstein.

S E C T. XXXVII.

PAGE 155.

1. See Semleri dissertatio de primis initiis Christianæ inter Russos religionis, Halæ 1763, 4to.

PAGE 156.

2. A new edition of the Slavonian version was published at Moscow in 1783, 4to.

3. It is well known that this passage is omitted in most of the Greek manuscripts. See Griesbach in loco.

PAGE 157.

4. This verse is omitted in many Greek manuscripts,
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among which are three in uncial letters, and also in several antient versions. The Cod. Bezaë is here defective.

PAGE 158.

5. Some few readings of the Slavonian version are given by Wetstein and Griesbach, for instance Acts xx. 28. but very copious and accurate extracts have been given from it by Professor Alter, in his edition of the Greek Testament, published at Vienna in 1787, Vol. I. p. 375—390; where the readings are taken from the edition printed at Moscow in 1614: p. 1122—1156. where they are taken from a Slavonian manuscript in the imperial library marked 356, and p. 1157—1194. likewise from a Slavonian manuscript in the same library marked 355. These relate to the four Gospels. Vol. II. p. 968—1039. are extracts from the Acts and the Epistles, from a Slavonian manuscript marked in the imperial library 101.

6. Since the publication of our author's Introduction, a very excellent description of the Slavonian version has been communicated by Dobrowsky, a profoundly learned critic in that branch of criticism, and printed in the Neue Orientalische Bibliothek, Vol. VII. p. 155—167. Of this essay the following are a few extracts. 1. The Slavonian version is very literally translated from the Greek, the Greek construction being frequently retained where it is contrary to the genius of the Slavonian; and resembles in general the most ancient manuscripts. 2. In the Gospels it agrees with the Codex Stephani, more frequently than with any other Greek manuscript. 3. In the catholic epistles it agrees in general with the Codex Alexandrinus, and frequently in the Revelation. 4. In the Acts, and in the epistles of St. Paul, it agrees in general with the most ancient manuscripts, but sometimes with one, sometimes with another, yet most frequently with Wetstein's Codex E. 5. Of the readings adopted by Griesbach in the text of his Greek Testament, the Slavonian version has at least three-fourths. 6. Where the united evidence of ancient manuscripts is against the

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the common printed reading, the Slavonian version agrees with the ancient manuscripts. 7. It has not been altered from the Vulgate, as some have supposed, though the fact is in itself almost incredible. 8. It varies from the text of Theophylact, in as many instances as they agree: and their coincidence is to be ascribed, not to an alteration from Theophylact, but to the circumstance, that both Theophylact and the author of the Slavonian version used the Greek edition. 9. The Slavonian version has few or no readings peculiar to itself, or what the critics call '*lectiones singulares*.'

Dobrowsky adds, that the extracts made by Alter from the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, are selected with great accuracy, but that those which Matthäi has taken from the Revelation are erroneous and useless.

SECT. XXXVIII.

PAGE 158.

1. See also Simon *Hist. crit. des versions du N. T.* ch. xlii. Our author, in referring to Le Long's *Bibliotheca sacra*, means Vol. I. of the Paris edition of 1723. In Dr. Boerner's edition, the account of the Anglo-saxon version is given P. II. p. 302—316.

2. The edition of 1571 was printed in London, in 4to. and has a preface by John Fox, which is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The edition of 1638 was likewise printed in London, and contains fragments both of the Old and New Testament. The edition of 1665 was printed at Dordrecht, with the Mæso-Gothic version, and re-printed at Amsterdam in 1684.

3. See Millii *Prolegomena*, § 1401.

PAGE 159.

4. Various readings from the Anglo-saxon version of the four Gospels were first quoted by Mill, who took them from the papers of Marshall. See his *Prolegomena*, § 1462.

§ 1462. With respect to its antiquity, the learned are not agreed, but it is generally referred to some part of the eighth century. For an account of the manuscripts of the Anglo-saxon version, see *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra*, Tom. I. p. 422, 423. ed. 1723. A very complete catalogue of Anglo-saxon manuscripts in general is given in *Wanley's Appendix to Hickes's Thesaurus*, published at Oxford in 1705, folio

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

S E C T. I.

PAGE 159.

1. A *codex criticus* is a manuscript, in which the transcriber, instead of copying from one and the same ancient manuscript, selects from several those readings, which appear to him to be the best.

PAGE 160.

2. See also the *Prolegomena* to Professor Birch's edition of the four Gospels, published at Copenhagen in 1788, in which the learned editor has described a very great number, particularly of the manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Italy, which before his time had been either totally neglected, or very imperfectly examined. Professor Alter has likewise communicated extracts from Vienna manuscripts, in his edition of the Greek Testament published at Vienna in 1787. See Vol. I. p. 323—1078. Vol. II. p. 415—967.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

PAGE 161.

1. See Mill's Prolegomena, § 1052—1057. But to prevent confusion it is necessary to observe, that *αποστολος* is frequently used in a different sense, denoting not a collection of lessons from the epistles, but the epistles themselves. See Griesbach's *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, sect. 2. § 10. Those manuscripts, which contain lessons from the four Gospels, are called in general *Evangelistaria*. See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 62.

2. This manuscript belonged formerly to Cæsar de Missy, and will be described in a subsequent section, under the title *Codex Goettingensis 2*. A transcript of the list of lessons from our author's *Or. Bibl.* would be foreign to the present purpose.

3. Because additions of this kind might be more easily admitted into a *Lectionarium*, than into a regular transcript of the Greek Testament. Their non-admission therefore is a stronger proof against their authenticity in the former case, than in the latter.

PAGE 162.

4. To render this example more intelligible, it may be observed that the genuine text of this passage, and which Griesbach has restored, is *κραβηνος δε αυτε τον Πιτρον και Ιωαννην*, but that in several *Lectionaria* a new lesson begins with Acts iii. 11. and in the following manner, *Εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις κραβηνος τε ιαθηνος χωλε*, κ. τ. λ. Now the insertion of *τε ιαθηνος χωλε* was necessary in the beginning of the lesson, in order to inform the audience of the subject of discourse; but in the third chapter of the Acts, in which mention had been already made of the healing of the lame man, *αυτε* was sufficient, and *τε ιαθηνος χωλε* would have been wholly superfluous.

5. This

5. This interpolation from a Lectionarium is likewise rejected by Griesbach, as also *εἰπε ὁ Κύριος*, Luke vii. 31. and *οἱ περὶ τοῦ Παύλου*, Acts xxi. 8.

6. Also in the two Vienna manuscripts described by Treschow, and noted by Griesbach Codd. 124, 125. Namely the two verses of St. Luke's Gospel, ch. xxii. 43, 44. are copied in these manuscripts after the thirty-ninth verse of Matth. xxvi. But in the last of these three manuscripts the addition is only in the margin.

7. *Animadverteram multoties in media lectione quædam omissa esse, quæ legerentur in alia lectione.*

Evangelium secundum Lucam, ed. Matthäi, p. 446.

8. This is probably an erratum for Luke xxii. 43. To comprehend in what respects Wetstein is here inaccurate, it is necessary to consult Matthäi's note to this passage. Wetstein however has not quoted falsely; he has only quoted too little. He mentions ten Evangelistaria, in which the two verses, Luke xxii. 43, 44. are omitted. This is a real fact, and cannot be denied even by Matthäi, though this learned editor relates, that in the same Evangelistaria the same lesson is found in another part, in which these verses are not omitted. His words, which, as too often happens in the writings of this profound critic, were not dictated by a spirit of liberality and good breeding, are the following: 'Si ergo Wetstenius primam lectionem intellexit, cum dixit hæc abesse, testimonium ejus veritati consentaneum est: sin de altera lectione monuit, mentitus est.'

9. An accurate description of the Evangelistaria is expected from Dr. Griesbach, in the second volume of his *Symbolæ criticæ*. See the first volume, p. ccxxiv.

S E C T. III.

PAGE 165.

1. Our author is here totally silent in regard to the merits of the immortal Semler, who was the first critic that ventured to call in question the opinion of Wetstein,

stein, and to defend the *Codices Græco-Latini* against the charge, which Wetstein had laid to them. So early as the year 1765, two years therefore before the publication of our author's second edition of this Introduction, and twenty-three before the publication of the fourth, Dr. Seimler printed the third volume of his Introduction to the Interpretation of Scripture, entitled *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, in which, both in the preface, and in several parts of the work itself, he supports these manuscripts against the accusation at that time admitted by our author, and perhaps by every critic in Europe. In his *Spicilegium Observationum*, annexed to *Wetstenii Libelli ad crisin N. T.* which he published in 1766, he delivers, p. 179, 191, &c. the same sentiments; more at large, p. 44—54. of his *Apparatus ad liberalem N. T. interpretationem*, published in 1767, and lastly in the beginning of the fourth volume of his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, printed in 1769. The original genius of this great critic and divine, permitted him in no case to be a blind follower of the opinion of others, he ascended constantly to the source itself, examined with his own eyes, and made more discoveries in sacred criticism, and ecclesiastical history, than the envy of his contemporaries has been willing to admit.

PAGE 166.

2. Namely the *Codex Amandi*, *Claromontanus*, *Sangermanensis*, and *Boernerianus*.

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3. Erasmus could never imagine that the celebrated *Codex Vaticanus* was written after the council of Florence. The alterations therefore, a *secunda manu*, which are visible in this manuscript, must be those, which he meant to ascribe to one of the articles of convention in this council: and this is a very obvious construction of Erasmus's own words, '*Codices ad latinorum exemplaria emendatos.*' But he had never seen the manuscript, of which he speaks, for he says, in the passage quoted by
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our author from the *Capita Argumentorum*, 'Talis adhuc *dicitur* adservari in bibliotheca pontificia.' In our author's reference to Erasmus's Note on Luke x. 1. is an erratum, which I have not been able to correct: Erasmus's Note on that verse, in the edition of 1527, relates to a totally different subject.

PAGE 171.

4. It is true that the expression '*Romana lectio*,' which Sepulveda here opposes to '*Græci codices*,' is somewhat ambiguous, but he himself determines its meaning, by opposing in the same sentence '*exemplaria Romana*' to the '*exemplaria Græcorum*,' and by giving in the following sentence to the '*exemplaria Romana*,' the title of '*libri archetypi*.' Where he opposes the Greek original to the Latin translation, he uses the terms '*dictio Græca*,' and '*dictio Latina*.'

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5. This conjecture is not probable. Dr. Semler, in a note to Simon Hist. critique du Texte du N. T. ch. xxix. supposes that Sepulveda understood by '*certus locus*,' the celebrated passage 1 John v. 7. which the editors of the Complutum edition had translated from the Latin into Greek, his letter being dated Rome 1535, which was twenty-one years after that edition was printed, and thirteen after it was published.

6. This explanation leaves the matter in as much uncertainty as Sepulveda's own expression, but the whole seems to be clear from Note 4. After all, it is a matter of no consequence, whether the agreement in question, to alter the Greek manuscripts from the Latin, took place at the council of Florence, or not. For in ancient manuscripts the original text may be distinguished from modern alterations, and new manuscripts written since the council of Florence are in other respects of little or no value.

PAGE 173.

7. The term 'recensio' was first applied to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament by Semler, in the third volume of his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, published in 1765, and his *Apparatus ad liberalem N. T. interpretationem*, published in 1767, and adopted by Griesbach, in his *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, and in his *Greek Testament and Symbolæ criticæ*.

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8. Griesbach refers all these Recensiones to ages prior to the eighth century. *Mirum hoc videbitur nemini qui secum reputaverit sexto aut septimo sæculo extitisse jam illam recensionem quæ in codicibus recentioribus plerisque habetur, et a textu vulgari typis excuso parum differt; inde vero a sæculo octavo vix novam recensio-nem ullam procuratam fuisse, nec variantium lectionum numerum insigniter postea auctum esse, si sphalmata de-mas a librariis dormitantibus admissa, et glossas non-nullas e margine in textum temere translatas.*

Hist. textus ep. Paulin. sect. 1. § 11.

9. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. ix.

S E C T. IV.

PAGE 180.

1. For instance, Mill printed the text of Stephens's third edition, but Wetstein having adopted another text, was sometimes guilty of mistakes in accommodating to his own text, the various readings of that of Mill. To avoid this inconvenience, Professor Birch has abided by the text which Mill had adopted. See his Preface to the four Gospels, printed immediately before the Prolegomena.

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2. Named by Knittel *Codex Guelferbytanus A*, and quoted by Griesbach by the title *Codex P*.

3. *Codex*

3. Codex Guelpherbytanus B, and Griesbach's Codex Q.

4. To these publications may be added that of the Codex Boernerianus, printed at Meissen in Saxony, in 1791, under the following title, XIII epistolarum Pauli Codex Græcus, cum versione latina vetere vulgo Antehieronymiana, olim Boernerianus nunc bibliothecæ electoralis Dresdensis, summa fide et diligentia transcriptus et editus a C. F. Matthæi.

The Codex Vindobonensis, named Codex Lambecii primus, has been published by Professor Alter; for he has printed his Greek Testament from this manuscript, except where it had manifest errata, and even these he has carefully noted. This edition will be described in a following chapter.

5. In the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXII. N° 333. our author has printed a letter, which he had received from Professor Adler in the year 1783, in which he relates, that when Spoletti delivered his memorial to the Pope, in order to obtain permission to print the Codex Vaticanus, he was referred, according to the usual routine, to the Inquisition, with the order that Father Mamachi, the magister sacri palatii, should be consulted in particular; whose ignorance, and its usual attendant, a spirit of intolerance, induced him to persuade the Pope to prevent the execution of the plan, under the pretence that the Codex Vaticanus differed from the Vulgate, and might therefore, if made known to the public, be prejudicial to the interests of the Christian religion. The Abbé Spoletti presented a second memorial to the Pope, in which he answered the objections of Father Mamachi, but the powers of the Inquisition prevailed against arguments, which had no other support than sound reason. Professor Adler further relates, that since the death of Evodius Asseman, who was one of the librarians in the Vatican, the difficulty of access to the manuscripts is so great, as to make it almost impossible for a critic to derive at present any advantage from them; that it is strictly forbidden not only to copy, but even to collate them.

them. It is a fortunate circumstance, therefore, for the learned world, that Professor Birch had made such complete extracts from the Codex Vaticanus, before the intolerant principles of Cardinal Zelada, and Monsignor Reggio, had produced the present order. In the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. N° 348. our author has printed a letter, which he had received from the celebrated De Rossi, in which he endeavours to vindicate the honour of Pius VI. who is his friend and patron, and to shew that Spoletti abandoned the design of his own accord. But admitting that the Pope himself, as far as relates to his own private sentiments, was not averse to the undertaking, yet this at least is certain, that no public permission was ever given to Spoletti, though he repeatedly asked it; he was therefore obliged to abandon the design, since the private indulgence of the Pope would have been no security against the vengeance of the Inquisition. However, no obstacles were thrown in the way of the collation of MSS. in the Vatican for Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint.

PAGE 184.

6. The rules, which are necessary to be observed in the critical use and application of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, are given by Griesbach, in his *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, p. 18—23.

S E C T. V.

PAGE 184.

1. A list of manuscripts of the Greek Testament, hitherto uncollated, might be selected from the following publications, and perhaps from several others, with which I am unacquainted.

Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ Codicum MStorum catalogus a Steph. Evodio Assemano, et Jos. Simone Assemano, Romæ 1756, 3 tom. fol. But only a few
Vol. II. S s copies

copies of this catalogue remain, the rest having been destroyed in the fire which consumed a wing of the Vatican. The second volume contains the Greek manuscripts. A catalogue of the Vatican manuscripts is likewise given in Montfaucon *Bibl. bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 1—155.

Bibliothecæ Mediceo-Laurentianæ catalogus ab A. M. Biscionio digestus atque editus, Florentiæ 1752—1756, 2 tom. fol.

Bandini *Catalogus Codicum Græcorum Bibliothecæ Medicæ Laurentianæ*, Florentiæ 1764—1770, 3 tom. folio.

Græca D. Marci Bibliotheca Codicum MStorum per titulos digesta, præside et moderatore Laurentio Theupolo, Equite, ac D. Marci Procuratore, jussu Senatus Venetiis 1740, fol.

Græci Codices manuscripti apud Nanios Patricios Venetos asservati, Bononiæ 1784, 4to.

Codices manuscripti bibliothecæ regiæ Taurinensis, cum animadversionibus Passini, Rivautellæ, et Bertæ, cum figuris, Taurini 1749, fol.

Bibliotheca Ducis Mutinensis, printed in Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 531. In this library are two manuscripts written in uncial letters, the one of the Gospels, the other of the Acts of the Apostles, which have never been collated.

Regiæ Bibliothecæ Madritensis Codices Græci MSti, a Johanne Iriarte, Madrid 1769, fol.

Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam MStorum Bibliothecæ Lugduno-Batavæ, opera Wolferdi Senguerdii, Jac. Gronovii, et Joh. Heyman, Lugduni apud Batavos, 1716, fol. *Supplementum*, ib. 1741, fol.

Catalogus Codicum MStorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ, Parisiis 1739—1744, 4 tom. fol. of which the second volume contains the Greek manuscripts.

Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Seguieriana, studio et opera B. de Montfaucon, Parisiis 1715, fol.

P. Lambecii *Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi Libri octo*, Vindobonæ,

1665—1679, 8 tom. fol. It has been re-printed with considerable additions, by F. Kollar, ib. 1766—1782.

Nessellii Catalogus MStorum Orient. et Græcor. Bibliothecæ Vindobonensis, Vindobonæ 1690, 2 tom. fol.

Nessellii recensio specialis omnium codicum MStorum Bibliothecæ Vindobonensis, cura J. F. Reimanni, Hænoviæ 1712, 8vo.

Catalogus Codicum MStorum Bibliothecæ Gothanæ, Auctore E. S. Cypriano, Lipsiæ 1714, 4to.

C. T. de Murr Memorabilia Bibliothecarum publicarum Norimbergensium et Universitatis Altdorfinae, Norimbergæ 1786—1788, 2 tom. 8vo.

Bibliotheca Codicum Græcorum serenissimi Bavarie Ducis et Electoris, printed in the first volume of Montfaucon's Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, p. 587. In this library is an ancient manuscript, containing, beside the Acts and the Epistles, the book of Revelation.

Hensleri notitia codicum N. T. Græcorum, qui Havniæ in bibliotheca regia adservantur, Havniæ 1784, 8vo.

Erichsen's View of the collection of ancient manuscripts in the King of Denmark's great library, written in Danish, and published at Copenhagen in 1786, 8vo.

Matthæi Notitia Codicum MStorum Mosquensium, Mosquæ 1776, fol.

Thomæ Jamesii ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis distributa in libros duos, quorum prior continet catalogum confusum librorum MStorum in bibliothecis duarum academiarum Oxoniæ et Cantabrigiæ, posterior catalogum eorum distinctum et dispositum secundum quatuor facultates, observato tam in nominibus quam in operibus ipsis alphabetico literarum ordine. Londini 1600, 4to.

N. B. The Catalogue of the manuscripts of the Bodleian, published by Uri at Oxford, in 1787, includes only the Oriental.

Catalogi librorum MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti, Oxoniæ 1697, fol.

Catalogus librorum MStorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi in Academia Cantabrigiensi legavit M. Parkerus

Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. Ed. J. Nasmith, Cantabrigiæ 1777, 4to.

Catalogus librorum MStorum bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, scriptore Thoma Smith, Oxonii 1696, fol.

Catalogue of the Harleian collection of manuscripts preserved in the British Museum, London 1759, 2 vols. folio.

Ayscough's Catalogue of the manuscripts in the British Museum hitherto undescribed, Lond. 1782, 2 vols. 4to.

N. B. The five manuscripts of the Greek Testament, purchased at Dr. Askew's sale for the British Museum, are not in this catalogue, being purchased since the publication.

Casley's Catalogue of the manuscripts of the King's Library, Lond. 1734, 4to.

Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova, ubi, quæ innumeris pene MStorum bibliothecis continentur, ad quodvis literaturæ genus spectantia et notatû digna, describuntur et indicantur a B. de Montfaucon, Parisiis 1739, 2 tom. fol.

Diarium Italicum, sive monumentorum veterum Bibliothecarum, Musæorum, &c. notitiæ singulares in itinerario Italico collectæ: additis schematibus ac figuris, a R. P. D. Bernardo de Montfaucon, Parisiis 1702, 4to.

Palæographia Græca, sive de ortu et progressu literarum Græcarum, et de variis omnium sæculorum scriptiōis Græcæ generibus: itemque de abbreviationibus; et de notis variarum artium ac disciplinarum: additis figuris et schematibus ad fidem manuscriptorum codicum. Opera et studio D. Bernardi de Montfaucon, Parisiis 1708, fol.

Bibliotheca sacra, in binos syllabos distincta; quorum prior, qui jam tertio auctior prodit, omnes sive textus sacri, sive versionum ejusdem quavis lingua expressarum editiones, nec non præstantiores MSS. codices, cum notis historicis et criticis exhibet: posterior vero, omnia eorum opera, qui huc usque in sacram scripturam quidpiam ediderunt. Labore et industria Jacobi Le Long, Parisiis 1723, 2 tom. fol.

The

The Florence library alone has at least a thousand Greek manuscripts, two of which are of the Revelation of St. John, as Adler relates in his *Biblisches-critische Reise*, p. 60. The royal library in Paris, as appears from the Catalogue above quoted, Vol. II. p. 12—20. has eighty manuscripts either of the whole, or of parts of the Greek Testament, sixty-five *Catensæ* or commentaries, enumerated p. 28—40. which likewise have the text of parts at least of the Greek Testament; and fifty-seven *Lectionaria*, enumerated among the *Libri Rituales*, p. 40—57. making in all two hundred and two, of which only forty-nine have been collated. It appears likewise from the *Diarium Italicum*, the *Palæographia Græca*, and the *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, that there are many manuscripts of the Greek Testament in uncial letters, in the different libraries of Italy, which have never been collated. Nor is it improbable that many lie buried in the libraries of Constantinople, as appears from the accounts given by the Abbé Toderini, in his *Letteratura Turchesca*, published at Venice in 1787, in 3 vols. 8vo. Lastly, Blanchini, in the *Appendixes* to his *Evangeliarum Quadruplex*, has described many manuscripts, which have been hitherto unnoticed in the editions of the Greek Testament.

S E C T. VI.

PAGE 185.

1. Within the last few years, the number of collated manuscripts of the Greek Testament has been very considerably augmented, by the industry of Professors Matthæi, Alter, and Birch: occasional reference therefore will be made, in the course of these notes, to such as either have not, or could not have been described by our author.

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2. This sentence I have considerably softened in the translation, because the original is couched in terms;

which no man of learning ought to use towards another. The suspicion, which our author would excite in regard to the accuracy of Dr. Semler's quotations, is not only uncandid, but ungrounded, and he has thereby withheld from his readers much valuable information, which he might have derived from the excellent work to which he alludes; but as the translator, taught by experience, places as much confidence in the quotations of Semler as in those of Michaelis, he will take the liberty to introduce occasional remarks from a treatise, of which it is sufficient to say, that it is quoted by Griesbach and Woide. Its German title is, *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, printed at Halle in 1760—1769, 4 vols. 12mo. the two last volumes of which contain the best critical description of all the known manuscripts of all the Greek Testament, which has hitherto been given.

N. B. In the following catalogue of manuscripts, our author does not particularly distinguish those which are written in capital, or, as they are commonly called, uncial letters, from those which are written in small characters. But they are distinguished by Wetstein's notation of them, which our author always mentions, and in which the former are denoted by letters, the latter by cyphers.

CODEX ALEXANDRINUS.

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3. To place this dispute in a clear point of view, and determine which of the two eminent critics, Wetstein or Woide, was mistaken, it is necessary to examine the original documents, on which the whole of the controversy depends. These documents are three in number,

a) The Arabic subscription, written by a proprietor of this manuscript before it came into the hands of Cyrillus Lucaris, and of which the following is a translation, *Memorant hunc librum scriptum esse calamo Theclæ martyris.*

b) The

b) The subscription written by Cyrillus himself, viz. *Liber iste scripturæ sacræ Novi et Veteris Testamenti, prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclæ nobilis fœminæ Ægyptiæ, ante mille et trecentos annos circiter, paulo post concilium Nicænum. Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum, sed extincto Christianismo in Ægypto a Mohammedanis, et libri una Christianorum in similem sunt redacti conditionem. Extinctum ergo et Theclæ nomen et laceratum, sed memoria et traditio recens observat.*

Cyrillus, Patriarcha Constantin.

c) The testimony of Matthæus Muttis, a contemporary, friend, and deacon of Cyrillus, and who afterwards instructed in the Greek language John Rudolph Wetstein, uncle of the celebrated editor of the Greek Testament. His testimony is conveyed in a letter written to Martin Bogdan, a physician in Bern, and dated Jan. 14, 1664. *‘Præceptorem in Græcis hic habui Matthæum Muttis ex Cypro, ejusdem Patriarchæ diaconum, qui retulit codicem illum inventum in monte Atho, in cujus ambitu sunt monasteria XXII. totidem castella monachorum, nunquam a Turcis expugnata, sed tributo penso hactenus conservata. Vid. Wetstenii Prolegom. p. 10.*

Now this last document alone can decide on the question relative to the place, where this manuscript was discovered; for Cyrillus himself is totally silent on that subject, and the Arabic subscription can have no reference to it. But Woide, in his twelfth paragraph, endeavours to weaken the evidence of Matthæus Muttis, and to render the testimony of the elder Wetstein suspicious, though every impartial reader must be convinced, after perusing these three documents, that the last is the only one which is entitled to any credit; for it is the direct and positive testimony of men of character, whose honesty we have no reason to doubt, whereas the two first documents are nothing more than fabulous tradition. That Woide's objections are really ungrounded, is clearly pointed out by Spohn, in his edition of the *Notitia*

codicis Alexandrini, p. 10—13.; but admitting them to be real, what inference shall we deduce? That the Codex Alexandrinus was found by Cyrillus in Alexandria? By no means. It is well known that Cyrillus, before he went to Alexandria, spent some time on mount Athos, the Greek repository and manufactory of manuscripts of the New Testament, whence a great number has been brought into the West of Europe, and a still greater number has been sent to Moscow: it is therefore at least possible, if not probable, independently of the evidence of Muttis, that Cyrillus procured it there either by purchase or by present, took it with him to Alexandria, and brought it thence on his return to Constantinople. This possibility alone is sufficient to destroy the inference, that Cyrillus discovered it in Alexandria, drawn from the supposed invalidity of the testimony of Muttis. In short, if we reject this testimony, for which however there is no ground, we are left wholly in the dark; and the inquiry relative to the place, where this manuscript was discovered by Cyrillus, must be abandoned to conjecture. It must at the same time be acknowledged, that the Arabic subscription in the Codex Alexandrinus clearly proves, that it had been in Egypt at some period or other, before it fell into the hands of Cyrillus.

4. See Spohn's objections, p. 32. of his edition of the *Notitia codicis Alexandrini*. Compare also Woide, § 33. with Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 113. Montfaucon says, *In omnibus variarum regionum, provinciarum, et locorum, codicibus eandem characteris formam advertimus, exceptis Ægyptiacis ad Coptorum ritum scriptis, qui insolenti modo exarati sunt.* Now as this difference is not observable in the Codex Alexandrinus, we might conclude that it was not written in Egypt. But Montfaucon, who takes for granted that it really was, solves the difficulty by supposing, that the manuscript was written before that peculiar mode of writing was in use in Egypt, of which he gives a specimen, p. 259.

5. This

5. This Codex received the name of Alexandrinus, because Cyrillus brought it immediately, though perhaps not originally, from Alexandria: but if we argue from the name, to the place where it was written, we shall conclude that every Codex Bodleianus, and Codex Vaticanus, was written in the Bodleian and the Vatican. We may conclude however on other grounds, that it was really written in Egypt. 1. The Arabic subscription shews that it once belonged to an Egyptian, or that during some time it was preserved in Egypt, where Arabic has been spoken since the seventh century. 2. We know that a great number of manuscripts of the Greek Bible have been written in Egypt. 3. Woide, in his 33^d section, has shewn a remarkable coincidence in certain points of orthography between the Cod. Alex. and the writings of the Copts. From all which circumstances it is reasonable to suppose, that the Codex Alexandrinus was written in Egypt. See also the arguments produced by Wetstein in his Prolegomena, p. 10. But that which he derives from the similarity between the readings of the Codex Alexandrinus, and those of the Coptic version, the margin of the Philoxenian version, &c. is no absolute proof, because this similarity might still be found, even if the Codex Alexandrinus had been copied at Constantinople from a manuscript written in Egypt.

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6. Our author here relates as a matter of fact, that a Greek subscription of this import actually existed in the Codex Alexandrinus, though at present no traces of it are visible. But for this assertion we have no other authority, than a tradition recorded by Cyrillus in the Latin subscription which he wrote to this manuscript. See Note 3. *b*. It is however not impossible that a Greek subscription originally existed in this manuscript, as it was the usual practice of transcribers to subjoin to each copy, which they had taken, their name, the date, and the place where it was written: but it is surely more reasonable to ascribe its loss to accident, than, as
Cyrillus

Cyrillus did, to design. If any man, on purchasing a book without a title-page, should ascribe its loss to the malice or envy of some enemy to the contents of the book itself, he would be justly exposed to ridicule; but when a subject is covered by the veil of antiquity, mysterious conjectures are too easily admitted, and the honest but weak Cyrillus, whose brethren groaned under the yoke of Mohammed, was as ready to ascribe every trivial misfortune to the barbarity of the Saracens, as the Spaniards of the middle ages to the cruelty of the Moors.

7. Woide replies, § 43. that a distinction must be made between Thecla martyr, and Thecla protomartyr.

8. Our author is here not perfectly accurate. Woide says, § 28. *Alia atramenti specie scriptum est initium et finis codicis, alia medium ejus. Priori atramento reliquæ Matthæi, Marcus et index Periocharum Lucæ, et deinde secunda epistola ad Corinthios, a medio versus octavi capitis decimi, nec non reliquæ epistolæ Pauli, epistola ad Hebræos et revelatio Johannis exaratæ sunt: posteriori Lucas, Johannes, Acta Apostolorum, epistolæ catholicæ omnes, epistola ad Romanos, prima ad Corinthios, et secunda ad medium versus octavi capitis decimi.* The place therefore, where the one ceases, and the other commences, is not in the middle.

To the extracts given by our author from Woide, § 28. may be added, *In initio et fine libri membrana plerumque est tenuior, quam perrodit atramentum acrius fuacum, spissum, et deciduum: in medio libri atramentum est tenue et flavum, et charta pergamena est compactior et præstantior. Ejusdem tamen ævi est utrumque atramentum quia folium reperitur, cujus altera pagina fuscido, altera flavo atramento scripta esse videtur.* But he has taken no notice of a question, which justly merits the attention of a critic, whether the goodness of the text itself is affected by the difference of the handwriting, whether this difference is accompanied by a diversity in the orthography, in the accuracy of the transcript, and above all, whether it betrays a diversity of manuscripts, from which the Cod. Alex. was copied.

9. Yet

9. Yet the Codex Alex. abbreviates, *ανθρωπος, δαδ, θεος, ιησους, ισραηλ, κυριος, μητηρ, πατηρ, πρηνος, πνευμα, ραυρος, σωτηρ, υιος, χριστος*. It has also other marks of abbreviation. See Woide's Preface, § 34. But Dr. Semler, in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 62. supposes that the more ancient manuscript, from which the Cod. Alex. was copied, had a much greater number; from a false method of decyphering which marks, he explains many errors committed by the copyist of the latter. See his Note 33. to Wetstein's *Prolegomena*.

10. In the third section of his preface. At the end of this section he takes notice of the corrections which have been made in this manuscript, and observes that Wetstein has not been sufficiently accurate in his manner of noting them. This subject he has examined more at large in a German essay, printed in the third volume of the *Kielische Beyträge*.

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11. After a great display of learning, in which Woide examines the evidence for the antiquity of the Cod. Alex. he concludes, at the end of sect. 4. *Codicem Alexandrinum intra medium et finem sæculi quarti scriptum esse*. This is the very greatest antiquity, that can possibly be allowed to the Codex Alexandrinus, for it has not only the *τιτλοι* or *κεφαλαια* majora, but the *κεφαλαια* minora, or Ammonian sections, accompanied with the references to the canons of Eusebius: but our author does not believe it to be so ancient by at least two centuries. Those who would examine the objections, that may be made to Woide's arguments in particular, may consult Spohn's remarks on Woide's fourth section, p. 42—109. of his edition of the *Notitia codicis Alexandrini*. Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, Lib. III. cap. iii. ascribes to the Codex Alexandrinus about the same age, as to the two manuscripts of Dioscorides, the one preserved at Vienna, the other at Naples. Lambecius, in his description of the Codex Dioscoridis preserved at Vienna,

in

in his *Commentarii de augustissima bibl. Cæs. Vin-dobonensi*, Lib. II. cap. vi. has made it appear that this manuscript was written by order of the Empress Juliana Anicia, at the beginning of the sixth century. Now as this manuscript of Dioscorides is the only Greek manuscript written in uncial letters, of which the date can be determined with any precision, (Montfaucon *Palæog. Græc. Lib. III. c. ii. p. 195.*) and the characters of this manuscript, when compared with the oldest inscriptions, appear to be as ancient as those of any manuscript now extant, Montfaucon, p. 185. is of opinion that neither the *Codex Alexandrinus*, nor any other Greek manuscript, can be said with much probability to be prior, any length of time, to the sixth century. He allows the possibility, but says that he had never been able to discover any certain marks in a Greek MS. which could warrant him to assert, that it actually was older than the sixth century. The age of manuscripts written since the ninth century may be ascertained, because they have very frequently a subscription expressive of the year in which they were written. See Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 42—91. But as no date is found in manuscripts prior to that period, we must judge from the form of the letters, and a comparison of them with inscriptions of which we know the date. In this manner Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, Lib. III. ascertains the date of Greek manuscripts, written between the fifth and the ninth century. It must be observed however, that the form of the letters is not the only criterion for determining the age of those ancient manuscripts, as appears from our author's account of the *Cod. Alexandrinus*, and *Cod. Vaticanus*.

It may be here observed, that the question relative to the antiquity of a manuscript, is of much less importance, than that which relates to the antiquity of its text. The distinction between these two questions, to which the early critics have paid too little attention, has been best displayed by Dr. Semler. If a manuscript, for instance, written in the tenth century, has readings, which coincide

cide with the quotations of Origen, in such a manner as to justify the opinion, that it was copied from a manuscript of the Alexandrine edition, and of the third century, it will follow that the vellum and the ink are only 800 years old, the text 1500. Besides, the latter question is not only more important, but may be ascertained with greater certainty, because we have a standard, or criterion, by which we may judge, whereas we are seldom in possession of sufficient data, to determine with accuracy the former question.

12. Here our author is mistaken, for Woide, in the fifth paragraph of his preface, quotes a very long passage from the third edition of Michaelis's Introduction, which in the German original is Vol. I. p. 466.

13. Compare Woide's fifth section de præstantia codicis, with Spohn's very solid objections, p. 183—257. of his edition of the Notitia codicis Alexandrini.

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14. On this subject Woide has eminently displayed his critical abilities, and in his sixth section, de latinizatione codicis, has most ably defended the ancient Greek manuscripts in general, and the Codex Alexandrinus in particular, from the charge of having been corrupted from the Latin. See also what Griesbach has said on this subject in his Symbolæ, p. cxi.

15. This is one of the manuscripts collated by Matthæi, who has noted it by the letter l, in his edition of the Greek Testament. See his note to Acts iv. 25.

16. Also in the Ethiopic version. See Griesbach in loco.

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17. See Wetstein in loco, for Griesbach has not quoted the Coptic version for this reading, either in his Greek Testament, or in his Symbolæ:

18. And of the Ethiopic. See Griesbach in loco.

19. The Ethiopic version has likewise a reading expressive of διέιοβας.

20. The

20. The readings of the Codex Alexandrinus coincide very frequently, not only with the Coptic, and the old Syriac, but with the new Syriac and the Ethiopic, as may be seen on examining Wetstein and Griesbach, in examples where this manuscript is quoted, a circumstance which favours the hypothesis, that the Codex Alexandrinus was written in Egypt, because the new Syriac version having been collated with Egyptian manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and the Ethiopic version being immediately taken from them, have necessarily the readings of the Alexandrine edition.

21. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. ix.

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22. It is thus written in the Cod. Alex. and not *αυτοδιδωκεν*, as appears from Woide's edition. Though no other Greek manuscript has this reading, it is expressed in the Ethiopic version, which again corroborates the observation made Note 20.

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23. The German title of this work is, *Rathleffs Geschichte jetzt lebender Gelehrten*. It was published at Zelle in 1740—1747, in 12 vols. 8vo.

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24. See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 12. and Semler's Note 30, to his edition of the *Prolegomena*, p. 37.

25. Dr. Semler has likewise treated of this manuscript in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 61—82.

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26. But it does not appear that Cyrillus ever denied that he found it on mount Athos, and our author is totally mistaken in saying that Cyrillus described it as having been found in Egypt. He describes it as having been written in Egypt; but of the place, where he first discovered it, he says not a single syllable. See Note 3, where

where the subscription of Cyrillus is given at full length. But our author is not the only critic, who has quoted the Patriarch of Constantinople, for an evidence which he has never given, or at least has never committed to writing. That Cyrillus presented this manuscript to Sir Thomas Roe on his return from Alexandria, without mentioning that he first discovered it on mount Athos, is no argument against the reality of the fact: for every donor, being inclined to enhance the value of his present, will of course conceal those circumstances, which may tend to diminish its value: whereas Muttis, who had no such interest to promote, candidly confessed what Cyrillus had not indeed denied, but only passed over in silence.

27. The possibility that Greek manuscripts in Alexandria were altered from the Latin no one can deny. Even so early as the time of Origen single alterations might have taken place, for the learned father in a passage quoted by Wetstein in his note to Matth. viii. 28. complains of erroneous readings *ἐν τοῖς ἑλληνικοῖς ἀβιγραφοῖς*, which clearly implies the use of manuscripts written in some other language than the Greek: and as he spent some time in Rome, it is not impossible that he made use of the established version of a church, which at all times maintained the highest authority.

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28. See Woide's Preface, § 38. He adds, *alia quædam præterea desunt, quæ a solo Waltonio interdum annotata fuisse video.*

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29. The following account is nothing more than a translation of our author's German translation of the Latin subscription written by Cyrillus. See therefore the original, quoted Note 3. With respect to the examples produced by our author, in the preceding paragraph, from Grabe's Prolegomena, to prove the ignorance of the writer of the Codex Alexandrinus, see Woide's answer, § 32. of his Preface.

30. See Note 7.

31. The Arabic subscription by no means confutes itself, unless a sense be ascribed to it which the writer probably intended not to express. He says nothing more than, 'that this manuscript is said to have been written by one Thecla a martyress.' Now, as various persons of this name might have suffered martyrdom, it is surely unreasonable to suppose, that the writer of the Arabic subscription intended to express the contemporary of St. Paul in particular. Our author's opinion that Cyrillus appealed not to the Arabic subscription, but to a tradition unconnected with that which is there recorded, seems to be without foundation, and the true state of the case appears to be the following. Some centuries after the Codex Alexandrinus had been written, and the Greek subscription and perhaps those other parts where it is now defective already lost, it fell into the hands of a Christian inhabitant of Egypt, who not finding the usual Greek subscription of the copyist, added in his native language (Arabic having been spoken in Egypt since the close of the seventh century) the tradition, either true or false, which had been preserved in the family or families, to which the manuscript had belonged : 'memorant hunc codicem scriptum esse calamo Theclæ martyris.' In the seventeenth century, when oral tradition respecting this manuscript had probably ceased, it becomes the property of Cyrillus Lucaris, whether in Alexandria, or on mount Athos, is of no importance to the present inquiry. On examining the manuscript, he finds that the Greek subscription is lost, but that there is a tradition recorded in Arabic by a former proprietor, in which is simply related that it was written by one Thecla a martyress, which is undoubtedly what he means by 'memoria et traditio recens.' Taking therefore upon trust that one Thecla a martyress was really the copyist, he consults the annals of the church to discover in what age and country a person of this name and character existed,

existed, finds that an Egyptian lady of rank, who was called Thecla, suffered martyrdom, between the time of holding the council of Nicæa and the close of the fourth century, and concludes, without further ceremony, that she was the very identical copyist. Not satisfied with this discovery, he attempts to account for the loss of the Greek subscription, and ascribes it to the malice of the Saracens, being weak enough to believe that the enemies of Christianity would exert their vengeance on the name of a poor transcriber, and leave the four folio volumes themselves unhurt. I acknowledge that what has been here advanced is mere hypothesis, but as we are wholly destitute of historical evidence, it is our only refuge, and it is most reasonable to adopt that, which solves the difficulties in the easiest and simplest manner.

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32. The Acœmets were μοναχοὶ ἀκοίμητοι. With respect to the opinion that the Cod. Alex. was written by a monk of this order, see Semler's Note 25 to Wetstein's Prolegomena. If it was written by a monk of this order, Wetstein says (Prol. p. 10.) that it is an argument in favour of its being written rather at Constantinople, than at Alexandria.

33. Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux, et militaires, par le P. Helyot. Paris 1720. 8 tom. 4to.

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34. See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 11. or p. 34. of Semler's edition with his Note 27.

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35. Dr. Semler, in his notes to Wetstein's Prolegomena, is totally silent as to the argument which Wetstein derives from ἀγοπασι. In his Hermeneutische Vorbereitung, Vol. III. p. 62. he refers the Cod. Alex. to the seventh century. Wetstein makes it not only more ancient than the seventh century, but supposes (Proleg. p. 11.) that it was one of the manuscripts collated at
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Alexandria in 615 for the New Syriac version; an opinion which has been refuted by Dr. Ridley in his treatise *De versionibus Syriacis*, sect. 15. Adler likewise, on collating the marginal readings of the Philoxenian version in the four Gospels, found only two, which were peculiar to the Codex Alexandrinus. See his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 131.

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36. The example which now follows, in the account taken from the third edition, is applied in a totally different manner in the new description which our author has given in his fourth edition: he would have avoided therefore not only repetitions but contradictions, if instead of printing the two descriptions separately, he had combined his remarks in one single uniform relation. But this liberty would have been unwarranted in a translation. See Note 14.

37. An inference of this kind would be very uncertain, for though we may conclude from the antiquity of the three volumes containing the Old Testament, to that of the fourth, which contains the New, yet the former may have a very correct text of the Septuagint, the latter a very incorrect text of the Greek Testament. Nay, we cannot even conclude from the text of one page to that of another, in the New Testament alone, since the several parts contain the text of several editions. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. ix.

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38. To prevent mistakes it is necessary to observe, that the word 'part' is here not equivalent to 'volume,' as Wetstein's Greek Testament consists only of two volumes, but of four parts; the first containing the Gospels, the second the epistles of St. Paul, the third the Acts and the catholic epistles, and the fourth the book of Revelation.

39. Here may be inserted the following MSS. collated by Birch.

C O D I C E S

CODICES ANGELICI

IN BIBLIOTHECA AUGUSTIN. ERÉMIT. ROMÆ.

Codex Angelicus 1, in folio, membranaceus, foliorum 272, quatuor evangelia complectitur, quibus rationes Eusebii præmittuntur. Scriptus est sæculo xi. iudice Montfaucon.

Codex Angelicus 2, in quarto, membranaceus, foliorum 219, sæculi xi. vel xli. quatuor evangelia continet, quibus tabulæ Harmoniæ Eusebianæ, et ἀναλόγιαι indices præmissæ sunt.

Birch Prolegomena, p. 48.

CODEX ASKEWANUS.

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40. This MS. was purchased at Dr. Askew's sale, with several other MSS. of the Greek Testament, by the Trustees of the British Museum, where it is at present preserved, and marked 5115 among the additional manuscripts. Our author speaks of three volumes, the first containing the Gospels, the two last the Acts and the Epistles, which as Askew supposed, are parts of the same whole. The three volumes were sold at Dr. Askew's sale, as three distinct manuscripts; but all three were purchased for the British Museum; the Trustees of which have not considered them as parts of one whole; for the volume which contains the Gospels is now marked in the British Museum among the additional manuscripts, N°. 5116, that which contains the Epistles of St. Paul 5117, but that which contains the Acts and the catholic epistles 5115. They are not of the octavo size, as our author says, but small quarto. It may not be improper to mention at present in what manner the other manuscripts of the Greek Testament, which belonged to Dr. Askew, were disposed of at the sale of his books. Beside the three already mentioned, which were noted in the catalogue of sale 609. 620. 630. two others were purchased

chased for the British Museum, noted in the catalogue of sale 621, 622, both of them manuscripts of the Gospels, the one in two volumes 4to. which was sold for twenty-nine pounds eight shillings, the other in one volume large 4to. which was sold for twenty-seven pounds six shillings. The latter was brought from Mount Athos, and was written in the year 1159, by one Nephon, a monk. These two MSS. are noted at present in the British Museum ⁵¹¹¹ } and 5107. Another of Dr.

Askew's manuscripts, noted in the catalogue of sale 624. containing the four Gospels, in one volume folio, was purchased for the University Library in Cambridge, and cost twenty pounds. The two remaining MSS. of the Greek Testament, which were sold at Dr. Askew's sale, were purchased by Mr. Lowes, but these have been resold, and I know not where they are at present. They were both manuscripts of the Gospels. All Dr. Askew's manuscripts of the Greek Testament, are written on vellum, but none in uncial letters.

41. Dr. Velthusen, in answer to these objections of Professor Kulencamp, published in 1777 a defence of the antiquity of the Askew manuscript, which is printed in the first volume of the *Kielische Beyträge*.

In addition to those above-mentioned Dr. Askew possessed an *Evangelistarium*, which formerly belonged to Dr. Mead, and was quoted by Wetstein by the title *Codex Meadi 2*. It was purchased by Mademoiselle D'Eon. See Note 211.

CODEX AUGIENSIS.

42. This is the utmost that can be allowed to the antiquity of the *Codex Augiensis*, for its Latin conclusion, quoted by Wetstein, Vol. II. p. 9. is taken from the works of Rhabanus Maurus, as Dr. Semler has remarked in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. IV. p. 66; and that this passage from Rhabanus Maurus was written by the same person who wrote the manuscript itself, I have found on examining the hand writing. The
Greek

Greek text is written in capitals, and the Latin in Anglo-saxon letters: it must therefore have been written in the West of Europe, where that formation of the Latin letters, which is vulgarly called Anglo-saxon, was in general use between the seventh and twelfth centuries. A critical examination of the readings of this MS. is given by Dr. Semler, Vol. IV. p. 67—80. of the above-mentioned work.

43. The Codex Augiensis is at present in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, where it was deposited in 1787, after the death of the younger Bentley, together with the other manuscripts of the celebrated Dr. Richard Bentley. Under the names Georgii Michaelis Wepferi, and Ludovici Christiani Miegii, which are mentioned by Wetstein, Vol. II. p. 8. Bentley has written *Emptus est hic Codex Richardo Bentleio, A. D. MDCCXVIII*, which corresponds with Bentley's letter, printed in Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 153. Beside the Latin conclusion quoted by Wetstein, Vol. II. p. 8. there is written on the front part of the last leaf which is pasted to the binding, *Monasterium Augiæ in Belgis, ubi institutus est Goddeschalcus*. It is written in uncial letters, and without accents: but the letters are not written continua serie, for there are not only intervals between the words, but at the end of every word there is a dot. The words *Χριστος* and *Ιησους* are not abbreviated, as in the common manuscripts, *XC* and *IC*, but *XPC* and *IHC*, as in the Codex Cantabrigiensis.

44. Yet not only the Augiensis and Claromontanus, but likewise the Boernerianus has *συκακισμιν*, 2 Cor. iv. 1. but written contrary to the usual Greek orthography *συκακισμιν*. See Matthæi's edition of the Codex Boernerianus, fol. 43.

CODICES AUGUSTANI.

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The Augsburg MSS. are described in Montfaucon *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 592. and in the

Bibliotheca Augustana Vindobona Græcorum Codicum Catalogus. Augustæ Vindobonæ, 1605. The last mentioned catalogue I have never seen, but I quote it on the authority of the *Leyden Catalogue*, p. 184. Montfaucon ascribes to a printed catalogue of Augsburg MSS. the date 1595.

CODEX BANDURI.

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This fragment is printed in Montfaucon's *Palæographia Græca*, p. 235. in uncial letters resembling the original.

CODICES BARBERINI.

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45. This is a very extraordinary assertion; the readings of Marcion are quoted by every critic, and our author himself approves it, whereas no motive could justify a critic in quoting from a collection of readings, where the collection itself is a forgery. The cases are by no means parallel.

46. Our author has here printed an account of the celebrated *Codex Vaticanus*, which had been communicated to him by Professor Birch, from which it appears that this was one of the manuscripts collated by Cyprius.

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47. *Prolegomena*, p. 61. It may seem extraordinary, that Wetstein, as well as our author in the place to which this note refers, should say that Stephens has quoted, in the margin of his edition, ten manuscripts of the Gospels, eight of the Acts and the Epistles, and two of the Revelation, when it is certain that Stephens had only sixteen, including the Complutensian edition. But it must be observed that, according to this calculation, the same individual manuscript may be reckoned twice or

or thrice. For instance, the Codex α , or the Complutum edition, which includes the whole N. T., is reckoned thrice, first in the Gospels, secondly in the Acts and the Epistles, thirdly in the Revelation. The Codex β , which includes the Gospels and the Acts, is in the same manner reckoned twice, and so of the rest; in consequence of which division the number in question is made out.

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48. This appears from a comparison of Mill's extracts with those of Blanchini. Their coincidence shews that both drew from the same source, the *Collatio Caryophili*.

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49. See Birch's Prolegomena to his Greek Testament, p. 36—45. But beside the six Vatican MSS. in which Birch discovered the readings of the *Collatio Caryophili*, he has described, p. 33—36. ten manuscripts of the Gospels, which are preserved in the Barberini library. Two of these he quotes, John vii. 53. for the omission of the story of the adulteress; Mill likewise quotes, for the same omission, two Codd. Barb. from the *Collatio Caryophili*. Now as Caryophilus used precisely ten manuscripts of the Gospels, a doubt may arise on this subject, which perhaps the learned editor is able to remove. The ten Codices Barberiniani of the Gospels are the following:

1. Cod. Barberinianus 8.
2. Cod. Barberinianus 9.
3. Cod. Barberinianus 10.
4. Cod. Barberinianus 11.
5. Cod. Barberinianus 12.
6. Cod. Barberinianus 13.
7. Cod. Barberinianus 14.
8. Cod. Barberinianus 118.
9. Cod. Barberinianus 268.
10. Cod. Barberinianus 211.

A catalogue, though an imperfect one, of the manuscripts in the Barberini library is given in *Montfaucon Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 171.

CODICES BAROCCIANI.

50. The Codd. Barocciani are preserved in the Bodleian. Our author describes only two by this name, because Wetstein included the others under the Codd. Bodleiani. The Codices Barocciani in general are described in the *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*. Oxoniæ 1697, fol. p. 1—38. They were brought from Venice, and given to the Bodleian library in 1629, by Lord Pembroke. The origin of their name is mentioned at the end of the preface to the above quoted work: Qui, quoniam ex bibliotheca clarissimi Baroccii prodierunt, ab eo libri Barocciani appellantur.

CODD. BASILEENSES.

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A catalogue, though a very imperfect one, of the manuscripts belonging to the city of Basel, may be seen in *Montfaucon Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 607—615. taken from *Spizelii Arcana bibliothecarum*.

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51. A critical examination of the readings of this MS. is given in the *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 137—145.

52. It is true that Wetstein's Codex 1, in the book of Revelation is likewise called Codex Reuchlini, as well as his Codex 1, in the three first parts of his Greek Testament, but they are two totally distinct manuscripts. The former contains the book of Revelation alone, whereas the latter has all the books of the Greek Testament, except the Revelation. Though it is possible therefore that

that they were originally parts of the same whole, yet in regard to their exterior they must be considered as separate manuscripts, and they are even described as such by our author, the latter being still preserved at Basel, whereas Wetstein was unable to discover the former. See his Greek Testament, Vol. I. p. 42. and Vol. II. p. 742. It may be observed, that the MS. of the Revelation called Cod. Reuchlini, was that from which Erasmus printed his text of that book: but this MS. belongs not to the present inquiry. It will be particularly described by our author, No. 221.

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53. Dr. Semler is of the same opinion. In his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 173—179. and Vol. IV. p. 131—134. he has given a critical examination of its readings.

54. That Origen made alterations from the Latin is not absolutely impossible. See Note 27.

55. Also of the Ethiopic.

56. Also the Vercellensis, Colbertinus, and the Latin Cantabrigiensis. See Griesbach in loco.

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57. Mark vi. 15.

58. But in the old Syriac the particle *of* is omitted.

59. But Origen quotes the passage without this disjunctive particle, nor is it found either in the Coptic, or Ethiopic versions, which were certainly taken from manuscripts of the Alexandrine edition.

60. Wetstein adds, *Multa etiam ob omisiota et cetera omittit.*

61. Wetstein has quoted them in his *Prolegomena*, p. 44. under the title, *Exempla ex margine hujus codicis petita, ubi eum Erasmus sua manu perperam correxit.*

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62. See Matthäi's Note to this passage.

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63. It proves therefore that the readings in the *Colatio Caryophili*, were not forged either by Caryophilus, or Possin, but it leaves the question undetermined, with respect to the particular manuscripts, from which Caryophilus selected them. See Note 49.

64. See Birch's *Prolegomena*, p. 40—45.

65. Our author here quotes an opinion of Dr. Semler, without referring to the place where it is given. I have carefully examined what Semler has written on this subject in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. IV. p. 141—148. but he there gives an opinion which is diametrically opposite to that asserted by our author, for he conjectures not that this manuscript was copied from the *Complutum* edition, but that it was one of the manuscripts which were collated for that publication, an inference which he deduces from the coincidence, which he had discovered between their readings. He refers it a century prior to the publication of the *Complutum* edition, and p. 142. gives it as his opinion, that it was copied from a very ancient manuscript.

CODICES S^U BASILII.

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A catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of St. Basilus in Rome is given by Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 194—198.

66. The description which Blanchini gives of this MS. in his *Evangeliarium quadruplex*, P. I. p. 519, is the following: *Præclarissimus vetustusque Codex cxix, in quarto, eadem pari diligentia ac antedictus cxlii, summoque pariter labore ab anonymo Palæographo in charta pergamena, microcallistis characteribus, conscriptus continet Novum Testamentum.*

67. Since the publication of our author's Introduction, this manuscript has been collated by Professor Birch, and its readings inserted in his edition of the Greek Testament.

tament. He has described it in his Prolegomena, p. 46, 47.

68. Several manuscripts of the Greek Testament preserved in the valuable library of the monastery of St. Basilus in Rome are described by Philippus Vitalis in the *Evangeliarium quadruplex*, P. I. p. 506—529, with plates containing specimens of their letters. Of these the following have been collated by Professor Birch.

1. Codex S^u Basillii xxii, membranaceus, in quarto, foliorum 155, sæculi xi, quatuor evangelia continet, cum tabulis harmoniæ Eusebianæ.

2. Codex xli, in quarto, membranaceus, anno a mundi creatione 6561, a C. N. 1053 conscriptus, foliorum 132, ab initio et fine mutilus, quatuor evangelia complectitur.

3. Codex cxix, in quarto, membranaceus, foliorum 247, seculi ut videtur xi, integrum N. T. complectitur. This is the same which our author describes N°. 43.

4. Codex clii, in quarto, membranaceus, sæculi xii, continet Evangelia Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, et primum caput Johannis; reliqua injuria temporis exciderunt.

5. Codex clxiii, in octavo, membranaceus, sæculi xi, vel xii, quatuor Evangelia complectitur.

Birch Prolegomena, p. 46.

A manuscript of St. Paul's epistles, written in uncial letters, of the most ancient form, and preserved in the library of St. Basilus, is described in Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 213, 214. It is a very ancient codex rescriptus: but I know not whether Birch has collated it, because the second volume of his Greek Testament is not yet published. Montfaucon has likewise described, p. 233. of his *Palæographia*, an *Evangelistarium* written in uncial letters, and preserved in the library of St. Basilus, which Birch has not collated.

CODICES BODLEIANI.

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69. The manuscripts preserved in the Bodleian library in Oxford are enumerated in the *Catal. MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, Tom. I. P. I. p. 1—374. The seven manuscripts of the Greek Testament, here mentioned by our author, are particularly described in Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1423—1429. It must be observed that the numbers 1, 2, &c. which are here affixed to them, are not the marks by which they are noted in the Bodleian, but by which Mill quoted them. Those who are acquainted with German literature will find a critical examination of the readings of Codd. Bodl. 1, 2, 6, 7. in Semler's *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 257—264. of the Codd. 3, 4, 5, p. 376, 387—391.

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70. This MS. was noted Cod. 24, in the library of Marsh, Archbishop of Armagh, before it came into the Bodleian. It is what is called a *Codex rescriptus*, but it differs from the *Codex Ephrem*, which is likewise a *Codex rescriptus*, in having the text of the Greek Testament written over some other text, whereas in the *Codex Ephrem* the Greek Testament is the text over which the works of Ephrem are written. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ*, p. ccii—ccxxiii. This critic was the first who collated it.

COD. BOERNERIANUS.

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71. Professor Matthäi the editor of the *Codex Boernerianus*, which was published at Meissen in Saxony in 1791, relates in his preface, p. 15. that an uniformity in the hand-writing, and a similarity in the colour of the ink, evince

evince that both the Greek and Latin texts proceeded from the same transcriber.

72. Apparatus criticus, p. 319. ed. 2^{da}.

73. There is no such word as *coornatus*, and, if there were, it does not appear how a compound of *orno* could have been used as a translation of *συμμορφωμένος*. We have here an instance where the Latin appears to have been altered from the Greek, not the Greek from the Latin, and the origin of *συμμορφωμένος* may perhaps be explained in the following manner. The reading of the Alexandrinus and of the Claromontanus a prima manu is CTNMOPΦIZOMENOC, which has precisely the same number of letters as CTNΦOPTIZOMENOC. Now, if in an ancient MS. which had the former reading, that is perfectly synonymous to the common one, the letter M and a part of the Φ were faded, a transcriber might easily mistake the letter for a T, in which case he would naturally conclude that the totally faded letter was a Φ. Through this mistake of a transcriber *συμμορφωμένος* being introduced into the Greek, the reading of the Vulgate 'configuratus' was altered to 'cooneratus,' in order to make it correspond to the Greek text. A similar examination of other examples which have been alleged to prove, that the Greek has been altered from the Latin, might frequently shew that those very examples evince that the charge should be inverted. With respect to this instance in particular, the reading 'cooneratus morti ipsius' is absolute nonsense, and could arise only from ignorance and error.

74. This conclusion is totally ungrounded, for a similarity between the Greek and the Latin affords no more reason to conclude that the former has been altered from the latter, than the latter from the former. But a circumstance, with which our author must have been unacquainted, decides in favour of the Greek. The transcriber has written over *αναψυχω* not only *refrigerem*, but also *refrigerer*; a clear proof that he designed to adapt the Latin to the Greek, and that he was in doubt whether he should ascribe to *αναψυχω* an active or a
passive

passive sense. Now as *αναψυχω* and *αναψυχο* both signify *recreo*, it is most reasonable to ascribe the origin of the latter to a transcriber, who copied not word for word, but, having fixed in his memory the sense of a whole period, substituted by mistake a synonymous expression, which occurred to him instead of the genuine reading. The ignorant writer of the Codex Boernerianus, who copied from a manuscript in which he found *αναψυχο*, takes it in the sense of *refrigero*, though he doubts whether it should be active or passive, and produces, as in the former instance, perfect nonsense in the Latin translation.

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75. But he seems to have had exactly enough to enable him to corrupt the Latin.

76. This opinion has been very ably combated by Dr. Semler, in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. IV. p. 66—84. where he has shewn that the Boernerianus is not a copy of the Augiensis.

77. Wetstein has actually quoted the two suspicious readings which our author means, namely; *τη αναληψη*, Phil. i. 27. and *συνοφτισζομενος*, iii. 10. the former from the Boernerianus alone, the latter both from the Augiensis and Boernerianus. Now as Wetstein himself collated the Augiensis, we might conclude that it contained the latter reading, but not the former. I have myself consulted the Augiensis in these passages, and found that Phil. i. 27. the reading is *ΑΞΕΙΝΟC. ΤΟ. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟ. ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥ.* which is meant for *αξιος της αναληψης το χριστε*, and Phil. iii. 10. *ΕΥΝΟΟΠΤΕΙΖΟΜΕΝΟC*. Wetstein therefore is guilty only of half the charge which is laid to him by our author.

78. I have translated this sentence word for word, but am wholly unable to comprehend its meaning. It seems to be our author's intention to censure Wetstein, but from his words alone it is impossible to comprehend in what respects Wetstein is here inaccurate. This learned

critic has quoted the Augiensis for *καὶ οἱ ἐκζητῶντες*, from his own collation, and from the Boernerianus, on the authority of Küster; but it appears that Küster was mistaken, for the Boernerianus has *καὶ οἱ ἀναζητῶντες*. But the Latin translation is not *singuli laborantes*, but *singuli laborantes et quærentes*: it is therefore another instance in this manuscript, where the Greek has been falsely written by mistake, and the Latin corrupted from it by design. The ignorant writer of the Codex Boernerianus falsely divides *ΕΚΑΣΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΟΝΟΤΗΤΗΣ*, as it stood in the ancient and probably valuable manuscript, from which he copied, into *καὶ οἱ ἀναζητῶντες*, instead of *καὶ οἱ ἐκζητῶντες*, writes over *καὶ οἱ ἀναζητῶντες*, his own translation *laborantes*, adds *quærentes*, the translation of *ἐκζητῶντες*, because he found it in a Latin version, forgets to alter *singuli* to *singulis*, which he ought to have done, in order to make the corruption of the Latin consistent with itself, and produces a sentence wholly devoid of meaning.

79. The examples hitherto alleged afford no argument whatsoever in favour of the opinion that the Greek text of the Codex Boernerianus has been altered from the Latin, but on the contrary are incontestible proofs that the Latin translation in this manuscript has been adapted to the Greek. The imperfections therefore which are visible in this copy of St. Paul's epistles, must be ascribed to the ignorance of the transcriber, not to intentional alteration; and we may safely subscribe to the opinion of Dr. Semler, in his edition of Wetstenii Libelli, p. 189. *Codices isti quatuor, D, E, F, G, sunt græco-latini, quos solent contemnere, sed facile tandem patebit magno in honore a nobis habendos esse, qui servant alius vetustioris recensiois multa præclara monumenta.*

80. But there is a vacant space of six lines at the end of the 14th chapter. See Matthæi's edition, fol. 18.

81. The Codex Boernerianus appears to have been written in an age when the transition was making from the uncial to the small character. In some respects it may be said to be written in capitals, but they are small and

and round, except at the beginning of a sentence, where they are much larger. We find likewise several small letters, *a*, *z*, *e*, &c. but if we except the initials, they are all of the same size. The words are very distinctly divided. In the Latin translation, the letters *r*, *s*, and *t*, correspond to that form which is found in the Anglo-saxon alphabet; a proof that this manuscript was written in the West of Europe, and probably between the eighth and twelfth centuries. See the fac simile published by Matthäi, fol. 23. A copy of the Codex Boernerianus is now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, among the books and manuscripts that were left by Dr. Bentley, who probably procured this transcript for his intended edition of the Greek Testament. It is true that no mention is made in any part of this copy that it was taken from the Codex Boernerianus. But that it is a modern transcript of an ancient manuscript, appears from its being written on very fresh paper, and the Greek being in uncial letters, and the Latin in Anglo-saxon characters. And that this ancient manuscript is the Codex Boernerianus, is evident from the following circumstances. 1. Both the Greek and Latin letters in the MS. in Trinity College are evident imitations of the Codex Boernerianus. 2. The Latin and Greek texts are interlined; and the Codex Boernerianus is the only MS. of St. Paul's epistles written in that manner. 3. I have compared a great number of readings, which are found in the Codex Boernerianus alone, and have discovered them all in the manuscript in question. To mention only two or three in particular. Rom. i. 6. *αγαπη*. Rom. i. 15. *εν Ρωμη* is omitted. Phil. i. 27. *αξιως τη ευαγγελιη*. In the Latin the singular readings *refrigerem* t *refrigerer*, Rom. xv. 32. and *laborantes* t *quærentes*, Phil. ii. 4. And a vacant space of six lines is left at the end of Rom. xiv. precisely as in the Codex Boernerianus. Besides, it is certain that Bentley had the Codex Boernerianus five years in his hands. He borrowed it from Boerner, who had some difficulty in getting it

it again. See the *Catalogus Bibl. Boernerianæ*, p. 6. or the Preface to Matthäi's edition of the *Codex Boernerianus*, p. 18.

82. See Note 79.

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83. The *Codex Boernerianus* was published by Matthäi at Meissen in Saxony, in 1791. See Note 4. to sect. 4. of this chapter.

CODEX BONONIENSIS.

Here may be inserted the *Codex Bononiensis*, of which Professor Birch, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 54. gives the following description. *Bononiæ, in bibliotheca canoniorum regularium codicem vidi signatum 640, qui integrum N. T. continet excepta Apocalypsi. Scriptus est sæculo ut opinor xi. in membranis. A catalogue of the Codd. Bononienses in general is given in Montfaucon Bibl. bibliothecarum, Tom. I. p. 431.*

CODEX BOREELI.

84. By whom the collation was made is unknown: all that Wetstein says is, Paulo post mortem Boreeli (A. C. 1629.) vir quidam doctus contulit cum editis Matthæum, Marcum, et Lucæ capita priora, quam collationem mecum communicavit A. 1730. Isaacus Verburgius, Gymnasii Amstelodamensis Rector.

CODICES BORGIANI.

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85. Professor Birch has collated this fragment, described it in his *Prolegomena*, p. 49. and communicated its various readings in his *Greek Testament*, Vol. I. p. 569—592. under the title *Borgianus 1*. The whole of it is printed in *Georgii fragmentum Græco-Copto-*
 Vol. II. U u Thebaicum,

Thebaicum, Romæ 1789, 4to. Birch has likewise described, and communicated the readings of the two following Borgian manuscripts.

2. Borgianus 2. membranaceus, sæculi ut videtur xi, quatuor evangelia complectitur.

3. Borgianus 3, membranaceus, sæculi xii. pericopas evangeliorum et epistolarum Pauli complectitur.

C O D E X B U N K L E.

86. Our author seems to have mistaken Wetstein, in saying that the manuscript was brought to England in 1476, for Wetstein's words express a different meaning, Codex D. Bunkle, Londinensis IV. Evangeliorum scriptus post inventionem artis typographice a Georgio Spartiata, qui A°. 1476, a Sixto IV. Papa in Angliam missus est, teste Allatio de Georgiis. It is evident that 'missus est' can have no relation to the manuscript, which might have been written by George of Sparta, even after his embassy to England. When Mill collated this manuscript, it was the property of Mr. Bunkle of London, but Wetstein has not mentioned where it was deposited, when he examined it. At present it is preserved in the University Library of Cambridge, where it is marked Ll, 2, 13. At least the manuscript thus marked perfectly corresponds to Wetstein's description of the Codex D. Bunkle. At the end of St. John's Gospel is a subscription, which begins and ends in the following manner: *Εἰλεωδῆ η̄ παρσα βιβλος εν τη Γαλιλ̄α εν τη πολει τε Παρισ̄ις.*—*Μνησιν εχ̄ειν Γεωργ̄ις Εὐμωνοῦ τε Σπαρτιάτ̄ης ος ταύτην εγραψεν.* It has not the ancient κεφαλαια, but the modern chapters, which are found in our printed Bibles. Before it came into the University Library it belonged to Bishop Moore, who, if it is the same as Mill's Codex Bu, must have purchased it after the death of Mr. Bunkle.

C O D E X C A M E R A R I I.

87. The last edition of the commentary of Camerarius, was printed at Cambridge in 1642, under the following

lowing title: *Joachimi Camerarii commentarius in Novum Fœdus elaboratus, nunc denuo plurimum illustratus et locupletatus*. It is bound with Beza's Greek Testament, printed at Cambridge in the same year.

CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS.

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88. Our author neglects here to mention one of the best critical descriptions that have been given of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, which is that of Dr. Semler, in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 99—137. though he recommends Semler's essay on this manuscript, which is printed at the end of his edition of Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 593—615. It is necessary therefore to observe, that the recommended essay contains principles, which that eminent critic has since that time totally abandoned. He wrote it so early as the year 1764, at a time when his own private reflexion had not yet divested him of the prejudices acquired by the study of Wetstein; he institutes therefore in this essay, a comparison between the Cod. Cant. and the old Latin versions, and concludes, agreeably to the principles of his great master, that the former had been altered from the latter. But in his *Spicilegium observationum*, published in 1766, he revokes these principles, saying, p. 178. *Fui autem et ipse nuper adhuc in hac sententia, quæ est plerorumque doctorum virorum: sed non licet mihi amplius eam tenere, aut hunc codicem, et græco-latinos tam vehementer adspernari*. He then concludes, *Itaque istæ accusationes omnes vanæ sunt jam et temerariæ*. In his subsequent writings, enumerated Note 1. to sect. 3. he has continued the inquiry, shewn the invalidity of the commonly received opinion, and introduced a system of criticism, that has been adopted and defended by Griesbach and Woide, and is at present received by every critic in Europe. A description of this MS. is given in Mill's *Proleg.* § 1268—1273. Simon, in his *Hist. crit. du texte du N. T.* sect. 30. has also treated of it, and

Blanchini, in his *Evangeliarum quadruplex*, P. I. p. 481—484.

89. In his *Symbolæ*, p. lviii—lxi. but he has taken notice only of a few corrections in a few chapters of St. Matthew, for he says himself, *Mutandum erat hoc consilium, quoniam tam difficili negotio, dignoscendisque omnium correctorum manibus, plus temporis impendendum fuisset, quam consecrare ei possem.* In the edition, shortly to be published by Dr. Kipling, these corrections will be accurately noted. Our author has neglected to mention that some pages of this MS. containing Mat. iii. 8—16, John xviii. 13.—xx. 13. Mark xvi. 15. to the end, are written by a later hand, which Wetstein (*Prol.* p. 31.) refers to the tenth century, but Griesbach (*Symb.* p. lvii.) to the twelfth. In Wetstein's description of the chasms of this MS. there is an erratum, (*Prol.* p. 30.) viz. for John i. 16.—ii. 26. must be read John i. 16.—iii. 36.

90. Wetstein was of opinion, and in this opinion he was generally followed, till Semler ventured to call it in question, that the *Codex Bezae* contained a Greek text, which was altered from the Latin, or, in other words, that the writer of the *Codex Bezae* departed from the readings of the Greek manuscript, or manuscripts, from which he copied, and introduced in their stead, from some Latin version, readings which were warranted by the authority of no Greek manuscript. Now it is true, that a very great number of the readings peculiar to the *Codex Bezae* are found in the Vulgate, as appears from consulting Wetstein's Greek Testament, where the *Codex D*, and the Vulgate, are frequently quoted together for readings, that are found in no Greek manuscript at present known: and I have myself collated the two first chapters of St. Mark, with the old Latin versions published by Blanchini, and have found that in most of the readings, in which the *Codex Bezae* differs from all the Greek manuscripts, it agrees with some one of those Latin versions. But shall we therefore conclude that those readings were actually borrowed from a Latin version, and translated into Greek? It is at least as possible that they might have had their origin in the Greek,

as in the Latin, and this very possibility is sufficient to defeat the whole of Wetstein's hypothesis. Griesbach very properly observes on this subject, (Symbolæ, p. cxi.) 'Vehementer errant, qui e consensu codicis cujusdam cum versione latina illum ex hac interpolatum esse effici posse putant. Non e latinis sed e græcis libris recensio- nis occidentalis derivandæ sunt ejusmodi lectiones, nisi forte manifestum sit, oriri eas non potuisse in græcis co- dicibus, contra vero origo earum facillime e latine ver- sione explicari queat. Exempla vero pleraque, quibus viri docti ad declarandam codicum quorundam antiquis- simorum e latine translatione interpolationem usi sunt, nil præter illorum cum hac *consensum* ostendunt, neuti- quam vero *istos ex hac corruptus esse* probant. Lectiones enim, ad quos provocant viri docti, sunt fere interpreta- menta, glossæ, additamenta et omissiones, quæ omnia cur a latinis in græcos, potius quam *e græcis in latinos* codices immigrasse statuamus, causa apparet plane nulla cum græci librarii, grammatici, et scholiastæ, æque at- que latini homines, talia comminisci potuerint.' Fur- ther, it is not only as possible that these peculiar read- ings took their rise in the Greek as in the Latin, but highly probable that they did so. It is surely more rea- sonable to suppose, that a translation would be altered from an original, than an original from a translation: and this supposition is confirmed by fact, for when Jerom revised the Latin version by order of Pope Damasus, he corrected it from Greek manuscripts. Besides, the Co- dex Bezae has additions, omissions, and transpositions, which are found neither in the Vulgate, nor any other Latin version now extant. For instance, Mark i. 8. the clause *ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω* (al. *ἐβαπτισα*) *ἐν ὕδατι*, is transferred to the seventh verse: Luke vi. 5. *καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι κύριος ἐστὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου*, is transferred to the tenth verse, and in its stead is a long passage, consisting of not less than twenty-eight words. Of these alterations no trace is to be found, either in the Vulgate, or in the old Latin versions published by Blan- chini. Many more examples of this kind might be pro-

duced from the Gospels : and if we have recourse to the Acts of the Apostles, we shall find examples, that are still more striking. In the two instances above-mentioned, as well as in most other places, the Latin text of the Codex Bezae corresponds to the Greek. Since, therefore, the Latin version of that manuscript agrees with the Greek text, even in places where it is supported by no Latin manuscript at present known, we must conclude that the Latin was adapted to the Greek, not the Greek to the Latin. Indeed, if so eminent a critic as Wetstein had not advanced the opinion, it would seem absurd, where the Greek occupies the first page, the Latin the second, and the latter is annexed to the former as a mean of understanding it, to imagine that the readings of the original were adapted to those of the translation. That the Codex Bezae very frequently agrees, either with the Vulgate, or some other Latin version, is by no means extraordinary, when we reflect that this manuscript is one of the oldest now extant, and that the Greek manuscripts from which the Latin versions were made, come nearer to it in point of time, than to those Greek manuscripts, from which the Codex Bezae differs. The authors of these Latin versions must have found in the Greek manuscripts, from which they translated, the readings, which are common to them, and to the Codex Bezae : and this very agreement, instead of shewing these readings to be spurious, is a strong argument that they are ancient and genuine. To this must be added, that a great number of these readings are found in the Syriac, the Coptic, the Sahidic, the margin of the Philoxenian version, the Versio Syra Hierosolymitana, and the quotations of Origen. Now we must suppose that all these have been corrupted from the Latin, if the charge be true with respect to the Codex Bezae. In proof of this charge, Wetstein has produced, in his Prolegomena, p. 32. fourteen examples, in which he says the Codex Bezae has clearly been corrupted from the Latin : and adds, *Obtestor hic omnes sano judicio præditos, ac literarum Græcarum peritos, judicent utra lectio*

lectio sit sincerior, illane quam nostri codices exhibent, an quam Morinus ex Codice Bæza Græco-Latino protulit? To this we may answer, that the purity of a reading is no proof of its authenticity, in a work, that is confessedly written in impure Greek, and that of these fourteen examples there are several, which may rather be ascribed to accident, than design. In short, there is no reason whatsoever for ascribing any reading of a Greek manuscript to the influence of the Latin, unless it can be proved that it could not have taken its rise in the Greek, and that it might easily have originated in the Latin. An instance of this kind is in the Codex Montfortianus, 1 John v. 6. where instead of the common reading πνευμα, we find χριστος. Now, as the Latin words 'spiritus' and 'Christus,' are written in the old Latin manuscripts XPS and SPS, (Pref. to Casley's Catalogue, p. 22.) it was easy to exchange the words in the Latin, but not so easy in the Greek. In this case therefore, we must ascribe the reading χριστος to the influence of the Latin: but no instance of this kind has been produced from the Codex Beza.

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91. See Wetstein's Note to Matth. iii. 16.

92. See Knittel's edition of Ulphilæ versio Gothica nonnullorum capitum epistolæ ad Romanos, p. 283. where the origin of this reading is explained as an error of a transcriber, who copied from a MS. in which the canons of Eusebius were noted in the margin; this learned critic conjectures that καταβαινον in the ancient MS. from which the Cod. Beza was copied, stood at the end of the line, that a was noted in the margin parallel to it, and with a small interval, that the transcriber imagined therefore, that it belonged to the word in the text, and that in the interval a letter was faded, which he supposed to be τ, and wrote therefore καταβαιοντα. It is true that this is mere conjecture, but the conjecture is certainly ingenious: and that it is not devoid of probability, appears from the circumstance, that the letter Δ is actually the reference to the

canons of Eusebius, Matth. iii. 16. as may be seen on consulting Stephens's or Küster's edition.

93. The reading of the Codex Veronensis is, *et alia die cum exisset a Bethania*, but that of the Vercellensis agrees word for word with the reading of the Latin text of the Cantabrigiensis.

94. Not only in some cases, but perhaps in most cases, the Latin text has been altered from the Greek in the Codices Græco-Latini in general, where the Greek has been supposed to have been altered from the Latin. See the Notes 73—79. 90.

95. Namely, the only two manuscripts containing the Latin version, in which this reading is omitted, it being omitted in the best Greek manuscripts, and therefore rejected by Griesbach from the text of his edition.

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96. As the Cod. Cant. was probably written in Europe, as appears from its being accompanied with a Latin translation, it seems improbable that the Syriac version should have been used in the correction of a manuscript, written in a country where the Syriac language was wholly unknown; and the only supposition that can make the conjecture probable is, that the Greek text of the Cod. Cant. was taken from a Greek manuscript written in Asia. But even for this conjecture there seems to be no necessity, for the examples produced by Storr, in proof of his hypothesis, are not wholly satisfactory. The first is that which has been already quoted by our author, Mark xi. 12. where the Syriac version expresses '*cum exisset e Bethania, esuriit*,' and the Cod. Cant. has *ἐξελθὼν ἀπο τῆς Βηθανίας ἐπεινασεν*. Now a critical correction implies a knowledge at least of the language in which the correction is made, but the writer of this passage in the Cod. Cant. has discovered no critical knowledge of Greek, since he has converted *ἐπεινασεν* into an impersonal verb, and made it to govern *ἐξελθὼν*. The alteration therefore may be ascribed rather to error, or carelessness, than to actual design; and it is probably
mere

mere accident that both the Cod. Cant. and the old Syriac version express the participle in question in the singular. Those who would examine the other examples, will find them in Storr's *Observationes super Vers. Syr.* p. 15, 16.

97. See Chap. vii. sect. 11. That one of the Greek manuscripts, collated at Alexandria by Thomas of Harkel, in the seventh century, for his edition of the Philoxenian version, had readings similar to those which are at present found in the Codex Cantabrigiensis, no one has pointed out with so much clearness and precision as Professor Adler. This learned and ingenious writer, in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 79—133. has given a collation of the marginal readings of this version in the four Gospels, with several Greek MSS. especially the Alexandrinus Vaticanus, Ephrem, Cantabrigiensis, and Stephani octavus, the result of which collation (see p. 130.) is, that nineteen readings, found in no other Greek MS. than the Cantabrigiensis, are noted in the margin of the Philoxenian version, viz. Matth. i. 7. viii. 28. ix. 15. xv. 6. xx. 28. Mark i. 3. iv. 9. vii. 13. Luke vii. 1. 41. xii. 1, 2. xviii. 30. 34. xx. 36. xxii. 34. John vi. 1. vii. 40. ix. 37: also six that are in no other manuscripts than the Cantabrigiensis and Vaticanus, and twenty-five which the Cantabrigiensis has in common with some few other manuscripts. It is well known that this extraordinary coincidence, which was first observed by Wetstein, induced that eminent critic to suppose that the Cod. Cant. was actually one of those Greek manuscripts which Thomas collated, and of which he wrote the readings in the margin. But this is a subject that will be examined in the sequel. See Note 122.

98. Namely, *ⲧⲁ ⲕⲓⲁⲣⲉⲥ*, which is found in no other MS. than the Cant., is expressed in the Coptic version.

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99. The example taken from Mark iii. 21. is more decisive, than that taken from ver. 29. because the former, which is a very remarkable reading, is found in the Cant. alone,

alone, whereas the latter is found in two other manuscripts. Many other examples of coincidence in singular readings might be selected from Wetstein, or Griesbach: but no one has examined this subject with so much accuracy as Semler, who, in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 126—135. has instituted a comparison between the Cod. Cant. and the Coptic version, also with the Ethiopic, the Armenian, and the Alexandrine fathers, and the result of this inquiry is, that the Greek text of the Cod. Cant. belongs to the Alexandrine edition, and that the original, from which it was copied, was written in Egypt.

100. Our author has here printed a list of examples, communicated to him by Woide, in which the Sahidic version agrees with the Cod. Cantabrigiensis, but the most complete information on this subject is to be had in Dr. Münster's *Dissertatio de indole versionis Sahidicæ*, p. 10.—46. where he has instituted a very accurate comparison between the Cod. Cant. and the Sahidic version.

To the ancient versions mentioned by our author, may be added at present the *Versio Syra Hierosolymitana*, described by Adler in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 137—202. He has collated this version with the readings of the Cod. Cant. and discovered in it eleven readings, that exist in no other Greek manuscript now extant, fourteen which are found only in one or two manuscripts beside the Codex Cant., and fifty-four which are common to the Codex Cant. and several other manuscripts.

101. For that reason Dr. Harwood, in his edition of the Greek Testament, published in London in 1776, has regulated his text in the Gospels, and the Acts, chiefly according to the readings of the Cambridge manuscript. See his preface, p. 7.

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102. The Cod. Corbeiensis 1. is that which was published by Blanchini, who terms it Cod. Corb. 195: the Cod. Corb. 2. was published by Sabatier, who terms it Cod. Corb. 21. These two manuscripts were noted 1. 2. by

by Griesbach. See his preface, p. 23, 24. Our author quotes only the Corb. 2. for 'iratus,' but it is also in the Corb. 1. See Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex, P. II. p. 318.

103. That other ancient Greek manuscripts had *πλαταιαις*, appears from the Gothic version, which was immediately translated from the Greek, and expresses this reading.

104. In the Lex. Hept. the sense only of 'platea,' not that of 'forum,' is ascribed to *πλαταία*. With respect to this reading, it is more reasonable to ascribe it to accident, than to seek for a mysterious reason that never existed. As the Greek *πλαταια*, as well as the Latin 'platea,' signifies not a public road, but a broad street, or open place in a town, it is almost synonymous to *αγορα*, and was probably substituted by mistake in the hurry of copying.

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105. It is not improbable that *καινον βρωθην* was written in the margin of some ancient MS. opposite to Luke xxii. 16. because in the parallel passages, Matth. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25. the expression *καινον πινω* is used. Or the reading of the Cod. Cant. arose perhaps in the following manner. In the manuscript from which it was copied, the three first letters of ΠΛΗΡΩΘΗ being partly faded, the transcriber, as the subject related to eating, took the remnant of H for B, and supposed that the verb was ΒΡΩΘΗ; the remnant of ΠΛ, which he was obliged to fill up by the help of his imagination, he took for ΚΝ, and writes ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ΒΡΩΘΗ. But the former conjecture is the most probable.

106. Namely, in the Evangeliarium quadruplex, P. I. p. 315. But our author must have written this sentence without consulting the work to which he appeals, for the Codex Veronensis has not 'in fines,' but 'in partes,' and the Vercellensis, Corbeiensis, and Brixianus, are wholly devoid of an addition of this kind.

107. The

107. The Latin reading is taken not only chiefly, but wholly from the Greek; for the very mistake of the copyist, in writing *super autem* twice, (which our author, however, has not noted, and which I have supplied from Wetstein, because I have found it in the manuscript itself) is faithfully transplanted into the Latin, where we find 'pro eo,' and 'super ipso.'

108. The Cantabrigiensis, and the Cyprius, are the only two Greek manuscripts, which here retain the genuine reading.

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109. Beza wrote, in the beginning of this manuscript, the following account with his own hand. *Est hoc exemplar venerandæ vetustatis ex Græcia, ut apparet ex barbaris quibusdam Græcis ad marginem notatis, olim exportatum, et in S. Irenæi monasterio Lugdunensi, ita, ut hic cernitur, mutilatum, postquam ibi in pulvere diu jacuisset, repertum, oriente ibi civili bello anno Domini 1562.* He gives the same account in his letter to the University of Cambridge, dated Geneva Id. Decemb. 1581, and thirdly, in the page preceding the preface to his edition of the Greek Testament, printed in 1582. Now we must here distinguish conjecture, from evidence. That the manuscript came originally from Greece, is conjecture: but that it was discovered in the monastery of St. Irenæus in Lyons, in 1562, is the direct and positive evidence of a man, whose veracity we have no reason to doubt: and, since he has given it at three different times, and all three times his accounts agree, there seems to be no reason for calling his evidence in question, till evidence as positive can be produced to the contrary.

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110. See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 29. 36. But that the Codex β is never quoted in Stephens's margin, where the Codex Bezae has a chasm, and that the Codex β has 450 lectiones singulares, is a mistake; I have carefully

carefully counted them, and found only 211 lectiones singulares quoted from the Cod. β ; viz. 63 in Matthew, 51 in Mark, 36 in Luke, 28 in John, and 33 in the Acts. In conjunction with other manuscripts, the Cod. β is quoted by Stephens 128 times, viz. in Matthew 39, in Mark 32, in Luke 29, in John 17, and in the Acts 11. The whole number of times therefore that the Cod. β is quoted, both with and without other manuscripts, amounts only to 339. The other position likewise, that the Codex β is no where quoted in Stephens's margin, where the Codex Bezae has a chasm, is not true. For the Codex Bezae has a chasm Matthew xxvii. 1—12. yet Stephens quotes his Codex β twice in this place, viz. ver. 1. for the reading *ποίησαν*, instead of the common reading *ελαβον*, and ver. 3. for *παράδες*, instead of *παράδιδας*. Again the Codex Bezae has a chasm Acts viii. 29.—x. 14; yet Stephens has quoted his Codex β twice in this interval, viz. ix. 31. *ειχεν ειρηνην οικοδομημενη πορευομενη*, for the common reading *ειχον ειρηνην οικοδομωμεναι και πορευομεναι*, and again at the end of the verse, *επληθυνετο* for *επληθυνοντο*. This is a mere statement of facts, which is designed only to correct our author's too general assertion, and is not written with a view of prejudicing the reader against the opinion, that the Codex Bezae, and the Codex Stephani β , are one and the same manuscript, for at present I do not argue upon these facts. The general evidence for and against the opinion in question, with the exceptions that may be made to the different arguments on each side, will be stated in a subsequent note.

111. Prolegomena, p. 36. Our author's reference to Acts xxi. 35. is an erratum, for the Cod. β is not quoted once in that chapter. The other example, Acts xiii. 1. consists only in the word *Μαναηλ*, quoted by Stephens from the Codex β , and which is not quoted from the Cod. Cant.

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112. For examples of Robert Stephens's inaccuracy, in his celebrated edition of the Greek Testament, see Mr.

Mr. Porson's Letters to Archdeacon Travis, p. 78—92. and Le Long's letter to Martin, published in the Journal des Sçavans, Vol. LXVII. p. 646.

113. But in the expression *πατερὸν φίλον*, Robert Stephens might surely include his son: and that he really meant to do so, though prudential motives induced him at that time to conceal his name, lest the collations should be thought inaccurate, as being made by so young a man, appears from the evidence of Henry Stephens himself. See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 143, 144. where the matter is reduced to a certainty. The expression 'in Italics,' which Wetstein quotes from Henry Stephens's Preface to the edition of the N. T. of 1587, applies in particular to the Codex β, which was the only manuscript collated in Italy.

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114. Our author's first objection to Dr. Semler's hypothesis, that the Cod. Stephani β might have been a transcript made from the Codex Bezae, is ungrounded: for he is mistaken in saying, that Semler supposes it to have been made a *short* time before Henry Stephens collated the Cod. β in Italy. Semler uses the word *olim*, and therefore the objection drawn from the word 'vetustissimum' is not valid. His second objection, that a transcript from the Codex Bezae could hardly have been so accurately taken, as to deviate so little from the original, as the Codex Bezae from the readings of the Codex β, is likewise of very little weight, for the differences between the extracts from the Codex Bezae, and the Codex β, are sufficiently numerous to make the hypothesis at least possible. Wetstein himself made his extracts, not from the Codex Bezae, but from a copy of it. At least it is highly probable, for since he transcribed the manuscript, while he was in Cambridge, it is reasonable to suppose that he collated this copy at his leisure, after his return. The anonymous author of the Specimen animadversionem in prolegomena Wetstenii, supposes that both the Codex β and the Codex Bezae were

ancient copies of the same old manuscript, and it is not improbable, that from the same manuscript, from which the Codex Bezae was copied, other transcripts were likewise taken, all of which would be, as Bengel expresses it, of the same family. Now to this hypothesis it has been objected, that it does not account for the extraordinary circumstance of Stephens's never quoting his Codex β , where the Codex Bezae has a chasm, since it cannot be supposed that both copies were defective in the same places. But that this objection is ungrounded, appears from Note 110.

Without deciding on the question, whether the Codex Bezae, and the Codex Stephani β , are one and the same manuscript, or not, I will state, as fairly as I am able, the arguments for and against the question, with the objections, that may be made to each, and leave the determination to the reader.

In favour of the opinion that they are one and the same manuscript, Wetstein alleges, in his Prolegomena, p. 29.

1. That the lectiones singulares, quoted in Stephens's margin from the Codex β , agree exactly with those of the Codex Bezae, except in some few instances, which appear to be typographical errors. The same argument he repeats, p. 36. and says, that the Codex Bezae, and Codex β , agree in 450 variationes singulares. 2. That where the Codex Bezae has chasms, no readings are quoted in Stephens's margin from the Codex β , though, if we except these chasms, the Codex β is quoted by Stephens in every page. 3. That several remarkable additions to the common text, found only in the text of the Codex Bezae, are quoted by Stephens from his Codex β . Of these he gives no examples, but among others, which I have observed, there are two which are very striking, viz. Acts xvi. 38. where the Codex Bezae has a long passage, consisting of not less than forty-nine words, which are found in no other manuscript at present known, and these very words are precisely quoted by Stephens from his Codex β . Another instance is John vi. 56. where a long passage, consisting of one-and-thirty words,

words, peculiar to the Codex Bezae, are likewise quoted by Stephens from the Codex β . See also Acts vi. 11. xiv. 7. 10. which are examples of the same kind, though less remarkable.

To these arguments may be made the following objections. 1. The lectiones singulares, quoted from the Codex β , do not amount to 450, but only to 211. In conjunction with other manuscripts it is quoted 128 times, so that the whole number, both of lectiones singulares, and lectiones communes, amounts only to 339. See Note 110. But, making all reasonable deductions, it appears that the Codex Bezae, and the Codex β agree in about two hundred readings, which Henry Stephens found in no other manuscript, than his Codex β . We must not however conclude that none of them is contained in any other manuscript, than the Codex Bezae. In order to ascertain this point, as well as our imperfect data permit, I have collated the six first chapters of St. Mark, and have found the proportion to be as follows: Of 28 readings, which Stephens quotes from the Codex β alone, there are 19 which Wetstein quotes from the Codex Bezae alone, 8 which he quotes from other manuscripts, as well as the Codex Bezae, and one where the Codex Bezae and Codex β do not perfectly agree. If we argue therefore by analogy, from these six chapters to the whole manuscript, we shall find that of the 211 readings, quoted by Stephens from the Codex β alone, 143 are found in the Codex Bezae, and in the Codex Bezae alone, at least of the manuscripts, that were known to Wetstein. And of these 143 lectiones singulares, there are several which are very long, and very remarkable. Now, as it seems improbable, that so extraordinary a manuscript as the Codex β should be totally lost in times devoted to critical inquiry, which must be the case, if the Codex β was a different manuscript from the Codex Bezae, it is reasonable to conclude, if we argue from this coincidence, that they are one and the same manuscript. 2. To the second argument it may be replied, that the premises are not perfectly true, for the

the Codex β is actually quoted by Stephens in four instances, where the Codex Bezae has a chasm. For this manuscript is defective, Matth. xxvii. 1—12. and Acts xiii. 29.—x. 14.; yet Stephens quotes from his Codex β the reading $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ for $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu$, Matth. xxvii. 1. and $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ as a various reading to $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$, Matth. xxvii. 3. Again Acts ix. 31. he quotes from his Cod. β the various reading $\epsilon\iota\chi\epsilon\nu \epsilon\iota\rho\eta\nu\eta\nu \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\nu \omega\rho\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\nu$, and at the end of the verse $\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\theta\upsilon\nu\iota\omicron$. Here, however, it must be remarked, that immediately before these two last-mentioned quotations from the Cod. β , Stephens quotes $\mu\epsilon\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ from the Codex δ . Now it is evident that these three readings were taken from the same manuscript, for they only differ from the common text in having the noun, the participle, and the verb in the singular, instead of the plural. The compositor therefore must have made a mistake, either in setting δ for β in the first instance, or β for δ in the two last. But as one mistake might more easily happen than two, the probability is in favour of the opinion that δ is a mistake, and that all three should be β . But if we admit that this example is neutral, the others still remain in force, unless they be explained as typographical errors. Besides, it is not true that the Codex β is quoted in every page of Stephens's margin, where the Codex Bezae is not defective. For this manuscript has no chasm in any part of the Gospel of St. Luke; yet in this Gospel alone there are not less than twelve whole pages, in which neither the letter β , nor the letter ω , appears in Stephens's margin, which last abbreviation, had it been used, might have been supposed to include the Codex β . There are also three other pages, in which the Codex β is not quoted by name, but only included, if included at all, under the word $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. Even therefore, if it were admitted, that every one of the quotations from the Codex β , in the places where the Codex Bezae has chasms, were typographical errors, yet this argument of Wetstein would still be inconclusive.

In favour of the opinion, that the Codex Bezae and the Codex β are two distinct manuscripts, may be alleged the following arguments. 1. It appears from the direct and positive evidence of Beza, which he has given in a clear and consistent manner three different times, (see Note 109.) that his manuscript of the Gospels and Acts was discovered in the monastery of St. Irenaeus at Lyons, in 1562, and that from all the intelligence, which he was able to procure, it had lain there time immemorial. If this account be true, the Codex Bezae could not possibly have been collated in Italy by Henry Stephens, fifteen years prior to that period, and the manuscript, which Stephens collated, must now lie buried in some Italian library. 2. Henry Stephens, who collated the Cod. β , who lived in habits of intimacy with Beza, and printed some of his editions of the Greek Testament, must unavoidably have been led by the same curiosity, which induced him to examine every Greek manuscript, which he could procure, to inspect at least the two celebrated manuscripts, which Beza used in his edition of 1582, and in which Henry Stephens himself wrote the *Exhortatio ad Lectorem*. If therefore Beza's manuscript of the Gospels and Acts had been the very same, which he himself had collated a few years before, he must have recognized so remarkable a manuscript, and of course would have mentioned it to Beza. But Stephens has no where given the least hint of its being the same, though he had a fair opportunity of doing it, where he speaks of the manuscripts, which he himself had collated, namely in the preface to the edition of the Greek Testament of 1587, printed five years after Beza's third edition, (Wetstenii Prolegom. p. 143.); and Beza constantly quotes it as a different manuscript from the Cod. Stephani β . 3. In four instances where the Codex Bezae is defective, Stephens quotes readings from his Codex β . See the preceding paragraph, with the observations on the two last examples. 4. The author of the *Specimen animadversionum in prolegomena Wetstenii* has produced twenty readings, in which the Codex Bezae

Bezæ and the Codex β contradict each other. Wetstein however has shewn, (Prol. p. 36, 37.) that the greatest part of them are without force. For four of them are quoted by Stephens, not from the Codex β in particular, but as being *εν πασι*, an expression which is too general for the foundation of an argument, relative to any one in particular. Of the other sixteen examples, he has shewn that five differ rather in appearance than reality, and that the words quoted by Stephens are actually in the Codex Bezæ. For the difference, which is visible in two other examples, he accounts by saying, that Stephens quotes for them other manuscripts, beside the Codex β , and that to save himself trouble, he annexed the letter β to a reading found in another manuscript, because the difference between them was immaterial. One of these examples is Acts iii. 1. where the Codex Bezæ has *επι το αυλο εν τη εκκλησια. Εν δε ταις ημεραις κειναις Πιερως*, instead of which reading, Stephens quotes from his two manuscripts noted β and ϵ , the following reading, *τη εκκλησια επι το αυλο. Πιερως δε*. This is no immaterial difference, as Wetstein terms it, and his answer is not satisfactory. Of the remaining examples, he shews that one has too trifling a difference to be worthy of notice, and to that which is taken from Acts viii. 6. he replies, that the Codex Bezæ has there two readings, and that, though the reading produced by Mill differs from Stephens's quotation, the latter is found in the Codex Bezæ, a secundâ manu. In the two examples which are taken from Matth. ix. 20. x. 25. he makes it probable that β is a typographical error, in the one instance for η , in the other for α . But still there are four examples remaining, namely Matth. xii. 22. Luke ii. 21. iii. 19. viii. 18. in which the Codex β and Codex Bezæ contradict each other, and which are only supposed to be typographical errors. Indeed two of them Wetstein has left wholly unnoticed, Luke ii. 21. iii. 19. though he finishes his examination with the words 'en viginti illa loca excussa.' And these four are the result, not of a collation of the

whole manuscript, but only of 19 chapters in St. Matthew, 8 in St. Luke, and 15 in the Acts. I have made no regular collation, with a view of discovering contradictions between the Codex Bezae, and the Codex Stephani β , but I have found one by accident, John xiii. 2. where Stephens quotes a reading from the latter, which is not in the former: and if the whole of Stephens's margin was collated, it is possible that many more would be found. Now if we contend that each example of this kind is a typographical error, it may be said we are guilty of a *petitio principii*. When two different critics are known to have taken their extracts from one and the same manuscript, as we know that Mill and Wetstein did from the Codex Bezae, we have a certain criterion, from which we can safely pronounce, that, in every instance, in which their extracts differ, an error must have taken place either of the writer, or of the printer. But if instead of arguing synthetically, we are obliged to proceed by the method of analysis, and the identity of the manuscript is the thing to be ascertained, which can be proved by no other method, than by a comparison of the extracts from the two supposed different manuscripts, we must be content to take the data, such as we find them; for if we new-model them according to a pre-assumed hypothesis, we are taking for granted the thing to be proved. 5. Though the characteristic readings of the Codex β are found in general in the Codex Bezae, yet on the other hand there are some very long and remarkable readings in the Cod. Bezae, which Stephens has not quoted from his Codex β . For instance that extraordinary passage, Matth. xx. 28. *υμεις δε Ζησιου, υ. τ. λ.* consisting of not less than sixty words, which exist in no other manuscript at present known, than the Codex Bezae, is not quoted by Stephens from his Codex β . It may be said therefore, that if the Codex Bezae had been the manuscript, which Henry Stephens collated, he could not possibly have overlooked so long and so remarkable a passage. Whatever latitude be given to Henry Stephens's negligence, he was certainly not inattentive

attentive to this chapter; for he has quoted his Codex β several times in it, for readings of infinitely less importance, than the reading in question. And, what is most extraordinary of all, he has quoted $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ as a various reading to $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$, ver. 27. and noted likewise the omission of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\iota$ $\sigma\iota$ $\sigma\phi\delta\alpha\lambda\mu\iota$, ver. 34. and yet does not perceive any remarkable interpolation *between* these two verses. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude, that the manuscript, collated by Henry Stephens, had *not* the interpolation in question, and of course was a different manuscript from the Codex Bezae. Should it be objected that, as H. Stephens's collation was imperfectly printed, the interpolation might have been noted in the collation itself, though it was not printed in the margin of R. Stephens's Greek Testament: it may be replied that Beza, who was in possession of the collation itself, and has quoted from it an hundred and twelve readings of Stephens's manuscripts, and, among the rest, six from the Codex β , which are not printed in Stephens's margin, (Wetsten. Prol. p. 145.) has quoted the interpolation in question from his own MS. yet takes not the least notice of its being in H. Stephens's collation of the Cod. β . And that he was not inattentive to Stephens's various readings, at that very place, appears from his quoting, in the very next verse, $\epsilon\kappa\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ from the Cod. Stephani γ . Another instance is Acts xv. 2. where the Codex Bezae has a very long and remarkable reading, consisting of not less than twenty-five words, which are found in no other manuscript, and which H. Stephens has not quoted from his Codex β . But he has quoted a reading of much less importance from the very same place: he could not therefore have overlooked these twenty-five words, if they had been in his manuscript. And that H. Stephens did not note them, appears not only from their being unnoticed in the margin of Stephens's edition, (though even this circumstance is sufficient to warrant the inference, where a reading of less importance is observed) but likewise, from the positive testimony of Beza, who was in possession of Henry Stephens's

phens's autograph. For in his note to Acts xv. 2. in his edition of 1582, he quotes the twenty-five words in question from his own manuscript, and observes on them, 'Quod autem hic adjectum invenio in meo vetustissimo codice, etsi nolim temere in contextum admittere, *quum id nusquam alibi inveniam*, mire tamen hunc locum illustrat. From all these circumstances therefore, it seems reasonable to infer, that the Cod. Bezae, and the Cod. β, though very similar, are not the same; and that the manuscript, which Stephens collated in Italy, is at present either lost or buried in obscurity, in the same manner as the Codex Boreeli, the Codex Camerarii, the Codex Rhodiensis, Erasmus's MS. of the Revelation, and several other manuscripts of the Greek Testament, used by Stephens himself, and other editors, with many, if not most, of the manuscripts, from which the Editiones principes of the Classics were printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

To these arguments for the diversity of the MSS. it may be objected, 1. That Beza's positive evidence can go no further than to the place where, and the time when, the MS. was found; not to the number of years that the manuscript had been preserved there. Further, that as Beza has nowhere asserted that he himself discovered the manuscript in the monastery of St. Irenæus, and uses the expressions *Exemplar venerandæ vetustatis* — *reperitum*, (not *reperi*) and again, in his letter to the University of Cambridge, *Exemplar ex cœnobio Lugdunensi ante aliquot annos natus*, it is possible that even his evidence in regard to the place where, and the time when it was found, was given only at second hand, and that he relied on the authority of some person, who stole it from the monastery during the civil commotions in Lyons, and brought it to him for sale. On the other hand, it must be observed that Beza's words do not necessarily imply that he did not find it himself. He was probably at Lyons in the very year, in which he says that his manuscript was discovered; for in that year he took a journey from Geneva to Paris, to be present at a council

council between the Catholics and the Hugonots, as appears from the accounts of Freher, Moreri, and Bayle. If then he was guilty of a literary theft, and appropriated to his own use what belonged to the monks of St. Irenæus, a matter by no means improbable in itself, since critics, as well as connoisseurs, are sometimes unable to resist temptation, he would naturally have expressed himself in such a manner, as to leave it undetermined whether it had been stolen by himself, or another person.

2. That though Henry Stephens, who collated the Codex β , and must frequently have seen the Codex Beza, has nowhere asserted that they were one and the same manuscript, yet the argument drawn from his silence is only negative, and that arguments of this kind are not always conclusive. But it is more difficult to find an answer to the other part of this argument, namely that Beza has constantly quoted the two manuscripts as distinct which he hardly would have done, if Henry Stephens had ever observed, that they were one and the same. Wetstein however, who takes for granted that H. Stephens actually informed Beza, that they were one and the same manuscript, goes so far as to accuse Beza of a wilful intention to deceive. His words are, (Prol. p. 34.) Vereor tamen ut Beza ipse omni culpa careat, neque reperio quomodo ipsum crimine minus sincera fide administratæ rei liberare queam. Sine dubio enim scire potuit suum codicem prius a familiari suo Stephano adhibitum fuisse, et nihilominus ad utrumque sæpius, tanquam diversi codices sint, præterat. Nor is Wetstein singular in his opinion of Beza's critical dishonesty: for Simon, in his *Hist. critique du texte du N. T.* ch. xxx. p. 372. says, Ce n'est pas icy le lieu de donner d'autres preuves de la mauvaise foi de Beza dans ses Notes sur le Nouveau Testament. 3. That the four quotations from the Codex β , in the two places, where the Codex Beza has a chasm, may be explained, either on the supposition, that two leaves, which are now wanting, have been lost since Stephens's time; or as typographical errors, an explanation, which Wetstein says ought not to be re-

jected,

jected, where the weight of evidence is so much in favour of the other side; and in one of those examples in particular, Matth. xxvii. 3. it is highly probable that β is a mistake for α . See Wetstein's Prol. p. 37. compared with his various readings to this passage. The same likewise may be said of John xiii. 2. the example which I observed in the preceding paragraph. 4. That the argument drawn from the contradictions above-mentioned is inconclusive, because many instances may be produced of collations made by different persons from the very same manuscripts, which contradict each other much more frequently, than the extracts from the Codex β contradict the readings of the Codex Bezae: and that as errors are unavoidable, both in making extracts from a manuscript, and in printing those extracts from the collation, we should often draw a very unjust inference, if we argued from a few contradictions to the diversity of the manuscripts. 5. That the fifth argument is not absolutely decisive, since it is possible that R. Stephens might overlook the most remarkable readings, even in places where we should least expect it, and likewise possible, if he had noted them, that the same remarkable readings might have been overlooked both by R. Stephens, and Beza.—What weight is due to the preceding arguments and objections, I leave to the determination of the reader.

Thus far I had written in the first edition, when I was doubtful whether the Codex Bezae was the same with the Codex β , or not: but a more minute examination of the subject has since convinced me that the arguments for their identity greatly outweigh the arguments for their diversity. I have compared the Complutensian edition with Stephens's quotations from it throughout the whole New Testament, and have found that among 578 readings, quoted by Stephens from this edition, not less than 48, that is one twelfth, are either not at all in these, or not so as Stephens has quoted them. And since it is much more probable that mistakes should be made in collating a manuscript than in collating a printed edition, our knowledge that one reading in twelve is falsely ascribed

ascribed by Stephens to the Complutensian edition, will certainly warrant us to conclude that at least an equal number of mistakes were made in regard to any given manuscript. Consequently one difference among twelve readings proves nothing, it being no more than what we may reasonably expect. Further I have found, that Stephens has frequently passed over whole chapters in the Compl. edition, and sometimes three or four chapters together. At other times he has noted trifling readings, and neglected to note important readings in the very same place. The *internal* evidence therefore for the diversity of the Codex β and the Codex Bezae is of no value: and as to any external evidence for their diversity, it may be easily done away, or, at any rate, cannot be put in competition with the *internal* evidence for their identity. To ascertain the weight of this evidence we need only apply the Theorem, which I introduced in my Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis. From this Theorem it appears, that the probability of their identity is to the probability of their diversity, as a sum, exceeding a thousand of nonillions, to unity.

115. Our author has by some mistake assigned the date of 1595 to Beza's last edition, which was not printed before 1598. Instead of fourteen years therefore, as our author says, Beza had sent away his manuscript nearly seventeen years, and was three years older than our author makes him: a circumstance which gives additional strength to his argument, in respect to the two examples produced by Wettstein, from Beza's last edition.

116. If the Codex Bezae, and the Codex Stephani β , are one and the same manuscript, this conjecture saves Beza's credit, and is at the same time attended with fewer difficulties, than Wettstein's hypothesis, the parts of which are not only improbable, but contradictory to each other, as will appear from the following Note. That Beza did not confound his MS. of the Gospels and Acts, with the MS. of St. Paul's epistles, in saying that he received from Lyons that, which came from Clermont, and vice versa, is probable, because he is perfectly consistent

consistent in his accounts of them, and specifies them so distinctly that we can hardly suppose him to have been guilty of the mistake with which Wetstein charges him. Another part of Wetstein's hypothesis, namely, that Beza confounded the paltry convent of Clermont in the diocese of Beauvais, with the city of Clermont in the province of Auvergne, is almost incredible, when we reflect that Beza was not only well acquainted with France, and was educated in Paris, but that he had an uncle who was Prior of a Convent in the very diocese of Beauvais, from which diocese, as he himself relates, he procured his manuscript of St. Paul's epistles. But Wetstein does not rest here, for in the Prolegomena to the second part of his N. T. p. 1. he conjectures that Beza was guilty of a third mistake in regard to these manuscripts, and thinks that neither of them came from the monastery of St. Irenæus in Lyons, but that one of them came from the monastery of Cluny: for which opinion he has no other foundation, than that the monastery of Cluny was plundered in the civil war by the Swiss soldiers. Now where we have positive evidence on one side, and mere conjecture on the other, there surely can be no doubt, to which party the preference is due. Our author abides by the testimony of Beza, with respect to the place where, and the time when, the manuscript was found; but, as he accedes to the common hypothesis, that the Codex Bezae and the Codex Stephani are one and the same manuscript, he is reduced to the necessity of supposing, that the manuscript which Henry Stephens collated in Italy, not long before the year 1550, was afterwards deposited in the monastery of St. Irenæus, and there discovered again in 1562. Yet Beza declares that it had lain there time immemorial, and uses even the expression 'ut ipsius pene Irenæi temporibus extitisse videri possit,' &c. The question therefore to be examined is, what authority is due to this declaration of Beza? Now the manuscript must have been procured either by purchase, by present, or by theft. If procured either by purchase, or by present, the person who procured it, whether

ther Beza himself, or any other person, who gave or sold it to Beza, would probably have conversed on the subject with some of the monks of the convent, who would not have declared, that it had lain there time immemorial, if they had recollected the time of its arrival; and if it had been brought thither, only ten or twelve years before, it may seem improbable that this circumstance should have been unknown to them. But on the other hand, when we consider that monks in general are less attached to learning, than to luxury, and that Greek manuscripts are commodities, in which the monks of St. Irenæus never dealt, it is by no means impossible that they were ignorant, not only of the time when it was brought, but even that such a manuscript existed among them. And this conjecture is the more credible, when we reflect, that the very same thing may easily happen, not only in a convent of unlettered monks, but in societies which make literature their profession. The manuscripts, and I may add, valuable manuscripts of the late Mr. Jackson of Leicester, were deposited a very few years ago in the library of Jesus College in Cambridge: yet I would not undertake to affirm that every member of that learned society either knew the contents of these manuscripts, or recollected the time of their arrival. The declaration therefore of Beza, that the manuscript in question had lain time immemorial in the monastery of St. Irenæus, rests on very unstable ground, even on the supposition that it was procured by purchase, or present; but if it was stolen, as it very probably was, no questions could have been asked about it, and Beza's declaration is mere conjecture. Our author's hypothesis therefore involves no contradiction, like that of Wetstein.

But perhaps the following hypothesis will reconcile the difficulties attending the history of this manuscript, better than any other; namely, that the convent of Irenæus at Lyons was the place where Henry Stephens collated the manuscript. As Lyons is situated on the high road between Paris and Turin, H. Stephens might collate the manuscript there, on his journey either to or from Italy;

on his return to Paris he might deliver them to his father, R. Stephens; with other papers and extracts made in Italy; and of these extracts in general, whether made in Italy, or on the journey thither, Robert Stephens, who was not very exact about the places where MSS. were kept, might say that they were made in Italy. But if H. Stephens really collated the MS. at Lyons, all difficulties in regard to its history vanish at once.

117. Wetstein in his Prolegomena, p. 28. conjectures that the Codex Bezae was either preserved during some time at Trent, or that Henry Stephens, after having collated it in Italy, delivered it to the Bishop of Clermont at the time when the celebrated council was held there, which was in 1546, and that the Bishop brought it from the council to his diocese of Clermont in Auvergne. See Wetstein's Prol. p. 30. Now these two parts of Wetstein's hypothesis directly contradict each other: for it appears from Maittaire Historia Stephanorum, p. 204—207. that Henry Stephens did not go to Italy till after the death of Francis I, which happened in 1547. He could not therefore deliver it to the Bishop of Clermont at Trent in 1546, and if the bishop was in possession of the Codex Bezae, and brought it home with him, which we must suppose if it was discovered at Clermont in Auvergne in 1562, it cannot possibly have been the manuscript, which Henry Stephens collated in Italy between the years 1547 and 1550. See Note xxxvii. to Chap. 12. sect. 1.

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118. Wetstein grounds this relation on the authority of Marianus Victorius in his notes on Jerom. Wetstein does not mention the place, but it is p. 570. of the edition of Jerom, printed at Antwerp in 1578. The words of Marianus Victorius are 'Hieronymus legit, sicut habet antiquissimus quidam Græcus Codex, quem Tridentum attulit Claromontensis Episcopus anno Domini 1546, *ἐκ αὐτοῦ διὰ μίμης ἡμεῖς, ἐκ ἐρχομαι.*

119. Especially, when the difference of both manuscripts from the common text consists only in a single particle.

particle. Much stronger evidence is requisite to prove the identity, than the diversity of manuscripts. If the Bishop of Clermont had said that *ourus* had been wanting in his manuscript, we might have justly inferred, that it was a different manuscript from the Codex Bezae, which has *ourus*. But if we take the converse of the proposition, and argue from the presence of *ourus* in both to the identity of the MSS. we rest on very unstable ground.

120. The words of Druthmar are 'Videtur librum Evangelii Græce scriptum, qui dicebatur Sancti Hilarii fuisse, in quo primo erant Matthæus et Johannes, et post alii duo. Interrogavi enim Euphemium monachum cur hoc ita esset? &c. It appears then that Druthmar expressed his surprise at finding the Latin arrangement of the Gospels in a Greek manuscript; instead therefore of supposing that there existed many of that kind in the ninth century, we must conclude it to have been the first, which Druthmar had ever seen. Nor is any objection to be drawn from his silence, as to the Acts, and the Latin translation, for it does not appear to have been Druthmar's intention to give a complete description of the manuscript: his whole attention seems to have been engaged by that circumstance, which appeared to him so very extraordinary, namely the Latin arrangement in a Greek manuscript. There is another circumstance which, though it does not in itself prove the identity of the manuscripts, may be admitted at least as collateral evidence. The Codex Bezae is the only Greek manuscript at present known, which omits the words *ἐκπορευομένη δια στόματος*, Math. iv. 4. and these very words are omitted by Druthmar, in quoting the same verse. See the sixth chapter of his *Expositio in Maubæum*, printed in the second volume, p. 291. of the *Nova bibliotheca veterum Patrum*. Parisiis, 1639. 2 Tom. fol. The text of the Vulgate in this passage is, Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo, *quod procedit de ore Dei*. But Druthmar's quotation is like the text of the Codex Bezae, Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei. And in his commentary on this verse he repeats 'verbo Dei'

not less than four times, but takes not the least notice of any words like *εκπορευομεν δια σωματος*, as being between them, though he explains in general every word. This example I discovered by accident: it is probable therefore, that if all Druthmar's quotations were collated, more examples of coincidence might be found between them, and the lectiones singulares of the Codex Bezae.

121. As our author himself rejects the argument, it is unnecessary to quote it from the Orient. Bibl.

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122. Here Dr. Ridley was certainly mistaken, for Professor Adler has very accurately collated the marginal readings of the Philoxenian version of the four Gospels, and in these alone has found not less than nineteen readings, which exist in no other MS. at present known than the Codex Bezae. See Adler's *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 130. and Note 97. to this section, where the nineteen examples are enumerated. Among them is the celebrated addition after Matth. xx. 28. *υμεις δε ζητετε, κ. τ. λ.* which is noted in the margin of the Philoxenian version, in the Codex Assenianus 1, collated by Adler (but not in Dr. Ridley's MS.) with a Syriac note made by the editor Thomas, of which the following is a translation, *Hæc quidem in exemplis antiquis in Luca tantum leguntur, capite LIII. Inveniuntur autem in exemplis Græcis hoc loco: quapropter hic etiam a nobis adjecta sunt.* See Adler's *Vers. Syr.* p. 90. It must likewise be remarked that Adler's collation was confined to the four Gospels. In the Acts of the Apostles I have observed a great number of examples: for instance, Acts vi. 11. the Codex Bezae has a passage consisting of fourteen words contained in no other manuscript at present known, and this very passage Wetstein found in the margin of Ridley's manuscript of the Philoxenian version. See also Acts xiv. 4. 10. xv. 7. which are examples of the same kind. If therefore we argue from this coincidence alone, we shall conclude, that the Codex Bezae was collated at Alexandria by Thomas of Harkel in the seventh century, with the

the same propriety as Wetstein infers from a similar coincidence, that it was collated in Italy by H. Stephens in the sixteenth century. But here again we have examples of disagreement, as well as in the former case. The reading of the Codex Bezae, Luke xx. 34. is *γυννυται καὶ γυννυσι*, 'gignuntur et gignunt,' in which it differs from all other Greek manuscripts at present known, which universally express the sense of 'uxores ducunt, et nuptum dantur,' though not precisely in the same Greek words. Now there is a Syriac note to this reading, in the margin of the Philoxenian version (see p. 400. of White's edition) of which the following is a translation. In exemplari antiquo est 'gignunt et gignuntur,' sed in *Græco non est*. Since therefore Thomas expressly declares, that a reading, which we know to be in the Codex Bezae, was not in any of his Greek manuscripts, we must necessarily conclude that it was not in the number of those which he collated: unless we say that Thomas was here guilty of an oversight, as Wetstein says of Stephens, where the Codex Bezae differs from the Codex Stephani β.

Two questions still remain to be examined, the one relative to the place where, the other to the time when, the Codex Bezae was written. Simon, Mill, Wetstein, our author, and most other critics contend that it was written in the West of Europe, where Latin was better understood than Greek, since a translation would have been wholly superfluous, if the manuscript had been written, where the original language of the Greek Testament was the language of the country. The three first of the above-mentioned critics go so far as to assert that it was certainly written, not by a Greek, but by a Latin scribe; which, they say, appears partly from the formation of the letters, partly from the orthography, observable in many of the Greek words. See Simon Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. Ch. 30. p. 360. Dissertation critique sur les MSS. du N. T. p. 25—33. Mill's Prolegomena, sect. 1271. and Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 30. But the arguments which have been brought by Simon and repeated

peated by Mill, to shew that the Codex Bezae was written by a Latin scribe, either 'prove nothing, or prove the very reverse. One of his arguments is the following, p. 360. 'Le Grec et le Latin sont écrits d'une meme main, et le Grec approche plus des anciennes lettres unciales des Latins, que de celles des Grecs. Les premières sont plus quarrées, au lieu que les grandes lettres des Grecs sont plus longues et plus maigres.' Here Simon seems to have been ignorant, that the long and narrow shape of the Greek uncial letters was not introduced before the eighth century, (Montfaucon Palæographia, p. 230.) and that the square form, which is observable in the Codex Bezae, is found in the most ancient Greek inscriptions. This argument therefore proves nothing. Another observation, which he makes in the same page, leads rather to an opposite conclusion. 'Le Grec et le Latin sont écrits d'une meme main, et d'une lettre tout a fait semblable; enforte qu'il y a même quelque fois des lettres purement Grecques dans le Latin.' From this last circumstance one might rather conclude that the Codex Bezae was written by a man, who was more accustomed to write Greek than Latin, and it appears so on examining the manuscript itself. I would rather accede therefore to the opinion of Griesbach, who says in his Symbolæ, p. lvii. 'Character Græcus satis elegans non prodit scribam latinum; imo elegantiores fere sunt græcarum quam latinarum literarum Cursus.' And again, p. lxii. 'Codex a græco librario exaratus, &c.' But the Codex Bezae might still have been written in Italy, or in some other part of the West of Europe where Latin was spoken, since it is highly probable that Greek scribes were employed in Italy for copying Greek books. This opinion is supported not only by Simon, Mill, Wettstein, our author, and most other critics, but is likewise defended by Montfaucon, who is one of the best judges of antiquity that ever existed. It is true that he does not expressly treat of the Codex Bezae, but what he says of the Codex Claromontanus (Palæographia, p. 217) is applicable to the former; for they so nearly resemble each

each other, as to have been taken, though erroneously, for parts of the same whole. Now the Codex Claromontanus appears to have been written in a country, that was under the authority of the church of Rome; for the epistle to the Hebrews is written at the end, and (as I have been informed by a friend, who has lately examined it) even by a later hand. See Simon Hist. crit. du Texte du N. T. p. 362. And as the epistle to the Hebrews was always admitted by the Greek church, but was rejected by the church of Rome during some time, and when admitted was placed at the end of St. Paul's Epistles, not before the epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, as in the Codex Alexandrinus, and other manuscripts written under the authority of the Greek church, Simon and Montfaucon concluded, as well from this circumstance, as from the Latin translation, that the Codex Claromontanus was written in the West of Europe. If we argue therefore by analogy, we shall conclude the same of the Codex Bezae: at least we may infer that it *might* have been written in the West of Europe, as it so nearly resembles a manuscript that was so. If it be objected, that the Latin letters both in the Codex Claromontanus, and Codex Bezae, are very different from those observable in the Augiensis, and Boernerianus, manuscripts confessedly written in the West of Europe, we may reply, that these are much less ancient than the two former, and admit therefore of no comparison; the former having the Latin text in uncial letters, the latter in current hand. That Latin-characters nearly of the same form as those of the Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus, were used before the seventh century by Latin transcribers themselves, is evident from the specimens which have been given by Mabillon and Blanchini. No man will suppose that purely Latin manuscripts, without the addition of a Greek text, were ever written in Greece; yet Mabillon and Blanchini have produced many specimens of ancient Latin MSS. in uncial letters, which resemble those of the Codex Bezae. See Mabillon de re diplomatica. p. 355. 257. Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex,

Duplex, P. I. p. 532. plate 2d. and 4th. P. II. p. 588. plate 2d. and page 600. plate 1st, 2d. and 7th. See also Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, p. 82. There is no presumption therefore whatsoever a priori against the opinion that the Codex Bezae was written in the West of Europe; and when we take into consideration the two following circumstances, it will appear highly probable that it actually was so. 1. The Latin translation was added with no other view, than as a mean of making the original intelligible to those, who were not skilled in the Greek; and it was not added merely in consequence of the high authority of the church, which used it. For in that case the transcriber would have adopted some established text, from which he would have never deviated, whereas the Latin text of the Codex Bezae is found in no Latin manuscript, either ancient or modern. It has omissions, inversions, and interpolations, in which it agrees with the Greek text to which it is added, but in which it differs from all other manuscripts, whether Greek or Latin. Now this translation would have been wholly superfluous, if the manuscript had been written for the use of a Greek, to whom a Latin translation was unnecessary, and still more so, if written in Egypt, as Father Georgi (Fragm. Græco-Copto-Thebaicum, p. 199.) supposes, where Latin was unknown. 2. The Gospels in the Codex Bezae are written in the following order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. This arrangement was never admitted by the Greek church, or in any country subject to its authority, but was the common arrangement of the ancient Latin manuscripts, as appears from the Evangelium Quadruplex. From all these circumstances it seems reasonable to conclude that the Codex Bezae was written in the West of Europe, in a country where Latin was better understood than Greek, and which was subject to the authority of the church of Rome. It is true that the word *ANAPHOTEMA*, which is very frequently written in the margin of the Greek text, and in uncial letters, shews that it was used in an early age as a *Lectionarium* in some Greek church. But this circumstance

proves


proves nothing, because the *αναγνώσματα* were not written by the original copyist, but added by a different hand, as Griesbach has rightly observed in his *Symbolæ*, p. lvii. A manuscript written in one country may be easily transported into another; the *Codex Alexandrinus*, in the compass of a few years, was in Alexandria, Constantinople and London; and that the *Codex Bezae* has been subject to several migrations is not improbable from the various corrections both in the Greek and in the Latin texts. Griesbach in his *Symbolæ*, p. lxii. says, *Codex a Græco librario exaratus e græcorum manibus sæpius in latinorum manus pervenit, et vicissim aliquoties ad Græcos rediit, aut possessorum saltem habuit plures utriusque linguæ gnaros.*

Another hypothesis may be proposed, which will solve the several phænomena relative to the *Codex Bezae*, as easily, or perhaps more so than the preceding: namely, that it was written either at Constantinople, or in some city of the Greek empire in Europe, for the use of some person or community belonging to the Latin church, between the time of Constantine, and the final separation of the Greek and Latin churches. During this period, it is probable that many Latin families removed from Italy, and settled in some of the principal cities of Greece; and perhaps whole communities attached to the Latin Church existed in Constantinople, for a considerable time after the removal of the seat of Empire. Now the *Codex Bezae* is exactly such a manuscript as we may suppose to have been written for the use either of a Latin community, or some person of distinction, settled in a city of the Greek empire. In a MS. of this kind we should naturally expect the hand writing of a Greek scribe, that a Latin translation would be added to the Greek text, and that the Latin order would be observed in the arrangement of the four Gospels: all which we find in the *Codex Bezae*. The same hypothesis likewise accounts for the addition of the *αναγνώσματα*, the additions and corrections, which have been made by different hands, both in the Greek and Latin texts, and the various marginal annotations, many of

which are in barbarous Greek, and in a modern hand, without having recourse to the additional supposition that the manuscript has travelled backwards and forwards from the West to the East of Europe, in order to account for the several phænomena observable in this MS. It was brought perhaps toward the close of the Greek empire from Greece into Italy, where it was collated by Henry Stephens, if it is the same as the Codex Stephani β, before it came into the hands of Theodore Beza. I am aware that an objection may be made to the preceding hypothesis, drawn from the text itself of the Codex Beza. It may be said, that if the Codex Beza had been written in Greece, we should probably have found in it the readings of the Greek edition, or what Semler and Griesbach call the *Recensio Constantinopolitana*; whereas it is known that the Codex Beza contains readings of a very different kind. But independently of the circumstance that all the manuscripts of what is called the Greek or Byzantine edition, are much more modern than the Codex Beza, we must not forget that a manuscript written in one country may be copied from a manuscript that was written in another: and if we argue from the readings of the Codex Beza to the place, where it was written, we may conclude that it was written either in Syria, or in Egypt: for in many instances, where it departs from all other Greek manuscripts, it agrees with the old Syriac, the marginal readings of the new Syriac, the Coptic version, and the quotations of Origen. We need therefore make only one addition to the last-mentioned hypothesis, an addition which agrees with the opinion of Dr. Semler, and we shall solve every phenomenon relative to the manuscript in question: namely, that the writer of the Codex Beza used several Greek manuscripts, from which he selected those readings which appeared to him to be the best, and that one of those manuscripts was of the Alexandrine edition.

The antiquity of the Codex Beza is a matter as difficult to determine, with any precision, as the foregoing question. If we argue from the internal evidence of the

text,

text, and conclude from the antiquity of its readings, that is, from the circumstance that the Codex Bezae is free from many spurious additions and alterations, that were introduced into the more modern Greek manuscripts, (though it has others of a different kind not found in modern manuscripts,) the inference to be deduced is, not that the manuscript itself is ~~ancient~~, but only that it has a very ancient text, a matter, which is of much greater importance than the antiquity of the vellum, and of the ink. See the latter part of Note 11. That it was written before the eighth century is certain, as appears from the shape of the letters, the want of intervals between the words, and of accents, and marks of aspiration. For in the eighth century the Greek uncial characters degenerated from the square and round form, which is seen in the Codex Bezae, to an oblong shape; marks of aspiration and accents were added, and the elegance of writing considerably decreased. See Montfaucon Palæographia Græca, Lib. III. cap. vi. Secondly, it appears from comparing the letters of the Codex Bezae with the Greek inscriptions given by Montfaucon, p. 158—175. not only that it *must* be more ancient than the eighth century, but that it *may* be as ancient as the sixth, the fifth, or even the fourth century. No inscription however comes so near to it in the shape of its characters, as that which Montfaucon has given, p. 174. N°. 1. an inscription which was engraved about the middle of the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian. The letters of this inscription and of the Codex Bezae are very nearly alike, both in form and proportion, and the only material difference is in the Alpha, which in the former is made thus A, in the latter thus . But this is no argument against the antiquity of the manuscript, for though the former shape is the most ancient, yet the latter was introduced in a ~~very~~ early age into manuscripts, because it might be made with only two strokes of the pen, while the latter, which required three strokes of the pen, and was therefore rejected from manuscripts, was retained in

inscriptions, because it was more easy to be cut by the chissel. See the *Palæographia Græca*, p. 152. Nor is there any great dissimilarity between the letters of the Codex Bezaë, and an inscription given by Montfaucon, p. 170. which bears indeed no date, but which Montfaucon, p. 168. says may certainly be referred 'ad Augustorum priora sæcula.' It appears therefore, from comparing the Codex Bezaë with Greek inscriptions of different ages, that it cannot have been written later than the sixth century, and that it may have been written even two or three centuries earlier. We must in the next place therefore examine, whether this possibility may be made to amount to a probability. The tawny colour of the ink discovers indeed the highest antiquity; but, if two manuscripts were written with the same ink, the one in the fourth, the other in the sixth century, they would probably be faded at present in a nearly equal degree, and the difference between twelve and fourteen hundred years would hardly be sufficient to enable us to discover at present any difference in the colour. Besides, as some inks are more durable than others, the letters of a modern manuscript may be more faded than those of a more ancient manuscript. But a probable argument may be derived from the chapters and sections, into which the ancient manuscripts of the Greek Testament were usually divided. This argument I do not mean to produce as a new one, for it has been applied by Grabe, Casley, and Woide, to the Codex Alexandrinus, and by Hichtel to the Codex Vaticanus. It is well known to those who are conversant in manuscripts of the Greek Testament, that the four Gospels are divided into greater and smaller portions, the one called *τιτλος*, the other *κεφαλαιον*, in the same manner, though in different proportions, as we divide them into chapters and verses. The *τιτλοι*, or the larger portions, were generally marked in the upper margin; the *κεφαλαια*, or, ~~as~~ they are frequently called, the Ammonian sections, were always marked at the side, and to these sections Eusebius adapted his ten tables, or harmony of the Gospels, to which

which he referred by writing, under each of the Greek letters or numbers expressive of the Ammonian sections, letters which denoted that table, where the section was to be sought. Those who have not access to Greek manuscripts, will find this very clearly represented, either in Stephens's edition of 1550, or in Küster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament. The Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, were likewise divided into sections, which are called from the inventor the sections of Euthalius; and they were noted in the margin by letters, in the same manner as the Ammonian sections in the Gospels. Now as the Euthalian sections are not marked in the margin of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, in the Codex Alexandrinus, though the *τιτλοι* and *κεφαλαια* are noted in the Gospels, Grabe in his Prolegomena to the Septuagint, Casley in his Catalogue of the King's manuscripts, and Woide in his Preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, contend that the Codex Alexandrinus was written before Euthalius had introduced those sections, that is before the year 396. But this is much too hasty a conclusion, since a considerable time might have elapsed after the year 396, before those sections were brought into general use. Besides, though no sections are marked in the margin of the Codex Alexandrinus, in the Acts and the Epistles, yet the text itself is very distinctly divided into sections, by blank spaces at the end of each section, and by large letters written in the margin, at the beginning of each section. These sections amount in the Codex Alex. in the Acts of the Apostles to 427, as may be seen on counting them in Woide's edition. It appears from the list of *κεφαλαια*, prefixed to the Acts of the Apostles, in Stephens's edition of 1550, and Küster's edition of Mill, that the common Greek chapters, or Euthalian sections, amounted only to 40 in the Acts of the Apostles. Now the division into smaller portions, was probably later than the division into larger portions; and the portions into which the Acts of the Apostles are divided in the Codex Alexandrinus, appears to be nothing more than a subdivision of the Euthalian sections, for I have compared

them in nearly one half of the book, and found in every instance, that, where an Euthalian section begins, a new section begins in the Codex Alexandrinus, except in one instance, which is of little importance, namely, Acts viii. 20. where an Euthalian section ends, whereas the corresponding section in the Codex Alex. ends with the next verse. Upon the whole, however, the writer of the Codex Alex. appears to have been acquainted with the Euthalian division, and Woide's argument is inconclusive.

If we apply the same argument to the Codex Bezae, we shall meet with the same objection. For though no sections are noted in the margin, yet the text itself is divided into sections, which are denoted, not by blank spaces, as in the Codex Alexandrinus, but by the first word of each section being so written, that the first letter stands in the margin, which is sometimes greater, but is general of the same size with the other letters. Now these sections are not the same as those in the Codex Alexandrinus, but the number of them is nearly the same in both manuscripts; and, as I have found on examining the Codex Bezae, that wherever an Euthalian section commences, a new section begins in the Codex Bezae, it appears that the sections of these two manuscripts in the Acts of the Apostles, are only different subdivisions of the Euthalian sections. This argument therefore, instead of being favourable to the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Codex Bezae, is rather an argument that neither of them were written before the fifth century.

Another argument, which I will consider independently of the former, may be deduced from the divisions in the four Gospels. The *τίτλοι* of Eusebius are wholly unnoticed in the margin of the Codex Bezae, and the *κεφαλαια*, or Ammonian sections, are not accompanied with the references to the canons of Eusebius. This is observed by Mill, in his Prolegomena, § 1271. who supposes that these references were omitted through forgetfulness, which cannot have been the reason, because the sections are sometimes written so close together, as to leave no room for a reference between them. I have

have thought it extraordinary that he did not rather deduce this very obvious inference from the omission of these references to the canons of Eusebius, that the Codex Bezae was written, not indeed before the time of Eusebius, but before the tables which he invented were brought into general use; and as Eusebius was a man of so distinguished a character, and we know that Jerom himself adopted these canons, (Hieronym. Præf. in iv Evang. ad Damasum) we might suppose that they were adopted in general within an hundred years after their invention. This argument therefore, if no objection could be made to it, would prove that the Codex Bezae could not have been written later than the middle of the fifth century. But I have since discovered the reason why Mill did not apply this argument, for he relates, § 666. that he had seen several other manuscripts of the Gospels, beside the Codex Bezae, which have the Ammonian sections without the references to the canons of Eusebius. He has not mentioned any one in particular, but I have seen two in the University Library at Cambridge, marked Dd. 9. 69. and Mm. 6. 9. the former of which is the Codex Mori 1. a MS. in Trinity College Library, marked B, 10, 6. and the Cod. Gonvilli et Caii, all written in the common small Greek character, and at least six hundred years after the time of Eusebius, in which the Ammonian sections are written in the margin, without any reference to the canons of Eusebius. Their absence therefore from the Codex Bezae affords no absolute proof of its antiquity.

But there is another circumstance to be taken into the account, relative to the Ammonian sections in the Codex Bezae, namely, that they were noted in the margin by a different, and of course later hand, than that which wrote the manuscript itself. This is asserted by Mill, Wettstein, and Griesbach, who have all examined the manuscript. See Mill's Prolegomena, § 666, 1271. Wettstein's Prolegomena, p. 31, and Griesbach's Symbolæ criticae, p. lviii. And that their assertion is founded on the truth, appears from an examination of the manuscript

script itself. For though the Ammonian sections are noted in the margin with the same uncial letters, as are used in the text, and the ink is in both places of the same tawny colour, yet the letters in the margin are somewhat smaller than those in the text, and some of the former, when closely examined, manifestly differ from those in the latter, especially the *επισημον*, that denotes the number six, which in the margin has always the following mark *Σ*, but in the text is written thus *Ϛ*; which is probably the most ancient mark, it being compounded of *Γ* and *Λ*, the one an erect, the other an inverted gamma, as *X* is compounded of *V* and *Λ*: an instance of this kind is Mark xv. 33. where it may be observed that Wetstein has copied erroneously, and written *Γ* instead of *Ϛ*, by which means he has converted *αἷμα* into *τρίης*, a reading found in no MS. whatsoever, and 'sexta' is written in the Latin at full length. It is likewise certain that the writer of the Cod. Bezaë did not intend that the text should be divided into the Ammonian sections, for he has actually divided it into sections of a totally different kind. They are denoted by the first word of each section projecting into the margin, so that the first letter stands out of the text, but is contiguous to the second letter, and is generally of the same size with the rest, though it is sometimes larger. These sections amount in the Gospel of St. Mark to 153, as I have found after counting them twice, whereas the Ammonian sections in that Gospel amount to 236, which is nearly double the number. It is true that the sections formed by the text, correspond sometimes to those noted in the margin, that is the Ammonian sections, but they much more frequently do not, so that their coincidence in certain cases clearly arises from no other circumstance, than that both are divisions of the text according to the sense, and being very numerous, must of course sometimes coincide. Another proof, that the writer of the Codex Bezaë did not intend to mark the Ammonian sections, is, that an Ammonian section frequently begins in the middle of the line, whereas those which I have mentioned

mentioned above commence always at the beginning of the line. And though the person who added the Ammonian sections, has constantly added two dots (:) before the word which begins the section, yet the interval is frequently so small between it and the preceding word, that he was obliged to add them nearly at the top of the letter. For instance, in St. John's Gospel, the Ammonian section AA begins with the words **ΘΗΚΤΕΥΩΝ ΕΙCΤΟΝΥΙΟΝ**, John iii. 36. but the letter O is so near to the last letter of the preceding word, that it was necessary to add the two dots at the top of the line, in a manner which I cannot represent by types.

From all these circumstances it is certain, that the writer of the Codex Bezae neither did note, nor intend to note, the Ammonian sections: nor are they accurately noted even by the person, who afterwards added them, for they frequently disagree in position with the Codex Alexandrinus, which we must conclude in this case to be accurate, because they are not only marked in the margin, but determined by blank spaces in the text itself. Now the question to be examined is, what argument can be deduced from the above-mentioned omission, in respect to the antiquity of the manuscript in question? If we conclude that it was written before the invention of the Ammonian sections, we shall refer it to the beginning of the third, or the end of the second century: a conclusion which would be rather too hasty, because a considerable time might have elapsed before their use was become general. But since these divisions were adopted and recommended by Eusebius in the fourth century, and likewise by Jerom at the end of the same, and beginning of the following century, they must have been universally known before the close of the fifth. And though it may be said, that the writer of the Codex Bezae must have copied from some more ancient manuscript, and might transcribe therefore the old, long after the new divisions were introduced, we may reply, that as the Codex Bezae is written in a splendid and expensive manner, it is probable that the person or persons for whom it was written, would have chosen that

that such chapters or sections should be observed in it as were in general use, at the time when it was written. If we argue therefore from the omission of the Ammonian sections, we may fairly conclude, that the Codex Bezae is at least as ancient as the fifth century. But as the writer of this manuscript has adopted sections in the Acts of the Apostles, which imply the previous existence of the Euthalian sections, I would not ascribe to it a greater antiquity.

With respect to the comparative antiquity of the Cod. Bezae with that of other manuscripts, we may safely assert, that no one can be put in competition with it, except the Codex Vaticanus. The most ancient Greek manuscripts, (I mean those only which are quoted by Wettstein (beside these two, have, according to Wettstein, (Prol. p. 6.) the usual *τιτλοι* and *κεφαλαια*. We may suppose therefore that those, which have more ancient divisions, and have other marks which denote the greatest antiquity, are in this respect entitled to the highest rank. If it be asked, to which of these the precedence is due, I would answer, to the Codex Bezae, for the Codex Vaticanus has accents, and marks of aspiration, which were added by the person who wrote the manuscript itself. See Birch Prolegomena, p. 14.

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123. That Mill's extracts are frequently defective, and sometimes erroneous, appears from a new collation that was made about the year 1733. by Mr. Dickenson of St. John's College. This collation is at present in the library of Jesus College, where it is marked O, Θ, 2. In Wettstein's extracts likewise are many errors, as appears from comparing them with the manuscript itself. In fact there is a two-fold source of error in Wettstein's extracts from this manuscript, for as he took a copy of it he probably collated, not the original while he was in Cambridge, but his copy after his return.

124. The copy which Wettstein took of the Codex Cantabrigiensis is not the only transcript, which has been made

side of this manuscript, for Simon, in the last page of his Preface to the *Histoire critique du Texte du N. T.* relates, that he himself had a copy which had been sent him from Cambridge. There is also a third copy which is preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, and marked B. 10, 3. in the cabinet of MSS. marked B. It is written on vellum, in small characters, with accents and marks of aspiration. It is a very large quarto, containing only the Greek text. On the first page is the following inscription, *Novum Testamentum Græcum exscriptum ex antiquissimo MS. ad academiam a Cel Beza misso. Ad. v. 13. c. 22. Actorum Apostolorum hoc exemplar transcriptum est.* This transcript must have been made some time in the seventeenth century, for it is not noted in James's *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, published in the year 1600, but it is quoted in the Catalogue of the manuscripts in Trinity Library, published in the Catalog. *MSSorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ, Londini 1697, Tom. I. P. III. p. 94. N°. 193.* It is also mentioned by Le Long, in his *Bibl. sacra, Tom. I. p. 174.*

CODICES CANTABRIGIENSES ALII.

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125. Mill, after having enumerated the Acts of the Apostles, and the seven catholic epistles, adds, *claudit reliquas epistola ad Hebræos*, where 'reliquas' can refer only to epistles not enumerated, that is, the epistles of St. Paul. And it certainly does contain the other epistles of St. Paul, as I have found on examination. A more accurate collation of this manuscript was made some years ago for Jackson, as appears from the following passage in the *Memoirs and Life of Jackson, p. 265.* *Mecum communicavit Jo. Wigley socius Collegii Christi apud Cantabrigienses collationem pervetusti MSti in collegio dicto quem Millius vocat Cant. 2. in qua collatione sunt plus quam quingenti variae lectiones*

tiones non notatæ a Millio, et aliquæ quas non recte descripsit ipse. Hic MS. congruit maxime cum Complutensi et Leicestrensi. This collation was bequeathed by Jackson to Jesus College in Cambridge, where it is preserved at present in a bundle, which contains many other writings left by Jackson. It is not numbered, but is placed on the same shelf as Jackson's bound manuscripts.

126. Our author having accused Mill of inaccuracy in the description of this manuscript, extends the accusation to Wetstein also, but in both cases with equal injustice. It is really extraordinary that any one should discover a difficulty in Wetstein's description. That Oxoniensis is an error of the press for Cantabrigiensis, is evident from Wetstein's reference to it, Vol. II. p. 452. in describing the Codex Collegii Christi Cantabrigiensis; the error which had been committed in the Prolegomena to the second part, is really corrected in the catalogue of MSS. prefixed to them, at the beginning of the second volume, where Oxoniensis is altered to Cantabrigiensis, and, what is still more, is particularly noted in the list of Errata, Vol. II. p. 920. The mistake of 28 for 29, though it corrects itself, is likewise noted among the Errata. One mistake however is made by Wetstein: he describes it as an octavo, whereas it is a large quarto. There is likewise in Christ's College library an Evangelistarium not noted by Wetstein. It is written on vellum, in small characters exactly like those of the preceding manuscript, and in folio. At the beginning is written in a modern hand, Evangelia cum Deo singulis diebus lecta, incipientia primo die Dominico.

E dono Francisci Tayleri, Julii 24, 1654.

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127. Our author, in describing the chasms of this manuscript, has copied from Mill's Prol. § 1375. whose account is more accurate than that of Wetstein, Vol. II. p. 13.

128. In

128. In the London Polyglot, this MS. is noted Cod. Em. in Mill's Gr. Test. Cod. Cant. 3. It may be observed, that the description given in the London Polyglot of the MS, belonging to Emmanuel College is incomplete, for we there find, Cod. Em. Epistolæ S. Pauli Græcæ, but it certainly has the catholic epistles also, which are placed before those of St. Paul, and have those very chasms described by Mill in his Prolegomena, § 1375. This manuscript has been deprived therefore of the power of being produced as an evidence in the controversy relative to 1 John v. 7. It is at present marked in Emanuel library 1, 2, 33. Lastly, the extracts printed in the Polyglot were not copied only, but likewise augmented by Mill, for speaking of this MS. he uses the expression, 'sedulo perlustrare contigit.' In the Index to his Prolegomena, he takes notice of another Codex Em. but this is a totally different manuscript, and will be described in the sequel. See Note 326.

129. And also in this manuscript, without any intervention of the Syriac, to which there is no necessity of appealing, to explain the omission of the conjunction *καὶ*, which was probably occasioned by no other circumstance, than the carelessness of the transcriber.

130. The chasms of this MS. our author has inaccurately copied from Weststein, for he has omitted to mention a part of the first, and the whole of the second chapter of the epistle to Titus.

131. This manuscript is undoubtedly the same as that, which Mill understands by Cod. Luc. for the name, John Luke, is written at the beginning. It is at present noted in the University Library Dd, XI. 90. That the manuscript thus noted is really the manuscript in question, appears from the coincidence of its contents, and its chasms, with Weststein's description.

132. This manuscript is now marked in the University Library Ff. 1. 30. Two other Cambridge manuscripts are quoted by Mill and Weststein, which our author does not describe here, because Mill has not quoted them by the abbreviation Cant. See N°. 134, 244.

The

The two Codices M^ori are likewise preserved at present in the University Library: also several manuscripts of the Greek Testament, which have never been collated; but not one of these is written in uncial letters. There are two MS. which more particularly deserve notice; the one marked Kk. 6. 4. the other Mm. 6. 9. The former contains the Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles, and once belonged to Vatablus, whose name is written at the beginning. It was collated and quoted by R. Stephens, under the title Codex 17. The other contains the whole N. T. except the Revelation.

CODEX CLAROMONTANUS.

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133. The Bibliotheca Puteana derived its name from the family du Puy; and the proprietor, whom our author means, was Jacques du Puy, who was librarian to the King of France, and died in 1656. Mill and Wetstein frequently speak of Jacques, and his brother Pierre, under the name of fratres Puteani.

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134. The following is the account given in the Catalogus Codd. M^ostorum Bibl. Regiæ, Tom. II. p. 19. Ex illo exemplari triginta quinque folia nefario cujusdam scelere aliquot abhinc annis avulsa sunt, quæ Comitæ Oxoniensis Harleii, suo in literis amore celeberrimi, munificentia in pristinas sedes rediere.

135. No man has examined the readings of this manuscript with so much accuracy, as Dr. Semler in his Hermeneutische Vorbereitung, Vol. IV. p. 8—61. where he has completely rescued the Cod. Claromontanus from the charge of having been corrupted from the Latin. The nature of the subject admits not an extract, but the whole deserves to be translated, that those who are unacquainted with German may derive advantage from the principles of this great master in the art of criticism.

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136. The reading *γυναικας* instead of *γυναικεις* is so easily explained as an error either of the eye in copying, or of the ear in dictating, that the intervention of the Syriac version seems wholly superfluous; but in this example it cannot possibly have occasioned the reading in question, for the Syriac ܡܢ is not *γυναικας*, but *γυναιξι*. A Greek translation of the whole passage would be *απειδωκαν ταις γυναιξι τας υιους αυτων εξ αναγκαστως των νικηων*, but our author puts together a set of Greek words without meaning, as corresponding to the Syriac; and in order to render the impropriety of his translation *γυναικας* the less visible, translates not *ωσαυτα*, saying that he cannot conjecture what the Greek verb might have been. An author of less eminence than Michaelis might here be said to trifle.

137. Perhaps the following statement will render this example more intelligible than the statement of our author. The only expression, in which the text of both the Claromontanus and Augiensis differs from the common text, is *εις εαυτες*, instead of *εις αυτον*, Heb. xii. 3. The word which corresponds in the Syriac version is ܕܠܝܚܬܝܢ, *sibi ipsis*: in this single expression therefore the Claromontanus and Augiensis differ from the common Greek, and coincide with the Syriac. But our author has not observed that they in fact materially differ from the Syriac; for the words which he has quoted from this version occupy precisely that place in the sentence, which in these MSS. is allotted to *εις εαυτες αντιλογιαν*, but instead of expressing this reading, expresses *ον εαυτοις αντιλογου*, which must have been the reading of the Greek manuscript from which the Syriac version was made, and gives the sentence a totally different turn from that which is found in the Claromontanus. It appears then that the whole inquiry must be confined to these three words, which have been written, through the carelessness of transcribers, three different ways, 1. *εις αυτον αντιλογιαν*, the common reading. 2. *εις αυτες (εαυτες αντιλογιαν*, the reading

reading of the Augienfis and Claromontanus. 3. οἱ αὐτοῖς (ἑαυτοῖς) ἀντιλεγον, the reading of the Greek MS. from which the Syriac version was made.

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138. Here is a display of Syriac literature, to account for the omission of a word, that was occasioned by the negligence of a copyist. The genuine Greek text is *ὑψαλωμένη ορει καὶ κικαυμένη πυρι*: but a transcriber, in the hurry of copying, omits *ορει* and writes *ὑψαλωμένη καὶ κικαυμένη πυρι*, and a transcript in which this mistake had been made, falls into the hands of the Syriac translator, who faithfully renders what he finds in his copy. A similar accident happens to the writer of the Claromontanus, who omits 'montem' in the Latin translation, but not *ορει* in the Greek. Now as mistakes of this kind happen daily and hourly, it requires a lively imagination to discover a mysterious analogy between the Syriac and the Latin. Our author's mode of restoring the supposed genuine Syriac text is ingenious, but not solid: for there is no reason to conclude that the present reading is spurious, because it is incomprehensible. A translator must abide by his original; and if a passage, as it stands in the transcript, from which he translates, is in itself unintelligible, the same obscurity will be unavoidably retained in the translation. The translator of this Introduction, though the German is as familiar to him as his native language, has been obliged more than once to translate a sentence word for word, of which he has been wholly unable to comprehend the meaning.

139. Is it possible that our author could be ignorant of Dr. Semler's admirable essay on this manuscript, mentioned in Note 135. an essay published almost twenty years before the last edition of this Introduction?

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140. Among other arguments, which Wetstein uses, to prove that the Codex Claromontanus was not written as a continuation of the Codex Bezae, he says that the pages

pages in the former are much shorter than those in the latter. He has not mentioned the number of lines in each page of the Claromontanus, but I have been informed by a friend, who has examined this manuscript, that they amount only to twenty-one; but in the Codex Bezae they amount to thirty-three. The same person likewise related that in the Claromontanus the words *Ιησους* and *Χριστος* are abbreviated $\overline{\text{IC}}$, and $\overline{\text{XC}}$: but in the Codex Bezae they are abbreviated $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ and $\overline{\text{XPC}}$. Nor are the letters precisely the same in the two manuscripts, especially in the Latin, as appears from a comparison of the Codex Bezae, with the specimens of the Codex Claromontanus, given by Montfaucon and Blanchini, in the *Palaeographia Graeca*, p. 217. and the *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, P. I. p. 532. pl. iv.

With respect to the antiquity of the Codex Claromontanus, it is supposed by Montfaucon to have been written in the seventh century. He has described it in his *Palaeographia Graeca*, p. 217. and in the plate fronting this page he has given a fac simile of its characters. Though written in uncial letters, it has accents and marks of aspiration, of which Montfaucon says, '*secundâ manu, ut videtur, nec diu, ut creditur, post descriptum codicem adjecti sunt.*' The marks of aspiration are not of the modern semicircular form, but are written thus, • for the spiritus asper, and ◦ for the spiritus lenis, which marks may likewise be seen in R. Stephens's edition of 1550, on the capital letters. This MS. was probably written in the West of Europe, not only because it has a Latin translation, but because the epistle to the Hebrews is written at the end; and in the catalogue of the books of the N. T. which is placed after the epistle to Philemon, no mention is made of the epistle to the Hebrews. It is placed, as Simon observes, (*Hist. crit. du Texte du N. T.* ch. xxx. p. 362.) *a la fin de ces livres comme hors d'œuvre, et comme une piece, qui n'est point de la même autorité, que les autres.* To this may be added, what neither Simon nor Weststein have noted, that this epistle is written even by a later hand, and was therefore wholly

excluded from the canon by the original writer of the manuscript. This I mention on the authority of the same person, whom I quoted before. Now as the epistle to the Hebrews was, during a considerable time, rejected by the church of Rome, but not by the Greek church, it is certain that the Cod. Claromontanus was written in a country, that was under the dominion of the former.

CODICES COISLINIANI.

141. The Codices Coisliniani take their name from Coislin, Bishop of Metz, to whom they were bequeathed by the celebrated chancellor Seguier, who died in 1672. They are preserved at present in the Benedictine library of St. Germain des Prez, and are described in the following work. *Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Seguieriana, seu MStorum omnium Græcorum, quæ in ea continentur, accurata descriptio, ubi operum singulorum notitia datur, ætas cujusque MSti indicatur, vetustiorum specimina exhibentur, aliaque multa annotantur quæ ad palæographiam Græcam pertinent.* Studio et opera B. de Montfaucon. Parisiis 1715, fol. But this excellent work is at present extremely scarce. They are likewise enumerated in Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. II. p. 1041—1123.

142. Wetstein refers this MS. not to the eighth, but the seventh century, Tom. II. p. 451. and Montfaucon says of it, *Codex 1. membranaceus inter præstantissimos Europæ numerandus, sexto, vel cum tardissime septimo sæculo exaratus.* He has described it at length in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 1—32. and p. 3. he has given a fac simile of its characters. See also the *Evang. Quadruplex*, P. I. p. 532. It is written in uncial letters, and with accents and marks of aspiration; but Montfaucon adds, p. 1. non ita diligenter, adeo ut certis in locis penitus omittantur, et aliquando folia pene integra iis destituta deprehendas.

143. Our author here follows Wetstein, who supposes that the Codex Coislinianus 23 was written in the twelfth century; but Montfaucon refers it to the eleventh century.

ture. See his description of this manuscript in the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 66. The three preceding manuscripts, viz. the Cod. Coisliniani 20, 21, 22, are described in the same work, p. 63—66. from which it appears that all four are accompanied with commentaries. The Codex Coislin. 20 is described by Montfaucon as very elegantly written; and he refers it, not to the eleventh, but to the tenth century.

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144. Namely in the book of Revelation, in which Storr, on a more accurate examination, discovered seventeen various readings, which had been overlooked by Wetstein.

145. I know not why our author supposes that Wetstein has not noted all the chasms of this manuscript. Wetstein's account is the only one, which has been given: for though Montfaucon mentions the manuscript in the *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 250. he is totally silent with respect to the chasms.

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146. That this manuscript was sent by Michael Palæologus to Louis IX. appears from the Dedication. *Μιχαηλ τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς, κ. τ. λ.* See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 49. But these premises alone afford no decisive argument, that the manuscript was also written in the thirteenth century, though Montfaucon conjectures that it was.

147. Wetstein, in his description of the Codices Coisliniani, has constantly adhered to the numbers which were affixed to them in the Coislin library, and by which they are noted by Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, as I have found, on comparing this work with Wetstein's *Prolegomena*. Nor has Wetstein been guilty of a mistake, in affixing the same number to two different manuscripts; for both the Codex H and Codex 22 in the second part of Wetstein's N. T. are marked by the same number CCII in the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*.

But the latter is distinguished from the former by the addition of the figure 2 under the second C, in the following manner CCII. See Montfaucon's description of it, p. 263. of the Bibliotheca Coisliniana. In the second part therefore of Wetstein's Greek Testament,

Codex H=Codex Coislinianus CCII.

Codex 22=Codex Coislinianus CCII.

148. If the writer of this manuscript altered the common reading *πιστευει* into *πιστευω* by design, and intended it as an ingenious conjecture, as our author supposes, he has displayed his ingenuity at the expence of his knowledge, for there is no such word as *πιστευω* in the Greek language. It is the mistake of an ignorant, or careless transcriber, who mistook *τ* for *π*; and it is found in this manuscript alone.

149. A critical description of the readings of this manuscript is given in Semler's *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. IV. p. 175—179.

150. No error has taken place, either of the writer, or of the printer, in regard to the number affixed to this manuscript in Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, as appears from Note 147. This manuscript, or rather fragment, for it consists only of fourteen leaves, is described by Montfaucon in his *Bibl. Coisliniana*, p. 251—261. and p. 262. he has given a fac simile of its characters. See also the *Evang. Quadruplex*, P. I. p. 532. plate 2. It appears from Montfaucon's description that it is one of the most ancient manuscripts now extant. 'Codex CCII. membranaceus, constans foliis 14. complectens partem epistolarum Pauli, inter antiquissimos Europæ numerandus, sæculi nempe V. vel VI. cujus et originem et fortunas ex notis non dubiis enarrare aggredimur. Scriptus esse videtur in Palæstina vel Syria eo circiter, quo diximus, ævo,' &c. This manuscript has been re-collated by Griesbach.

151. It appears likewise from a note written in the margin, opposite to Acts vii. 29. that it belonged to a church in Constantinople. See Wetstein, Vol. II. p. 12.

CODICES

CODICES COLBERTINI.

152. The Codices Colbertini, which were collected by the celebrated Colbert, minister of the marine to Louis XIV. are at present in the royal library in Paris, for which they were purchased by Cardinal Fleury. They are described in general in the *Bibliotheca Colbertina*, Parisiis 1728, P. II. 8vo. and in Montfaucon *Bibliothecarum*, Tom. II. p. 922—1014. But several of Colbert's manuscripts, and especially those of the Greek Testament, appear to have been separated from the rest of the Colbert library, and placed among the MSS. which were before in the royal library. For of all the Codices Colbertini enumerated by our author, not one is to be found in Montfaucon's Catalogue of the Colbert library; and in the places to which the fifteen numbers respectively belong there are chasms in the notation, except N°. 1241. which is an evident erratum, because this number is a MS. of Jamblichus. The Colbert MSS. of the Greek Testament therefore must be sought among the Codices Regii, in the second volume of the *Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bibl. Regiæ*. A fac simile of the characters of one of the most ancient of these MSS. is given in the first plate annexed to P. I. p. 492. of *Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex*. See also Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 229. where a fac simile is given of the *Codex Colbertinus* 700. which is written in very large uncial letters, with accents and marks of aspiration, and referred by Montfaucon to the eighth century. This is Wetstein's *Evangelistarium* 1. and is mentioned by our author N°. 93. Several other Codices Colbertini are described by Montfaucon in the same work; but, if we except that, which is just mentioned, and the *Cod. Colbertinus* 5149. which will be described in the sequel under the title *Codex Cypricus*, the others described by Montfaucon are not MSS. of the Greek Testament.

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153. But he has specified many of them in his *Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T.* ch. 33.

154. Not by Mill, but by La Roque, who collated this manuscript in the library of Colbert. See Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1474.

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155. Wetstein says only, *Ita Millius de suo Codice Colb. 2. quæ tamen ex lectionibus ab ipso notatis equidem hætenus deprehendere non potui.* But Semler has examined the readings of this MS. with great accuracy in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 214—219. He has shewn that it contains valuable readings, that they very frequently coincide with Wetstein's *Codex 91.* and not seldom with the *Cod. Cant.* and *Codex Reuchlini.*

156. The words of Mill in his *Prolegomena*, § 1476. are the following, *Quarta collationes exhibet partium codicis cujusdam evangeliorum ab invicem, nescio quo pacto, discerptarum.* Prior pars, *Codicis scil. n. 4444. variationes e sedecim prioribus capp. Matthæi excerptas continet: posterior (quæ est codicis istius bibliothecæ, n. 6083.) lectiones e reliquo Matthæi evangelio, &c.* Now the word *quarta* at the beginning of the sentence signifies the fourth part of that collection of Various Readings from the Colbert MSS. which had been communicated to him by Allix (*Proleg.* § 1473), the first part of which contained extracts from the Colb. 6043. the second from the Colb. 4705. and the third from the Colb. 6066. (*Proleg.* § 1473, 1474, 1475.) But it appears that the fourth part of this collection of readings was subdivided into two portions, the one containing extracts from the Colb. 4444. the manuscript in question, the other from the *Codex 6083.* No doubt therefore can be made that the Colb. 4444. was a MS. of the Gospels, not merely a collection of readings, which would have hardly been ranked among the Colbert MSS. of the Greek Testament.

157. It may be observed in regard to the notation of the Codd. Colbertini, in Mill's Greek Testament, that as the words *prima, secunda, &c.* in his Prolegomena § 1473—1477. refer to the several parts of the above-mentioned collection, the fourth part of which contains extracts from *two* MSS. the Colb. 4444 and 6083, it follows that both of them are included in the notation Colb. 4. among the various readings. Nor is the notation improper, for though the two manuscripts are bound separately, the one is only a continuation of the other, for Mill calls them *Partes codicis cujusdam evangeliorum, ab invicem, nescio quo pacto, discerptæ.*

158. This mistake was occasioned by Wetstein having assigned two numbers to the two parts of the same manuscript, which Mill quotes under the title Colb. 4.

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159. See Note 156, 157.

160. The three parts of this manuscript are quoted in Mill's Greek Testament by three different numbers for the same reason, as the two above-mentioned are quoted under one number. Mill received from Allix two separate collections of readings of the Colbert manuscripts, the first of which has been mentioned Note 156: this first collection consisted of six parts (Proleg. § 1473—1477) the last of which contained extracts from the Colb. 2844. in the Acts of the Apostles (Prol. § 1477.) whence this part of Colb. 2844. acquired the name of Colb. 6. Sometime afterwards he received a second collection of readings (Proleg. § 1490) which consisted of two parts, the former containing extracts from the Colb. 2844. in the epistles (Prol. § 1490) the second in the Gospels (Prol. § 1492). To prevent mistakes therefore in regard to the notations of Mill and Wetstein, the following statement is necessary.

Mill's Cod. Colb. 6. = Wetstein's Cod. 13. in 3d. part.

————— Colb. 7. = ————— Cod. 17. in 2d. part.

————— Colb. 8. = ————— Cod. 33. in 1st. part.

161. Also

161. Also by the old Syriac, the Coptic, Ethiopic, and Philoxenian in the margin.

COD. CORSENDONCENSIS.

PAGE 162.

162. Fuit olim Collegii Corfendoncensis in Quempinia.
Wetsteinii Prolog. p. 45.

163. Here our author appears to have misunderstood Wetstein. The common text of the passage in question is *δεξασθαι ημας και ο καθως ηλπισαμεν*, &c. &c. Wetstein quotes 33 MSS. for the omission of *δεξασθαι ημας*, but of his Cod. g. in particular he says, habet (scil. *δεξασθαι ημας*) addita nota *εν πολλοις των αντιγραφων ουτως ευρηται*. But our author has written this note between *δεξασθαι ημας* and *και ο καθως ηλπισαμεν*, as if it had been inserted by the writer of the Codex Corfendoncensis in the text itself, which is improbable, and by no means warranted by Wetstein's quotation.

This note I had written in the first edition: but I have since found, that I am mistaken. The Codex Corfendoncensis, has really (strange as it may appear) *εν πολλοις των αντιγραφων ουτως ευρηται* in the *text*. See Alter's Greek Testament, Vol. II. p. 594.

164. The MS. when collated by Walker was in the library of a Dominican convent in Brussels. Wetstein's Prolog. p. 46.

165. Treschow says, Codex in Auctionario decimus quintus. It is therefore numbered 15 in the Auctionarium or Appendix to the catalogue of manuscripts which is kept in the imperial library. Complete extracts are given from this manuscript in Alter's Greek Testament, Vol. I. p. 704—750. and Vol. II. p. 559—630.

CODICES COTTONIANI.

166. A fac simile of the characters of this MS. is given in Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex, P. I. in the second plate annexed to p. 492. It is remarkable that

that this manuscript is written on paper, though with uncial letters. Both Le Long and Wettstein call it *charta Ægyptiaca, purpurei coloris*. See Le Long *Bib. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 180. and Wettstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 40. The Cotton MSS. which are now preserved in the British Museum, are described in Smith's *Bibliotheca Cottoniana*, printed at Oxford 1696, fol.

CODICES COVELLIANI. †

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These manuscripts, which were brought from the East by Dr. Covell, came afterwards into the hands of Harley, Earl of Oxford, and with the rest of the Harleian MSS. into the British Museum. They are described in the Catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts, London 1759, 2 vols. folio.

167. At present in the British Museum, and noted Harleianus 5776, as is related by Griesbach.

168. It is noted in the British Museum Harleianus 5537. It has been again examined by Griesbach.

169. From the Coislin. 25. and 202.

170. It is noted at present 5620. among the Harleian MSS. Griesbach, who has examined it, relates that it generally agrees with the *Genevensis* 1.

CODEX CROMWELLI.

This MS. which was examined by Griesbach, our author has neglected to mention. It contains, beside other matters which relate not to the present subject, lessons from the four Gospels. It belonged formerly to Oliver Cromwell, and came with the rest of his manuscripts into the Bodleian, where it is marked among Cromwell's manuscripts 117. See the *Catal. MSorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, Tom. I. P. I. p. 44. In Griesbach's list of *Evangelistaria* it is numbered 30, but he has not yet described it, because the description of the *Evangelistaria* is deferred to the second volume of the *Symbolæ*, which is not yet published.

CODEX

CODEX CYPRIUS.

Montfaucon has described this manuscript in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 231. and has given a fac simile of its characters, p. 232. He refers it to the eighth century. It is written in uncial letters, with certain marks over them, which Montfaucon calls ‘*notulæ quædam et lineolæ, ad inflexiones vocum in officio ecclesiastico inter legendum observari solitæ.*’ It is at present in the royal library in Paris, where it is marked 63.

CODEX DOUZA.

Where this manuscript is preserved at present is unknown. All that Wetstein says of it is, that it was brought from Constantinople by Douza, and seen by Gomarus at Leyden, who examined it for the story of the adulteress in the eighth chapter of St. John. It is reasonable however to suppose, that it is in the University Library at Leyden, and perhaps is the very same manuscript as that which is noted 74 among the Greek and Latin MSS. and described p. 337 of the folio catalogue printed in 1716, in the following manner : *Quatuor evangelia, quæ incipiunt ab historia quinque millium satiatorum per quinque panes et duos pisces, Græcè et Latine, etsi Græcæ videantur magis nova, et non serie continua.*

CODEX DUBLINENSIS.

PAGE 257.

171. Another manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College in Dublin, written in uncial letters, and of great antiquity, containing the Gospel of St. Matthew, is described in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* for 1787, p. 121—138. At the end of the last page is a fac simile of its characters. But as it has never been collated, it belongs not to the present catalogue.

CODEX EPHREM.

PAGE 258.

172. This MS. is described in the *Catalogus MStorum Bibl. Reg. Tom. II. p. 2—7*. A fac simile of its characters is given by Montfaucon in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 214. He describes it p. 213. Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ criticae*, p. viii. relates that it has the *τιτλοι* and *κεφαλαια* of Eusebius a *primâ manu*. But it is written without accents.

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173. Instead of the common reading *ις καθ' ις* the Codex Ephrem has not *καθ'ος* as our author says, but *ις καθ'ος*, as appears from both Wettstein and Griesbach.

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174. See Note 4. to ch. vi. sect. 10.

175. The Codex Ephrem has many marginal notes written in uncial letters without accents. See Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 213, 214. This proves what has been sometimes doubted, that marginal notes were made in the most ancient manuscripts, and that this practice prevailed in the early ages of Christianity. But these marginal scholia seem to have been confined to such MSS. as were in the hands of private persons, while those, which have been used for church service, such as the Codex Bezae, are without them. It is likewise remarkable that in this manuscript the disputed, or rather spurious verse John v. 4. is written not in the text, but as a marginal scholion. See the specimen given by Montfaucon, p. 214. Now as this verse is totally omitted in the Codex Bezae, and the Codex Vaticanus, which are the two most ancient MSS. now extant; is likewise omitted in the text of the Codex Ephrem, (which is somewhat inferior in age to the Codex Bezae) but written in the margin as a scholion; is written in more modern manuscripts in the text itself, but marked with an asterisk, or on an obelus, as suspicious; and in manuscripts still more modern is written without any mark; we see the various gradations

gradations by which it has acquired its place in our present text, and have proof positive that the verse was originally nothing more than a marginal scholion, and of course spurious. Other passages likewise in the Greek Testament owe their present existence in the printed editions to the same cause.

Wetstein supposed that the Codex Ephrem was one of the MSS. which were collated at Alexandria in 616, with the New Syriac version, but this opinion has been confuted by Dr. Ridley in the 15th section of his *Diff. de vers. Syriacis*. Adler likewise on collating the marginal readings of the Philoxenian version seems to have found none that were peculiar to the Codex Ephrem. At least he has mentioned none in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 131. But though the Codex Ephrem was not collated at Alexandria in 616, it is certainly as ancient as the seventh century. See Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 212, 213. Wetstein goes still further, and argues from a marginal note to Heb. vii. 7. that it was written before the institution of the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, that is, before the year 542. See his *Prolegomena*, p. 28.

CODICES ESCURIALENSES.

Here may be inserted the Codices Escorialenses, collated by Professor Moldenhawer and described in Birch's *Prolegomena*, p. 61—84.

1. Escorialensis 1, an Evangelistarium, supposed by Moldenhawer to have been written in the tenth century.

2. Escorialensis 2, contains all the books of the N. T. except the Revelation, and in the following order, the Gospels, Acts, catholic Epistles, and lastly those of St. Paul. It is of the octavo size, very neatly written on vellum, in small characters, and referred by Moldenhawer to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.

3. Escorialensis 3, an Evangelistarium, written for the use of a church in Constantinople, and referred by Moldenhawer to the beginning of the 10th century.

4. Escoria-

4. Escorialensis 4, an Evangelistarium, likewise brought from Constantinople. These two last mentioned MSS. Moldenhawer describes as of little value.

5. Escorialensis 5, a manuscript of the four Gospels, written probably in the 13th century.

6. Escorialensis 6, an Evangelistarium, supposed to be written toward the close of the 11th century.

7. Escorialensis 7, written in the 14th century, and containing the Gospels, the Acts, and the 14 epistles of St. Paul.

8. Escorialensis 8, a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the year 1140, as appears from its subscription.

9. Escorialensis 9, a manuscript of the four Gospels, and according to its subscription written by one Luke a monk in 1014.

10. Escorialensis 10, contains the four Gospels, and written, as Moldenhawer supposes, in the 12th century.

11. Escorialensis 11, a manuscript of the Gospels, but supposed to be not more ancient than the 13th century.

12. Escorialensis 12, contains the four Gospels, and is referred by Moldenhawer to the 11th century.

For further information see the above-quoted Prolegomena. The readings of these MSS. are quoted in Birch's edition of the Greek Testament: those which Moldenhawer discovered on a second collation, and which came too late to be printed under the text, are given in the Prolegomena, in the description of each manuscript. He has likewise collated eight Escorial manuscripts of the Acts and the Epistles, but the description of these is not yet published. Montfaucon, in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 616—625. has given a catalogue of the *Codices Escorialensis*, but what is very extraordinary the manuscripts of the Greek Testament are not particularly specified. He says in general terms, p. 624. *Quatuor Evangeliorum codices bene multi, Græce, Acta Apostolorum, et Epistolæ Pauli, necnon alii biblici libri in permultis Græcis codicibus extant.* But this neglect is to be ascribed, not to Montfaucon, but to the person who made the catalogue.

CODICES FLORENTINI.

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176. Professor Birch, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 50—53. has described seventeen manuscripts of the Gospels preserved at Florence in the *Bibliotheca Laurentiana*. He has not regularly collated them, but only inspected them in particular passages. Fourteen of them are preserved in the book-case which is marked VI, and are numbered 11. 14, 15, 16. 18. 23. 25. 27, 28, 29, 30. 32, 33, 34. Two of them are numbered 12. 14. in the book-case marked VIII; and the seventeenth which was brought 'ex bibliotheca *Ædiliū Florentinæ ecclesiæ*' is marked 256. It appears from the short account, which Birch has given of them, that they are all written on vellum, and most of them in the 11th or 12th century. He has also mentioned two *Lectiōnaria* preserved at present in the same library, which he has quoted John vii. 53. under the title *Lect. Flor. 1, 2.*

In the Benedictine monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary he found two manuscripts of the Gospels, the former of which he quotes Mark xvi. 9. John vii. 53. the latter Matth. xxvii. 16, 17. John vii. 53. But he has taken no notice of a very ancient *Codex rescriptus*, preserved in the same library, which Montfaucon in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 180. describes as follows. *Codex bibliothecæ B. M. Benedictinorum Florentiæ, ubi, deletis erasisque prioribus, Sophoclis carmina superscripta sunt. Prius autem erat Novum Testamentum caractere quadro et rotundo sine accentibus.* It appears therefore that some parts of the Greek Testament are still visible. In the Dominican Convent dedicated to St. Mark he found two MSS. of the whole N. T. and one of the Gospels, which he has quoted only at the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth chapter of St. John. The second MS. containing the whole N. T. he describes in the following manner. *Codex 707 chartaceus, sæculi 15, integrum N. T. complectitur, singulari Græca dialecto,*

lecto, cujus ut perspici possit indoles primum Evangelii Johannis versum adscribam qui ita legitur, ἀπ' αρχης η του ο λογος, και ο λογος η του προς τον Θεον, και Θεος η του ο λογος. It may be observed, however, that this singularis græca dialectus is nothing more than the dialect of the modern Greeks, as may be seen on examining the modern Greek Testament printed in London in 1703. But the words which Professor Birch has quoted are falsely printed, for η του should be written ητον, the imperfect of the auxiliary in modern Greek being not ην, ης, η, but ημην, ησυν, ητον. This manuscript therefore is of no value.

Catalogues of the manuscripts preserved in the Medicean and other libraries in Florence are given by Montfaucon in his *Bibl. bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 239—430.

CODEX T. GALE.

A catalogue of Dr. Gale's manuscripts is printed in the *Catalogi librorum MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*, Tom. II. P. I. p. 185. But where this manuscript in particular is at present, I have not been able to learn.

CODEX GEHLIANUS.

177. Copious extracts have been given from this manuscript by Professor Matthæi in his Appendix to his edition of St. Mark's Gospel, p. 277—318.

CODICES GENEVENSES.

178. These two manuscripts are preserved in the library belonging to the city of Geneva. They are described in the *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits conservés dans la bibliothèque de la ville de Geneve*, par Jean Sennebie, Geneve, 1779, 8vo. p. 27—34.

CODICES GUELPHERBYTANI.

PAGE 262.

179. Here our author must have forgotten Griesbach's
VOL. II. A a a Greek

Greek Testament, in which this manuscript is quoted by the title Codex P.

180. This MS. is quoted by Griesbach by the title Codex Q. A critical examination of the readings of these two MSS. is given by Semler in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. IV. p. 287—298.

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181. The German title of this work is Knittels neue Kritiken über 1 John v. 7.

182. Knittels Beyträge zur Kritik über die Offenbarung Johannis.

183. Griesbach says of this MS. *Rarius nominatim excitamus, quoniam fere semper concinit cum codicibus 9. 14. et aliis.*

184. This reading is *αἰμας* for *αγγελας*.

185. This MS. is quoted by Griesbach in the book of Revelation by the title Codex 30. From the Acts and the Epistles copious extracts are given by Professor Matthäi in the Appendix to his edition of St. Mark's Gospel, p. 322—363. He calls it Codex x.

PAGE 264.

186. Here our author reviews the publication of Knittel mentioned Note 181.

CODEX GONVILLI ET CAII.

187. It is probable that Mill made some additions to the extracts of the London Polyglot, for he says of this manuscript, Prol. § 1419. *videre et sedulo perlustrare contigit.* This MS. has the Ammonian sections, without the references to the canons of Eusebius.

CODEX GOODII.

188. Dr. Fell, in his catalogue of MSS. at the end of the preface to his Gr. Test. enumerates among others an *Evangelium D. Goodii*, from which he quotes readings by the letter g. But Fell probably meant no other than the

the Codex Googii, for he says in his preface, exhibemus insuper quæ Biblia Polyglotta Anglicana addidere. As Walton therefore has no Codex Goodii, nor Fell a Codex Googii, it is certain that they both meant the same manuscript; and this is confirmed by a comparison of Fell's quotations with those of Walton, which I have found to agree, though Fell has not produced all the extracts given by Walton.

189. Wetstein must therefore suppose that his Cod. 62, 63, 93. are one and the same manuscript under different names: or that it was first in the possession of Gravius, then of Googe, and afterwards purchased by Usher. But this conjecture is not probable, as will appear from Note 326.

CODICES HAVNIENSES.

190. This manuscript and the two following are described in Birch's Prolegomena, p. 89—92. and extracts are given from them among the various readings to his Greek Testament. In the volume of the Or. Bib. to which our author refers, are only extracts from Hensler's Notitia. This work was published at Copenhagen in 1784, 8v6.

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191. Namely in the epistles. See Griesbach's Greek Testament, Vol. II. p. 4. What the abbreviation Hal. signifies is wholly unknown. All that Griesbach says of it in the place just mentioned is, Codex nescio quis, cujus excerpta, adjectâ nota Hal., extant in margine exemplaris editionis Milianæ, quod asservatur in bibliotheca Bodlejana.

192. Griesbach, in his Symbolæ criticæ, p. 245. relates that they were made partly by Mill and partly by Hearne.

193. If the abbreviation Hal. denotes a manuscript, it must have likewise contained the Gospels, for Griesbach says in his Symbolæ, p. 246. Curavi ut annotationes quæ ad priora Matthæi capita et ad epistolas Apostolorum

colorum spectant, saltem potiores, descriptas in patriam mecum apportarem. He has published his extracts from St. Matthew, at the end of his *Symbolæ*.

CODICES HARLEIANI.

194. These MSS. are preserved in the British Museum, and are described in the 'Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of manuscripts purchased by authority of Parliament for the use of the publick, and preserved in the British Museum London 1759. 2 Vols. folio. The first person who collated any of these manuscripts, was Griesbach, who has enumerated ten of them in the different catalogues of MSS. prefixed to the several parts of his Greek Testament. Of these our author mentions only five, which are all MSS. of the Gospels, namely those marked 1810, 5540, 5559, 5567, 5731, which Griesbach has described in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. clxxxii—ccii. After having given an account of these MSS. our author adds, that there are six other Harleian manuscripts, containing the epistles, and marked 5552, 5588, 5613, 5620, 5778, 5796, one of which (5778) formerly belonged to Dr. Covel, and has been described above, under the title Covel. 5: but of the remaining five he says, that they belong not to the present catalogue, because no extracts have ever been given of them. Now it is evident that he has copied these numbers from Griesbach: but two of them he has copied wrong, and he is likewise mistaken in saying that they have not been collated, for all five are numbered by Griesbach in his Greek Testament, who says in particular of the Codex 5613, 'a nobis collatum.' I will therefore give an account of them as far as relates to their contents, though I am unable to describe them critically, because they belong to the second volume of the *Symbolæ criticæ*, which Griesbach has not yet published.

Harleianus 5552, a manuscript of all the Epistles; noted by Griesbach 66. in St. Paul's Epistles, 63. in the Catholic Epistles. But Griesbach, in the second volume of

of his *Symbolæ criticæ* has shewn, that this MS. is nothing more than a transcript of the first edition of *Erasmus*.

Harleianus 5588, a manuscript of the *Acts* and all the *Epistles*; noted by *Griesbach* 59. in the *Acts* and the *Catholic Epistles*, and 62. in the *Epistles* of *St. Paul*.

Harleianus 5613, a manuscript of the *Acts*, the *Epistles*, and the *Revelation*; noted by *Griesbach* 60. in the *Acts* and the *Catholic Epistles*, 63. in the *Epistles* of *St. Paul*, and 29. in the *Revelation*, in which book it is defective from ch. xxii. 2. to the end.

Harleianus 5650, *Griesbach's Evangelistarium* 25. Of this manuscript *Griesbach* says, that he only cursorily inspected it.

Harleianus 5731, contains fragments of a *Lecttionarium*, and is noted by *Griesbach* *Lecttionarium* 4, in *St. Paul's Epistles*.

Griesbach likewise relates, in the *Catalogue* of manuscripts prefixed to *St. Paul's Epistles*, that the *Codex Harleianus* 5613, beside the contents, which have been already mentioned of this manuscript, has also a fragment containing a part of the *epistles* to the *Corinthians*, namely, 1 *Cor.* xv. 25—2 *Cor.* i. 15. and 2 *Cor.* x. 13.—xii. 5. This fragment is quoted by *Griesbach* by the figure 64. Our author therefore has neglected to mention six *Harleian* manuscripts, which have been either wholly, or partially collated.

CODEX HIRSAUGIENSIS.

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195. This MS. derives its name from the writer *Nicolaus, monachus Hirsaugienfis*. When collated by *Bengel* it was the property of *Uffenbach*. *Wetstenii Prolegomena*, p. 57. This manuscript appears to be the same as that which *Griesbach* has noted also 122. and has termed *Gieffenfis*, as being preserved in the *University Library* at *Gieffen*. *Bengel* describes the MS. in question as follows: *Hirsaugienfis continet Evangelium se-*

cundum Johannem scriptumque se fatetur per Nicolaum monachum Hirsaugiensem ; convenit autem singulariter, cum Codice Trithemii apud Millium. Apparatus criticus, p. 9. ed. 2da. Now Professor Schulze discovered in the University library at Gießen a manuscript of St. John's Gospel, which formerly belonged to Uffenbach, which had been collated by Maius, whose extracts are likewise preserved in that library, and which our author has printed in his *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. II. p. 243—252. In his preface to these extracts Maius gives the following account of the MS. itself. *Evangelium S. Johannis Græcum sistit exaratum satis eleganter anno MD manu Nicolai, monachi Hirsaugienfis, ut in calce voluminis patet.* And at the end of the extracts he adds, *Facile ex hisce cuivis judicare licet de præstantia hujus MSi, ad cujus laudes hoc imprimis pertinet, quod cum Codice Evangelii S. Johannis Jo. Trithemii manu exarato prorsus conveniat, et ex illo descriptus videatur.* The identity therefore of the two manuscripts seems to be sufficiently ascertained. I have likewise compared the extracts from the Cod. Giessensis with Wetstein's quotations from the Hirsaugienfis, his Codex 97. and found that their readings are not contradictory to each other. For instance John i. 29. both omit *ο Ιωαννης*, v. 44. both add *ο Ιησους*. On the other hand Maius has noted variations in the Cod. Giessensis, where Wetstein has not quoted his Cod. 97. but this is no argument against the identity of the manuscripts, since Wetstein has here only copied from Bengel, who never gave complete extracts from any manuscript, but noted only what appeared remarkable.

CODICES HUNTINGDONIANI.

196. The Codd. Huntingdoniani are at present in the Bodleian, and are described in the *Catalogi MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*, T. I. p. 279—285.

CODICES LAUDIANI.

The Codices Laudiani, which are preserved in the Bodleian, are described in the *Catalogi Libr. MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*, Tom. I, P. I. p. 46—76. The numbers 1, 2, 3. &c. by which they are usually quoted, are not the numbers annexed to them in the Bodleian, but were adopted by Mill, for the sake of brevity.

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197. See Woide's *Prolegomena*, § 80.

198. *Proleg.* § 77. where many examples are produced in which the Latin has been altered from the Greek, not the Greek from the Latin.

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199. We cannot positively affirm that the Greek text in the Laud 3. differs in this example from the Latin, for the writer of this manuscript, as well as the author of the Vulgate, might have considered *av* not as a potential particle, but as an hypothetical conjunction.

200. It is true that the Syriac version expresses *ܡܫܝܚܐܝܐ*, but the Syriac text is not *ܡܫܝܚܐܝܐ*, as our author says, who seems to have quoted from memory, but *ܡܫܝܚܐܝܐ*.

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201. Woide likewise, immediately over the fac simile representing *δουξ Σαρδινίας*, has given a fac simile representing the text of the manuscript itself, from which it is manifest, that the former was written not only by a very different hand, but in a much later age than the manuscript itself. But it might still have been written in Sardinia, though Woide § 76. supposes that it was written in the East, because its orthography has several properties observable in the Alexandrinus. But as these are also found in other very ancient manuscripts, they are insufficient to warrant the inference, when we reflect on

the great improbability that a Greek manuscript written in the East, should be accompanied with a Latin translation. This Latin translation, contrary to the usual arrangement of the Greek-Latin manuscripts, occupies the first column of the page. It appears from the fac simile which Hearne has given at the end of the preface, as well as from the edition itself, that only one word, at the utmost two, and that seldom, is written in a line; and they are so written that each Latin word is always opposite to the correspondent Greek word. This clearly shews that it was written for the use of a person, who was not well skilled in both languages; and, as the Latin occupies the first column, this circumstance affords an additional argument in favour of the opinion, that it was written in the West of Europe, where Latin only was spoken. With respect to the antiquity of this manuscript, Hearne refers it to the eighth century, for in his preface, which is dated 1715, he says, *Ad codicis antiquitatem quod attinet, mea fuit opinio eum esse annorum plus minus mille.* At all events it is less ancient than the Codex Bezae, as appears from the form of the letters, especially the A and the N. The former is not written thus **A** as in the Codex Bezae, but has a more modern shape, the left hand stroke being in general not pointed, but round: and the N is nearly the same as that used by the person, who added the word *ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΜΑ* in different parts of the margin of the Codex Bezae. The sections likewise into which the Laud. 3. is divided, are more numerous than those of the Codex Bezae in the Acts of the Apostles: but the sections of the former, like those of the latter, are nothing more than a subdivision of the Euthalian sections, as I have found on comparing them, for wherever an Euthalian section begins, a new section begins in the Laudianus 3. The first letter of the word, which begins each section, projects into the margin, and is somewhat larger than the other letters, which it exceeds in a greater degree than the first letter of a section exceeds the rest in the Codex Bezae, but in a less degree than in the Codex Alexandrinus. It agrees with

with both these MSS. in not having the sections of the Acts of the Apostles numbered in the margin.

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202. In the very section to which our author alludes, Woide has actually produced nearly forty examples in which the Laud. 3. agrees with the quotations of Bede. Nor were our author's objections unknown to Woide, who had not only seen, but actually used the third edition of his Introduction, for he has quoted from it a very long passage in the first part of his preface.

203. Published at Copenhagen in 1785, 8vo.

CODEX LEICESTRENSIS.

PAGE 275.

204. The Syriac version, (by which expression is generally understood the old Syriac or Peshito) has not *ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲱⲥ* with the Cod. Leicestrensis, but the common reading *ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲱⲥ*. It is found however in the Philoxenian, and also in the Armenian.

205. Here is nothing more than an extract from the Catalogue of the Library of Cesar de Missy, published in London in 1776.

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206. It is not in the British Museum. If it was purchased by Dr. Hunter, it must be sought hereafter in the University Library at Glasgow, where Dr. Hunter's manuscripts will be deposited.

207. Wetstein, who had his accounts from de Missy himself, relates very circumstantially that the extracts from the Codex Leicestrensis, were made by Jackson and Tiffin, that these extracts were written by Gee in the margin of the octavo Oxford edition of the Greek Testament, that this copy was purchased by de Missy who lent it to Wetstein in 1748. See his Prolegomena, p. 53. But there is a much more complete collection of readings from

from the Codex Leicestrensis than those given by Wetstein. Jackson, who lived at Leicester, spent a great part of his life in making extracts from this manuscript, which he wrote in red ink in the margin of his copy of Mill's Greek Testament. This copy is now preserved in Jesus College Library in Cambridge, where it is marked O, Θ, 1. On the first of the blank leaves, which are prefixed to the title page, Jackson has written, 'In hoc exemplari excuso N. T. habentur *omnes* var. lect. Cod. MS. Leicestrensis post Millium denuo cum diligentia collati. This copy of Mill's Greek Testament with Jackson's marginal readings is a treasure of sacred criticism, which deserves to be communicated to the public. It contains the result of all his labours in that branch of literature, it supplies many of the defects of Mill, and corrects many of his errors: and beside quotations from manuscripts and ancient versions, it contains a copious collection of readings from many of the fathers, which have been hitherto very imperfectly collated, or wholly neglected.

PAGE 277.

208. The description given by Wetstein is circumstantial, clear, and probable: it does not appear to be attended with either mystery or error. Our author therefore must mean, that there is something mysterious, with respect to the origin of this manuscript.

CODEX MANHEIMENSIS,

PAGE 278.

209. In Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek, Vol. III. p. 646—665. is described a manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum, consisting of three quarto volumes, and preserved in the Electoral Library at Mannheim. The account was communicated by Mr. Rinck, who relates that it is written in uncial letters, the form of which is between the more ancient and more modern shape

shape of those characters. He has likewise given a specimen of its readings from *Math.* iv, v. x. xvi. *Mark* i, ii, iii. ix, x, xi, xii. xviii. *Luke* iii. v, vi. *John* ii, iii. which he has compared with the readings of the manuscripts collated by Professor Birch, from which comparison it appears, that, where the *Cod. Manheimensis* differs from the common text, it agrees principally with the *Codd. Vaticani* 349. 354. 360. 1067. 1209. (the celebrated *Cod. Vaticanus*) *Cod. Urbino-Vaticanus* 2. *Cod. Lambecii* 31. *Codd. Havn.* 1, 2. This excites a favourable opinion of it, as the manuscripts here mentioned are some of the best, which Birch has collated.

CODICES S. Mariæ IN VALLIGELLA.

Here may be likewise inserted the following Codices *Sac. Mariæ in Vallicella* in Rome, which Professor Birch has examined in certain places, and described in his *Prolegomena*, p. 45. They are MSS. of the Gospels.

1. *Codex signatus B*, 123. membranaceus in forma minori, sæculo ut videtur xii. scriptus.

2. *Codex signatus C*, 61. membranaceus, scriptus in quarta forma, sæculo xii.

3. *Codex signatus C*, 73. in octavo, membranaceus, sæculi xi, ut judicat Montfaucon.

4. *Codex signatus F*, 90. membranaceus, sæculi xii. The first and last of these manuscripts are described in *Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, P. I. p. 529—531: who has also given a fac simile of the plate annexed to p. 527:

CODEx MARSHI.

210. The number 24. denotes not its place in the catalogue of the Bodleian MSS. but is the mark which was affixed to it by its former proprietor, Marsh, Archbishop of Armagh. It is quoted by Griesbach as his *Cod.* 118. Our author has already described this MS. N°. 52. and

and therefore reckoned the same MS. twice. Griesbach has assigned a place in his catalogue to two other Codices Marshi, 22. and 23. likewise in the Bodleian, and which our author has omitted. They are both of them Evangelistaria, and are numbered by Griesbach 28, and 29: but he says that he only cursorily inspected them.

CODEX MAZARINI.

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The first person, who printed extracts from this manuscript, was Curcellæus, who in the preface to his Greek Testament, printed at Amsterdam in 1658, gives the following account of it. *Addidi postea alias (scil. varias lectiones) ad Evangelia pertinentes ex MS. Constantinopolitano plusquam octingentorum annorum, qui est in bibliotheca Cardinalis Mazarini, nec non ex alio MS. adhuc vetustiore; utrasque ab amico Lutetia ad me missas.* It is probably the same as that which is now marked 82, in the royal library in Paris, and described in the *Cat. MSS. Bibl. regię, Tom. II. p. 16.* for this is the only MS. of the four Gospels, in the whole library, which formerly belonged to Cardinal Mazarin, (I mean MSS. of the Greek text, for there are several MSS. of Greek commentaries which belonged to him) and it is probable, that whatever manuscripts he had were deposited there after his death. But it is not so ancient as Curcellæus supposed, being referred by the editors of the Paris Catalogue to the twelfth century. I know not why Wetstein has given this MS. a place in his catalogue, and numbered it 103. for I never met with an instance of this number among his various readings. Our author says, that Wetstein has borrowed extracts of this manuscript from the edition of Curcellæus; but this is wholly impossible, for though Curcellæus has given extracts from the Codex Mazarini in the margin of his Greek Testament, yet, as he has quoted his various readings, without ever specifying the particular manuscripts,
from

from which they were taken, it was wholly impossible for Wetstein to distinguish those of the Codex Mazarini from the readings of other manuscripts.

CODICES MEADI.

211. The manuscript described N°. 3. is Wetstein's Codex 58. in the third part, and contains the Acts and the Epistles, whereas the Cod. Meadi 1. which our author mentions in this number, is a manuscript of the Gospels only. He says also, in the following article, that the Cod. Meadi 3. has likewise been described N°. 3.: we must not however conclude that the same MS. has been quoted under three different names, though Wetstein assigned, in his catalogue of MSS. in the third part, Vol. II. p. 452. 454. two different numbers, 22. and 58. to that MS. of the Acts and the Epistles which belonged to Dr. Mead, and was afterwards purchased by Dr. Askew, probably because he did not know that they were one and the same MS. Our author's two-fold reference to N°. 3. is occasioned by the circumstance, that the two MSS. here described by the names of Cod. Meadi 1, and Cod. Meadi 3. the one containing the Gospels, the other the Acts and the Epistles, were supposed by Dr. Askew, who was in possession of both, to be parts of one and the same whole, both of which therefore our author mentions N°. 3. though that article relates properly to the latter alone. The Codices Meadi 1. and 3. which were purchased by Dr. Askew, are now in the British Museum. See Note 40. The Codex Meadi 2. which is an Evangelistarium, was likewise purchased by Dr. Askew, from whose hands it came into those of Mademoiselle d'Eon, who offered it a short time ago for sale, but not being able to get the price she expected, which was fifty guineas, she has packed it up, with an intent to send it to France.

CODICES MEDICÆI.

PAGE 280.

212. The copy of Stephens's edition of 1550, in which Pithæus wrote his extracts, was purchased by Bernard, who communicated the readings to Mill, from whom they were copied by Wetstein. See Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1462. and Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 50. Wetstein adds, *Medicæus autem, referente Amelottio, qui eo usus est, jam in Trecenti collegio asservatur.*

PAGE 281.

213. A list of Medicæan manuscripts of the Gospels, so called because they are preserved in the *Bibliotheca Medicæo-Laurentiana* in Florence, is given by Professor Birch, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 51—53. and which have been mentioned above, Note 176. under the *Codices Florentini*.

CODICES MISSYANI.

214. De Missy collated this manuscript of the Gospels a second time, and the collation was purchased after his death by Jackson, from whose hands it came into Jesus College Library in Cambridge, where it is marked O, Θ. 11. To this collation de Missy has prefixed a Latin preface, which begins in the following manner: *Primam hanc Novi Testamenti partem cum manuscripto meo quatuor Evangeliorum codice membranaceo, et septingentis circiter abhinc annis (prout conjicere licet) exarato, olim a me collatam diligentius demum contuli, &c.* The preface is dated Marybone, near London, Nov. 1747. The manuscript itself is preserved in the British Museum, where it is marked 4949. among the additional manuscripts. At the end of the manuscript is written, *E libris Cæsaris de Missy Berolinensis, Londini, A.D. 1745.* There is also another manuscript of the four Gospels, which formerly belonged to de Missy, now in the British Museum, and numbered { 4950 } consisting

sisting of two volumes of the 12mo. size. In the first volume, at the bottom of the first page, is written, Cæsaris de Missy Berolinensis, A.D. 1748. No extracts have been given of this manuscript in any edition of the Greek Testament, unless it has been collated and quoted by some different name, before it came into the hands of de Missy. The two manuscripts of Cæsar de Missy, which our author describes N°. 177, 178, and which he says were purchased by Dr. Hunter, will be deposited with the rest of Dr. Hunter's manuscripts in Glasgow Library.

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215. The literary life of Cæsar de Missy is described p. 601—604. of Nichols's anecdotes of Bowyer, Lond. 1782, 4to. The account is chiefly taken from the Gazette littéraire de Berlin, 19th. and 26th. Feb. 1778.

CODEX MOLSHHEIMENSIS.

PAGE 284.

216. But he would have equally omitted to quote this manuscript if the reading had been *oc*, since the reading of the Vulgate is 'quod.' His silence therefore on this occasion leaves it wholly undetermined, whether the Cod. Molsheimensis has *oc* or *Soc*.

CODEX MONTFORTIANUS.

217. That this manuscript is written on paper, not on vellum, as some have supposed, is confirmed by the account communicated to Professor Bruns by the present Bishop of Waterford, and printed in the third volume of the Repertorium. It appears likewise from this account, that the manuscript is of the duodécimo size.

218. Our author here reviews Travis's Letters to Gibbon, and combats the arguments which are there alleged in favour of 1 John v. 7. especially those which
are

are grounded on the authority of the two modern manuscripts, the Montfortianus and Ravianus.

PAGE 285.

219. As this manuscript is one of the two pillars, which support the celebrated verse in the first epistle of St. John, it would be of some importance in sacred criticism, if we could trace it to its source. We know the names of five of its proprietors, who probably wrote their names at the beginning of the manuscript, which enabled Usher, the last proprietor, before it came to Trinity College, Dublin, to mention them in the London Polyglot. Montfort, who possessed it before Usher, and from whom the MS. takes its name, because it belonged to him, when it was collated for the London Polyglot, was a Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge in the middle of the last century. William Chark, or Chark, possessed it before Dr. Montfort. In a manuscript collation of the Codex Montfortianus, which is now preserved in Emanuel Library in Cambridge, and is perhaps that which was made for the London Polyglot, the name is written Chark; but a line is drawn under it, seemingly by a different hand, and Clark is written in the margin, which, in the catalogue of manuscripts prefixed to the Var. lect. N. T. in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot, is converted into Clerk. But Mill, who probably saw this manuscript collation, has written Chart. He likewise speaks of him, as a person well known; for he says, in his Prol. § 1376. *Codicis cum in corpore, tum præsertim in spatio marginali plurima notavit eruditus quispiam: Gul. Charcus ut opinor, erat enim in Græcis insigniter versatus, &c.* And in the new Annual Register for 1792, History of Knowledge, p. xxi. William Chark is mentioned as a distinguished scholar in Queen Elizabeth's time. He is probably the same William Chark, who was of Peter House, and was expelled the University for heresy in 1572. Thomas Clement, who possessed it before Chark, is perhaps the person, of whom Arias Montanus speaks in his preface to the first volume

volume of the Antwerp Polyglot, dated 1569, 'Est etiam nobis a Clemente Anglo, Philosophiæ et Medicinæ Doctore,' &c. Froy therefore, the Franciscan friar, must have possessed it either about, or before the middle of the sixteenth century: a few years previous to which, that is, between 1519 and 1522, it was known to Erasmus, by the name of Codex Britannicus. We can ascend no higher in the history of this manuscript, as we have no further data: but it is probable that we have nearly reached the time of its origin, since there is reason to believe that it was written only a few years before the last mentioned period. See the latter part of Note 224.

220. But the very strongest proof is, that the text of the third edition of Erasmus, printed in 1522, differs in this interpolated passage from all other editions, except those which were immediately copied from it, and at the same time agrees word for word with the Codex Montfortianus. As the edition of Complutum, the third edition of Erasmus, and the third edition of R. Stephens, are the three cardinal editions, from which most others have been formed, and are themselves difficult to be procured, I will transcribe from all three the interpolated words, and compare them with those of the Codex Montfortianus.

Editio Complutensis, anni 1514.

ἐν τῇ θρανῷ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἶσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρούμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Codex Montfortianus.

ἐν τῇ θρανῷ, πατήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ εἴθι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἶσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρούμενοι ἐν τῇ γῇ.

Editio Erasmi tertia, anni 1522.

ἐν τῇ θρανῷ, πατήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ εἴθι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἶσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρούμενοι ἐν τῇ γῇ.

Editio Stephani tertia, anni 1550.

ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ ὁ ψαλμὸς, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ
 ἔτσι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ.

It is evident therefore that the Codex Britannicus Erasmii, and the Codex Montfortianus, are one and the same manuscript. Erasmus has given an exact transcript, which Stephens (or rather Erasmus himself, in his two last editions) has modelled into better Greek by the insertion of the article, in imitation of the Complutensian editors. If further proof were required, that the Codex Montfortianus and the Codex Britannicus Erasmii are one and the same manuscript, it might be added, that Erasmus, in his *Apologia ad Jacobum Stunicam*, which was first printed at Paris in 1522, and re-printed in 1540, in the last volume of the Basel edition of Erasmus's works, p. 238—296. has given a transcript not only of the seventh, but of the eighth, and a part of the ninth verse, from the Codex Britannicus, and the whole passage, though it differs from the common printed text, agrees word for word with the text of the Codex Montfortianus, except in the omission of the word ἅγιον, and of the article οἱ before μαρτυροῦντες, which are clearly typographical errors, because they are *not* wanting in his third edition of the Greek Testament, printed in the same year as his *Apology to Stunica*, and before Erasmus had seen the Complutensian edition, and because he expressly declares that 1 John v. 7. as it stands in the third edition of his Greek Testament, was taken from the Codex Britannicus. Compare the last volume of the Basel edition of Erasmus's works, p. 295. with the fac simile of 1 John v. 6, 7, 8, 9. in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, Vol. III. p. 260. Whether the two typographical errors above-mentioned, on which so much stress has lately been laid, are likewise observable in the original edition of the *Apologia ad Stunicam*, I know not, as I have never been able to procure it. Erasmus in his observations on 1 John v. 7. in his edition of

1527, draws a parallel between this passage of the Codex Britannicus and the Complutensian edition: but he takes no notice of any difference in respect to σ and $\sigma\gamma\iota\sigma$.

221. It is neither the business of the translator, nor suitable to the present design, to enter into the disputes, to which our author here alludes. It is sufficient to observe, that the controversy relative to the Complutum edition, which some years ago divided the literati in Germany, was conducted principally by Semler, Professor of Divinity in Halle, on the one side, and Goeze, a clergyman in Hamburg, on the other. A list of the principal publications, which appeared on this occasion, may be seen in the 17th. Note to chap. xii. sect. 1. The hint, in regard to moderation and impartiality, is inapplicable to Semler, whose moderate and tolerant principles are universally known.

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222. It appears from the fac simile of this passage, published in the Repertorium, Vol. III. p. 260. that in the words $\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\varsigma$ and $\nu\iota\sigma\iota$, the diphthong $\iota\iota$ is denoted by a figure resembling a q , which abbreviation is likewise used in the Codex Regius 2930. written in the year 1124, of which Montfaucon has given a specimen in his Palæographia Græca, p. 308. and which he has described p. 303. But as this same abbreviation is likewise found in the most modern manuscripts, as appears from the specimen given in Montfaucon's Palæographia, p. 333. it affords no proof of antiquity. With respect to the dots over the Iota and the Ypsilon, from which an argument has been drawn in favour of its antiquity, because Montfaucon, in his Palæographia, p. 38. had said these dots were in use a thousand years ago, it may be observed, that they are used likewise in the most modern manuscripts, (Palæographia, p. 324, 333.) and are therefore no proof of antiquity. On the contrary, these very dots may be used as an argument, to prove that the Cod. Montfortianus is very modern. For though

Montfaucon refers to two manuscripts in uncial letters, in which these dots are sometimes added over *ι* and *υ*, and they are found in the Alexandrinus, and Cantabrigiensis, yet of all the specimens which he has given p. 270—300. of manuscripts written in small letters, from the first introduction of these letters, not one before the twelfth century has those dots. See p. 301. of the *Palæographia*, where a manuscript written in the twelfth century has them sometimes on the *ι*, but never on the *υ*. But manuscripts written in the fourteenth century, of which he has given specimens, p. 320, 333. have these dots on both letters; but not in all cases. Now as these letters are dotted always in the *Codex Montfortianus*, but not always in the manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and still less often in those of the twelfth century, we may infer that the *Codex Montfortianus* is at least as modern as the fifteenth century.

223. It seems then that he adhered more strictly to the Latin, and consequently wrote worse Greek, than the person who translated the passage, as it stands in the *Complutum* edition.

224. It must here be observed, that our author has quoted from the *Cod. Mont.* the seventh and eighth verses complete, but as he has neglected to mention it, a doubt might arise, whether the clause *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα*, at the end of the eighth verse, were not there, as well as the similar clause at the end of the seventh. But that it is really omitted, appears from the *fac simile* mentioned in the preceding note, because it represents also a part of the ninth verse, and immediately after *ὡς καὶ αἶμα*, follow *ἐν τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.*

To the arguments which have been used by our author, to shew that the writer of the *Cod. Montfortianus* translated this passage from the Latin, though they are sufficiently convincing, may be added, that he has altered *πνεῦμα*, in the sixth verse, (as appears from the *fac simile* in the *Repertorium*, and likewise from a collation which I have procured from Dublin) to *χρῖστος*, because *Christus*

is the reading of the Vulgate, though it is found in no Greek MS. It is an alteration which could not have taken place in a Greek manuscript, but by design: for though *Christus* might be written for *Spiritus* by mistake, since these two words were abbreviated in the old Latin manuscripts *ΧΡ̄S* and *ΣΡ̄S*, (Pref. to Casley's Catalogue, p. 22, 23.) yet the Greek abbreviations of *χρ̄ιστος* and *πνευμα* are too different to admit of an accidental exchange. The article likewise is omitted before *αληθεια*, so that, instead of the common reading *το πνευμα εστι η αληθεια*, the Cod. Mont. has *χρ̄ιστος εστι αληθεια*, which is manifestly a bald translation of the Vulgate, 'Christus est veritas.' Another remarkable circumstance relative to this MS. is, that in the division of the text into chapters, the Latin arrangement is observed, though at the same time the *κεφαλαια* of Eusebius are noted. See the Cat. of MSS prefixed to the Var. Lect. N. T. in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot. Now the Latin arrangement, which was introduced by Hugo de S. Caro in the thirteenth century, and which is that of our printed Bibles, though observed in the modern manuscripts of the Vulgate, was in general not admitted into the Greek manuscripts, which adhered to the *κεφαλαια* of Eusebius. Its admission therefore into the Codex Montfortii, not only shews what influence the Vulgate has had on this manuscript, but proves at the same time, independently of other arguments, that the Cod. Montfortii is very modern. For no Greek MS. is known, in which the text is divided into our present chapters, that was written before the fifteenth century; when the Greeks, who fled from their own country into the West of Europe, became transcribers for members of the Latin church, and of course adopted the Latin divisions. I have myself seen two of this kind, in the University Library of Cambridge, marked Hh, 6, 12. and Ll, 2, 13. The two first are badly written, on modern paper, and in the most modern hand: and the last has a subscription which imports that it was written at Paris, by Jerom of Sparta, who died at the beginning of the 16th. century.

225. The omission of the clause καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αἱ τοῦ ἁγίου at the end of the eighth verse, is a proof, not only that the writer of the Codex Montfortianus copied from the Vulgate, because no ancient Greek manuscript omits the clause in that place, but that he copied even from modern transcripts of the Vulgate, because this final clause is found in all the manuscripts of the Vulgate written before the thirteenth century. It is also wanting in the Latin text of the Complutum edition, and for that reason this clause is there likewise omitted in the Greek. Yet there is no reason to suppose that the Cod. Montfortianus, like the Cod. Ravianus, is a copy of the Complutum edition, for the Comp. has το πνευμα in the sixth verse, the Mont. χριστος; in the seventh verse the Comp. has ἐν τῇ γῆ, the Montf. ἐν τῇ γῇ, the Compl. οὐρανῶ, &c. the Montf. ωρανῶ, &c. without the article; the Comp. has οἱ τρεῖς, the Montf. οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς.

CODICES MORI.

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Most of the manuscripts belonging to Bishop Moore (not More, as our author writes it) are described in the Catalog. Lib. MSS. Angliæ, et Hiberniæ. Tom. II. P. I. p. 361—378.

226. It is now marked in the University Library Dd, 9, 69. It has the Ammonian sections without references to the canons of Eusebius.

227. It is now marked in the University Library Dd, 8, 49. It was probably brought from the East, for immediately above the first lesson is an Arabic word انجيل, which was meant perhaps to express Evangelium.

CODICES MOSQUENSES.

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228. They were published in 1788, a few months after our author's Introduction to the N. T.

229. As

229. As this work is now complete, the two last volumes having been published in 1788, and the learned editor has given no general description of the MSS. which he had used, I am unable to supply, what our author was obliged to omit. But as the edition of Matthäi is of real importance, I will subjoin the following table, taken from the Preface to the Epistles to the Corinthians, in which I have added to each manuscript, such short accounts as I have been able to select from scattered parts of the work, the table itself being a mere classification, without any description whatsoever. It must be observed, that the figures here prefixed to them, serve only to number them in the present catalogue, but have no reference to the work itself, where the manuscripts are constantly quoted by those letters, which here follow the word Codex.

CLASS I.

MSS. of the whole N. T.

1. Codex k, very neatly and accurately written on vellum, in the eleventh century. See Pref. to the Cath. Epist. p. 24.

2. Codex l, very accurately written in small letters, in the twelfth century. Ib. p. 25.

CLASS II.

Euchologia, or Lectionaria, of the whole N. T. except the Revelation.

3—6. Codices ξ, χ, ψ, ω. The last is described in the Pref. to the Acts, p. 14.

CLASS III.

MSS. of the four Gospels.

7. Codex v, written in uncial letters.

8—19. Codices o, p, q, r, x, z, written in small letters.

14—18. Codices a, d, 10, i, n, accompanied with scholia, or commentaries.

CLASS IV.

Evangelitaria.

19—20. Codd. h, b, written in uncial letters.

21—23. f, c, t, in small letters.

CLASS V.

MSS. of one, or more, but not of all the Gospels.

24. Cod. e, containing St. Matthew and St. Mark, with a commentary.

25. Cod. g, containing St. Luke and St. John, and a fragment of St. Mark, with a commentary.

26. Cod. 11, a MS. of St. Luke and St. John, with a commentary.

27. Cod. m, a MS. of St. Matthew and St. Luke, with the Scholia of Theophylact.

28. Codex s, a MS. of St. John, with a catena.

29. Codex 15, a fragment of St. John, with scholia.

N.B. I here omit the sixth, seventh, and eighth classes, because they contain only commentaries; they cannot therefore be considered as a supplement to our author's catalogue, which relates only to manuscripts of the text of the Greek Testament, though they are properly placed in that of Matthäi, as being one of the many sources, from which he has derived his various readings.

CLASS IX.

MSS. containing the Acts, and the Epistles.

30. Codex a, consists of three parts. 1. Lessons from the Acts. 2. The text of all the Epistles. 3. Lessons from the Acts and the Epistles for every day in the whole year. When this manuscript is quoted among the various

rious readings, its three parts are distinguished by a^1 , a^2 , a^3 . It is very neatly written on vellum, either in the tenth or eleventh century. Pref. to the Cath. Epist. p. 28.

31. Codex c, written on paper, in the fifteenth century, but not accurately. Pref. to the Catholic Epistles, p. 26.

32. Codex d, written on vellum in the eleventh century. Pref. to the Cath. Epist. p. 25.

33. Codex f, written on cotton paper in the thirteenth century. It has many remarkable readings, but in the Epistles of St. Paul, which were written by a different copyist, they are of less value. Ib.

34. Codex m, written on vellum, in the eleventh century. It is written with great accuracy, and has some few corrections, but from the same hand. Ib. p. 24.

CLASS X.

Lectionaria of the Acts and Epistles.

35. Codex b, a MS. written on vellum, in the tenth century. It has lessons from the Acts, and all the Epistles. Ib. p. 24.

36. Codex e, written on vellum, in the twelfth century. It has lessons only from the Acts. Ib. p. 25.

Codd. a^1 , and a^3 , have been enumerated Class ix.

CLASS XI.

MSS. of all the Epistles.

37. Codex g, written on vellum, in the ninth century, with a catena and scholia. The text is written in uncial letters, but the commentaries in small letters. Ib. p. 23, 24.

CLASS XII.

MSS. of all the Epistles of St. Paul.

38. Codex n. It contains also the scholia of the Pseudo-Œcumenius.

CLASS XIII.

MSS. of one, or more, but not all the Epistles of St. Paul.

39. Codex q, a MS. of the Epistle to the Romans, with the scholia of the Pseudo-Theophylact.

40. Codex i. a MS. of the two Epistles to the Corinthians, with the scholia of the Pseudo-Theophylact.

N. B. I here omit the fourteenth Class, for the same reason as before.

CLASS XV.

MSS. of the Revelation.

41. Codex o. It is accompanied with a commentary of Andreas Cæsarensis, and has some various readings noted in the margin. Pref. to the Revelation, p. 3.

42, 43. Codices p, r.

CLASS XVI.

MSS. of lessons from the catholic epistles.

44. Codex tz, a manuscript written on vellum, in 1116. Pref. to the Cath. Ep. p. 27.

A list of the Moscow manuscripts in general is given in the two following publications, by the same author. *Notitia Codd. MStorum Mosquensium*, Mosquæ 1776, fol. and *Index Codd. MStorum Græcorum bibliothecarum Mosquensium*, Petropoli 1780. It appears also from his Preface to St. Mark, p. 35. that he intends to publish a critical description of all his manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

Lastly, it may be observed, that beside the classification already given, which is grounded on the contents only of the manuscripts, the learned editor, in his Preface to St. Matthew's Gospel, has arranged them under three heads, in reference to their critical authority.

1. Codices textus perpetui sine scholiis. 2. Codices lectiona-

lectionariorum. 3. Codices textus perpetui cum commentariis et scholiis. The value of a reading he estimates, cæteris paribus, according to this gradation.

N. B. Since the first edition of these Notes were printed, Griesbach has given a very clear and distinct catalogue of the Moscow manuscripts in the second edition of his Greek Testament.

C O D E X N A N I A N U S.

PAGE 289.

230. In bibliotheca equitis Nanii codex asservatur echaracterē unciali exaratus sæculo x. vel xi. complectens quatuor evangelia cum Eusebii canonibus. Birch Prolegomena, p. 56. This manuscript was collated by Dr. Münster, and its extracts are inserted in Birch's Greek Testament. It is likewise described in the following catalogue: Græci codices manuscripti apud Nanios Patrios Venetos asservati, Bononiæ, 1784, 4to.

C O D E X N O R I M B E R G E N S I S.

The work to which our author refers, for a description of this manuscript, which has not been quoted in any edition of the Greek Testament, is entitled, Das Altdorfsche literärische Museum: but a Latin description of it may be seen in the following work, C. F. de Murr Memorabilia bibliothecarum publicarum Norimbergensium, et Universitatis Altorfinæ. Norimbergæ, 1786—1788, 2 tom. 8vo.

C O D I C E S C O L L E G I I N O V I.

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231. The mistakes are not wholly to be ascribed to Mill. In his original edition, printed at Oxford in 1707, the following account is given of these manuscripts in the Index to the Prolegomena. N. 1. Evangelia in Collegio Novo, p. 149. 155. Actus et Epistolæ, ibid. N. 2. Actus et Epistolæ in Collegio Novo, p. 150.

150. 155. It is therefore evident that Mill's Codex N. 1. or Nov. 1. includes the first-mentioned manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles, as well as that of the Gospels. But in Küster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament, owing to some typographical error, the words 'Actus et Epistolæ,' belonging to N. 1. are omitted, which edition being used by our author, he ascribes the inaccuracy to Mill himself. But it is extraordinary that he has not discovered the error, from the very words which he has quoted, for as Mill, among his various readings, quotes only N. 1. and N. 2. and the N. 1. is quoted in the Acts and Epistles, as well as in the Gospels, he might have reasonably supposed, notwithstanding the omission in Küster, that it included two of those described in this paragraph of our author's Introduction.

232. Our author describes this manuscript as containing the Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul alone, but it contains likewise the catholic epistles, as appears from Mill's Prolegomena, § 1423. and Wettstein's Prolegomena to the third part, Vol. II. p. 453. Mill has even quoted it in the catholic epistles, where we find both N. 1. and N. 2.

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233. By some extraordinary accident, the marks N^o. 1. and N. 2. have been inverted in the Epistles, for N. 2. is quoted in the Epistles of St. Paul, whereas N. 2. in the Polyglot, denotes a manuscript containing only the Acts and the catholic epistles. But the following statement of these three manuscripts, in New College in Oxford, will set the matter in a clear light, and shew at one view the marks, by which they are noted in Wettstein, Mill, and the London Polyglot.

| | | |
|--------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| MS. of the Gospels | { | Cod. 58. in Wettstein P. I.—Nov. |
| | | 1. in Mill.—Nov. 1. in Pol. |

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| MS. of the Acts | { | Cod. 43. in Wettstein P. II.—Nov. |
| and all the Epistles. | | 2. in Mill.—Nov. 1. in Pol. |

MS. of the Acts } Cod. 36. in Wetst. P. III.—Nov.
and the cath. epist. } 1. in Mill.—Nov. 2. in Pol,

CODEX PARRHASII.

234. The most copious extracts from this manuscript are those which have been lately given by Alter in the first volume of his Greek Testament, p. 477—527. The name which he ascribes to it is that which it bears at present in the Vienna catalogue; but though he calls it not Cod. Parrhasii, it is evidently the same, as appears from his Note, p. 477. in which he refers to Treschow's Tentamen, p. 22. where the Cod. Parrhasii is described. A fac simile of its characters is given in the third plate annexed to Treschow's Tentamen. Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 308. refers it to the eleventh century. He has quoted one reading from it, Matth. i. 11. *Ιωσias δε ευαγγελιστης του Ιωαννου, Ιωαννου δε ευαγγελιστης του Ιερο- νιμου* &c. and it is probably on account of this reading that Wettstein assigned to this MS. a place in his catalogue, though he has neglected to quote it in the place in question. Montfaucon in the same page mentions another manuscript of the Gospels, preserved in the same library of S. Johannes de Carbonaria in Naples, written with uncial letters in the seventh or eighth century. This is the MS. which Le Long means in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 176. where he refers to the *Diarium Italicum*, p. 308.

CODEX PASSIONEI.

235. This manuscript, which took its name from Cardinal Passionei, its proprietor, is described in Blanchini *Evangelium Quadruplex*, P. I. p. 564, 565. and in the plate annexed to p. 559. is given a fac simile of its characters. It is written in uncial letters, but with accents, and marks of aspiration. Montfaucon likewise in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 514. has given a fac simile of its characters.

CODEX PERRONIANUS.

236. This manuscript is so called from its former proprietor Cardinal Perronio. See Mili's *Prolegomena*, § 1506. Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 308. says of it, *Codex decimi sæculi egregiæ notæ, qui cum olim Cardinalis Perronii fuisset, jam in bibliotheca S. Taurini Ebroidensis conspicitur.*

CODICES PETAVIANI.

PAGE 292.

237. The manuscripts, which formerly belonged to Petavius, or, according to his French name, Peteau, were purchased, if not all, at least the greatest part of them, by Queen Christina of Sweden. Our author relates that the first of the three *Codices Petaviani*, of which extracts have been given by Mill and Wettstein, was presented to Vossius, and that it is now in the University library at Leyden, and marked 77. He should have added that it is marked 77 among the Greek quarto MSS. which belonged to Vossius. See p. 399. of the *Catalogus bibliothecæ Lugduno-Batavæ*, 1716, folio. Of the *Petavianus 3.* Wettstein relates that, after the death of Queen Christina, it came into the Vatican with the rest of her manuscripts. Of these a catalogue is given in Montfaucon *Bibl. bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 14—61. and of Peteau's manuscripts in particular, p. 61—97. With respect to the *Petavianus 2.* Wettstein does not mention where it is preserved at present, nor have I found any manuscript, in the two catalogues given by Montfaucon, which corresponds to Mill's description of it.

238. It is evident from Wettstein's quotation that they are not omitted.

CODEX RAVIANUS.

PAGE 294.

239. Whoever compares the *fac simile* of the *Cod. Ravianus*, published by Treschow, with the *Complutensian*

sian edition, will find the resemblance to be such, that unless he were informed that it was taken from the former, he would conclude it to be a fac simile of the latter.

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240. The German title of this work is, Semler's *historische und critische Sammlungen über die so genannten Beweistellen in der Dogmatik*. Halle 1764. 1768, 2 vols. 12mo. In the page to which our author refers, La Croze expresses himself in the following manner: *Qui codicem editum Complutensem vidit, is vidit et manuscriptum codicem nostrum; ne demtis quidem mendis typograp horum, quæ scriba indoctus ita fideliter expressit, ut omnino constet hominem illiteratum ab erudito aliquo nebulone ei fraudi perficiendæ fuisse præfectum. Et sane pro antiquo liber ille venditus est, immani etiam pretio, etsi membranæ recenti adhuc calx sive creta illa adhæreat, quæ pellibus vitulinis parandis adhiberi solet; atramentum ubique albicans, demtis aliis criteriis, fraudi agnoscendæ sufficeret. Quicunque ergo ad hunc codicem provocat, is omnino se nihil agere norit. Certe quod ad me attinet, pertinax sum fidei Nicænæ et orthodoxæ, at illi tuendæ absit ut fraudes unquam adhibeam.*

241. See Note 221.

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242. Its German title is, *Untersuchung der Ravischen Griechischen Handschrift des Neuen Testaments*, von G. G. Pappelbaum. Berlin 1785, 8vo.

243. It, in order to evade this argument, as well as that, which is drawn from the similarity of the letters, it should be contended that the Codex Ravianus was one of the manuscripts used by the Complutensian editors, that they cast their types in imitation of its letters, and that the coincidence even in places, where the Complutensian edition is said to have errors of the press, arose from a cause directly contrary to that, which is assigned by La Groze, Griesbach, Michaelis, &c. namely, that the errors in the Cod. Ravianus are nothing more than errors
of

of the pen, made by the transcriber, and that the supposed errors of the press in the Complutensian edition arose merely from a too servile adherence to the manuscript which the editors principally used, we may reply, 1. That though no editor, however learned or accurate, is free from the danger of mistakes, that arise from accident, it is wholly inconceivable how the Spanish editors, who were men of learning, could copy manifest errata by design. 2. That as the Codex Ravianus contains the disputed passage, 1 John v. 7. Stunica would infallibly have appealed to it, when publicly challenged by Erasmus, if any such manuscript had been known to him. See Simon Dissertation critique sur les manuscrits du Nouveau Testament, p. 98.

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244. For that reason the translator will be excused in giving no extracts from those parts of the Orient Bibl. to which our author refers; and this is the less necessary, since Mr. Porson's publication in 1790.

CODICES REGII.

The Codices Regii are described in the Catalogus Librorum MStorum Bibl. Regiæ, Tom. II. p. 12—47. In this Catalogue they are arranged according to the new numbers. A catalogue of them, arranged according to the old numbers, is given in Montfaucon Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, Tom. II. p. 709—895.

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245. Simon calls this manuscript Recueil de Peres Grecs sur les quatre Evangiles. See his Histoire critique du Texte du N. T. ch. xiii. p. 146. Our author, in his note (m), says that M. Fleischer was unable to find the No. 1869. by which Simon quotes this manuscript. It is perhaps an erratum; for Montfaucon, who in his Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, Tom. II. p. 709—895. has given a catalogue of the MSS. in the royal library, arranged

ranged according to the old numbers, has mentioned no manuscript with this number, but proceeds immediately from 1863 to 1871. See p. 726. of the above-quoted work, from which it appears that 1869 may be an erratum for 1879, or 1896.

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246. I have not ventured to alter this sentence, though it has evidently many errata. The occasion which our author means is the story of the adulteress, John viii. but this is not p. 148. but p. 890. and the Codices Regii, which Wettstein there quotes, beside the manuscript in question, are not 1884. and 2863. but 2224, 2858. 2868. 1869. 2375. 2242. 2867. 3424. But our author is not mistaken in saying that Wettstein has quoted MSS. on John viii. which he has not taken into his Catalogue, for the Codd. 2224. 2858. 2375. are not enumerated in the Prolegomena.

247. There are several inaccuracies in the description of this manuscript; it differs at least from the account given in the Catalogus MStorum Bibl. Regiæ, Tom. II. p. 13.

248. Ib. p. 30. This MS. is there referred to the eleventh century, and is related to have been brought from the East in 1669.

249. Either Wettstein's description of this manuscript is inaccurate, or that of the editors of the Paris Catalogue, Vol. II. p. 34. Wettstein describes it as containing the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, with the Prologues of Euthalius, and Scholia by Œcumenius, and other commentators: the editors of the Paris Catalogue as containing commentaries on the above-mentioned books without the text, though it is added, in respect to the Acts, *accessit pars sacri contextus manu recentiore in marginibus scripta*; but no mention is made of the text of the Epistles or Revelation, though on other occasions, where a catena or commentary is accompanied with the text, they have not failed to note it. Montfaucon likewise, in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. II. p. 726. describes

scribes it, as follows: Codex 1886. Græcus, x. sæculi, Expositiones in Acta Apostolorum, et in Epistolas Pauli. The identity of the manuscript is ascertained by the following subscription, quoted both in Wetstein, and the Paris Catalogue: Hunc librum dono dedit Janus Lascaris Græcus, vir ut integerrimus ita doctissimus mihi Petro Merieli Constantiensi decimâ Januarii, anno ab incarnatione Domini 1518. Montfaucon refers this MS. to the tenth century. He has given a specimen of its characters, p. 283. of his *Palæographia*, from which it appears that the MS. has a very great number of abbreviations.

Another Codex Regius 1886. distinguished by the addition of the figure 2 (1886^a) has been collated by Griesbach. It is a manuscript of all the epistles written in the twelfth century, is noted at present 60. in the royal library, and is described in the *Catalogus librorum MStorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ*, Tom. II. p. 14. It is noted by Griesbach 65. in the epistles of St. Paul, and 62. in the catholic epistles.

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250. Wetstein was certainly mistaken in describing the manuscript, which he has noted 18. in the first part of his N. T. as the Codæ Regius 2241.; for he expressly says that he copied from Simon, and that it is one of the manuscripts, which Simon quotes, in treating of the story of the adulteress, in the eighth chapter of St. John. See Simon *Hist. crit. du Texte du N. T.* ch. xiii. Now as Simon quotes no manuscript belonging to the royal library with this number, it is certain that 2241. is an erratum in Wetstein's Prolegomena, either of the writer, or of the printer; but our author's conjecture, that it is an erratum for 2441. which would be highly probable, had Simon quoted a manuscript with this number, is without foundation, because no such number appears in Simon's list. The four manuscripts, which Wetstein enumerates in his Prolegomena, p. 47. as taken from Simon, are those which were formerly marked in the royal library (according to Wetstein) 2241. 1869. 1883. 2860. The three last numbers I have found in Simon; the first therefore, which is the number in question,

tion, must be an erratum for one of the other numbers quoted by Simon, which are 1884. 2401. 2863. 2868. The number 2401. comes the nearest to that in question; and it appears from Montfaucon Bibl. Bibliothecarum, Tom. II. p. 732. that this MS. was a Commentary on the four Gospels.

251. This description agrees with that of the printed catalogue, except that the MS. contains also the Psalms and the Canticles. See the *Catalogus MStorum Bibl. Regiæ*, Tom. II. p. 12, 13.

252. Tom. I. p. 371, 372. ed. Boerner. That which our author quotes is the Paris edition of 1723. which edition is always understood in these Notes, when no other is specified.

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253. Nor have the difficulties with which this manuscript is attended been cleared up in the preceding description. Our author describes it as containing the whole N. T. except the Revelation, and says that it is marked at present in the royal library 49. which cannot possibly be true, for that manuscript contains the Gospels alone. See the Cat. MSS. B. R. Tom. II. p. 13. Wetstein describes his Codex 8. in the first part, as Cod. Stephani ζ, or Codex Regius 2242. a manuscript of the Gospels; and his Codex 8. in the second part, likewise as Cod. Stephani ζ, but as Cod. Regius 2241. a manuscript of the Acts and the Epistles. Now 2241. is in this instance an evident erratum in Wetstein for 2242. and the whole confusion has been occasioned by Wetstein's dividing the Codex Regius 2242. into two parts, mentioning the Gospels only, in the Prolegomena to the first part of his N. T. the Acts, and Epistles only, in the Prolegomena to the second; and by making an erratum in the second instance in regard to the number. The Codex Regius 2242. described by Le Long, p. 178. and there said to be the same as the Codex Stephani ζ, is now marked, not 49. as our author says, but 47. as appears from comparing Le Long's description in the Bibl. sacra, with

with that which is given in the Paris Catalogue. Le Long describes this manuscript in the *Journal des Sçavans*, Vol. LXVII. p. 650. as follows, Codex ζ. Les 4. Evangelies, les Epitres de St. Paul, celles de St. Jacques, de Saint Pierre, et la premiere de St. Jean. Manuscrit du Roi 2242. He gives the very same description in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 208. The question might have been determined with still greater certainty, if Montfaucon had described this manuscript in his *Bibl. bibliothecarum*, Tom. II. p. 730. But he says only of the *Codd. Regii 2240, 2241, 2242. Libri sacre scripturæ Veteris et Novi Testamenti.*

254. Wetstein's Codex M, (which according to Le Long, was formerly noted 2243. in the royal library) is at present noted 48. not 51. as our author relates on the authority of Mr. Fleischer. The description which Wetstein gives of his Codex M is, *Cod. Bibl. Reg. 2243. quem Franciscus de Camps Abbas de Signi obtulit, continet 4. evangelia.* The description given in the Paris Catalogue, Vol. II. p. 13. of the manuscript noted at present 48. is, *Codex membranaceus a Domino Francisco de Camps Ludovico XIV. oblatum, quo continentur evangelia quatuor.* It appears therefore that they are one and the same manuscript, whereas Codex 51. is described as having belonged to Du Fresne. Mr. Fleischer's mistake was probably occasioned by the following circumstance. Not only the Codex de Camps, but likewise another manuscript of the Gospels, was noted by the same number 2243. (Le Long *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 176. 178.) and the Codex de Camps was distinguished by the addition of the figure 2. viz. 2243². as appears from Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibliothecarum*, Tom. II. p. 730. These two manuscripts Mr. Fleischer confounded, and assigned therefore a number to the one, which belongs to the other.

The Codex de Camps is described by Montfaucon in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 260, 261. where a fac simile is given of its characters. He says, that if he judged from the characters used in the text of this manuscript, he should conclude that it was written in the ninth century; but

but as the same characters are found likewise in manuscripts of the tenth century, and various readings are noted in several parts of the Codex de Camps, written 'primâ ut videtur manu, uno ductu et continuatis literis,' he concludes that this manuscript was written in the tenth century.

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255. With this difference, that according to Griesbach the additional mark of distinction is a letter, not a cypher, Weistein's Codex 13. being marked by Griesbach Reg. 2244^b. See his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. cliv. Le Long, in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 178. 180. distinguishes them neither by the addition of a figure, nor of a letter, though in other cases his mark of distinction is a figure, which is likewise used in Montfaucon's Catalogue in the *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*.

256. Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ*, p. cliv. describes it as follows, Codex 13. quondam Telleriano-Rhemensis 56, deinde Regius 2244^a. nunc Regius 50. (non 55. ut tradit Cl. Fleischerus) Küstero Parisinus 6. quadratæ formæ iv. Evangelia continens. He then enumerates the chasms, which have been quoted by our author. These chasms were first observed by Griesbach; for, if we except that at the beginning of the manuscript, they are unnoticed both by Küster in his Preface to his edition of Mill's Greek Testament, and by the editors of the Paris Catalogue.

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257. Weistein is not silent on this subject, for he says expressly of his Codex 17. in the first part, *Continent quatuor evangelia Græce cum adjuncta Latina Vulgata versione*. Proleg. p. 47. Le Long, in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 180. relates, that it was written in France by George Jerom of Sparta, who was Professor in the University of Paris at the end of the fifteenth century, and preceptor in the Greek language to Reuchlin and Budæus. According to the description in the Catal.

MSS. Bibl. Reg. Tom. II. p. 13. it formerly belonged to the Cardinal of Bourbon.

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258. If Wettstein's Codex 51. in the third part of his N. T. which he describes as the Codex Regius 2248. is the same as that which is now marked 56. Wettstein was mistaken in calling it an octavo, for Codex 56. is enumerated in the Paris catalogue among the folios. In this manuscript, the five last verses only are wanting in the book of Revelation, not the eight last, as Mr. Fleischer says. See the Catalogus MStorum Bibl. Regiæ, Tom. II. p. 14.

259. Also from the description given of it in the Catalogus MStorum Bibl. Regiæ, Tom. II. p. 14.

260. An abstract from those parts of the Orient. Bibl. is unnecessary, because complete information may be had in the Symbolæ Criticæ.

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261. There is no reason to suppose that the Codex Stephani 7, was one of those manuscripts, which were collated at Alexandria in the seventh century: but the examples, which Dr. Ridley has selected from this manuscript, are too few to lead to any absolute decision. See his Dissertatio de vers. Syr. sect. 15. p. 63. Adler, however, has brought the matter to a certainty: for on an accurate collation of all the marginal readings of the Philoxenian version, in the four Gospels, he found only two, which were peculiar to the Codex Stephani 7. See his Vers. Syriacæ, p. 130.

With respect to the antiquity of this manuscript, see Simon Dissertation critique sur les MSS. du N. T. p. 66. where he refers it to the ninth century. He relates, that it is written with accents, though in uncial letters: The same account is given by Griesbach in his Symbolæ Criticæ, p. lxxvii. But Griesbach adds, that accents are not placed on every word, and besides, that they are frequently placed wrong. From the oblong form of the letters

letters he judges it to be not more ancient than the ninth century. The *τιτλοι*, and the Ammonian sections, with references to the canons of Eusebius, are written in this manuscript a *primâ manu*. Ib. p. lxix.

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262. Not in the text, but in the margin, which is a still stronger proof of the affinity of Wetstein's Codex L, to one of those collated at Alexandria in the seventh century.

263. This explanation is attended with various difficulties. To set the matter in a clear light, we must compare the two accounts of Josephus and St. Luke. The former in his *Antiquit.* xvii. 11. 4. relates, that immediately after the death of Herod the Great, his kingdom was divided into three parts, which were allotted to Archelaus, Philip, and Antipas: to Archelaus, Judæa and Samaria; to Philip, Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, with a part of what is there called *οικος Ζηνοδαρου*; to Antipas, the country beyond Jordan and Galilee. The account given by St. Luke refers to a period thirty years later, at which time he describes Pontius Pilate as governor of Judæa, Herod as tetrarch of Galilee, Philip as tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis, and Lyfanius as tetrarch of Abilene. Since therefore these two accounts relate not only to a different period, but to a different division of the country, it is evident that the one cannot be applied in explanation of the other. That a part of the *οικος Ζηνοδαρου* was allotted to Philip in the first division, is no argument that a person of the name of Lyfanius was not tetrarch of Abilene when John the Baptist began to preach; and our author's other assertion, that Lyfanius was at that time certainly dead, it would be difficult to prove, since Josephus, the only writer from whom we could derive information, is totally silent in regard to a person of this name. See Lardner's Works, Vol. I. p. 21. ed. 1788. But even were these historical premises founded on fact, yet the critical conjecture, to which our author has recourse, would be still unwarranted; for if St.

Luke had intended to express 'while Philip was tetrarch of the Abilene of Lyfania,' he would have written not *Φιλιππε τετραρχηυτος Λυσανια της Αβιληνης*, but *Φιλιππε τετραρχηυτος της Αβιληνης τε Λυσανια*. To render therefore the alteration consistent with supposed historical fact, it would be necessary not only to omit the last *τετραρχηυτος*, but to invert the order of the preceding words; an alteration which is too extensive to be admitted on mere conjecture.

264. This is unnoticed by Wetstein, but Griesbach has noted it in his various readings in the *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. 105.

265. Only one manuscript, beside that in question, namely the Cod. Reuchlini: I mean of those quoted by Wetstein. It must be particularly observed that the present inquiry relates to the Codex Regius 2861. noted at present 62. and marked L by Wetstein, who collated it in 1715. Whether it applies at the same time to the Codex Stephani α, is a matter only of opinion. This at least is certain, as I have found on examination, that of the nine readings which our author has selected in this paragraph, from different parts of the four Gospels, as some of the most remarkable among Wetstein's quotations from his Codex L, not one is quoted by Stephens from his Codex α. This may appear to weaken the generally received opinion, that they are one and the same manuscript; but Stephens might overlook the most remarkable readings: and I have collated the six first chapters of St. John's Gospel, and found that Stephens's extracts from the Codex α do not differ in a single instance from the extracts quoted by Griesbach from the Codex Regius 2861. Likewise where the Codex 2861. has chasms, no readings are found in Stephens's margin from the Codex α.

266. Here again Wetstein's Codex L and the Codex Reuchlini agree in this omission, to which in this example the Cod. Vaticanus alone accedes. But the coincidence of these three is great authority. Dr. Semler, in his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, Vol. III. p. 163. observes,

serves, that Wettstein's Codex L. agrees frequently not only with the Reuchlin, but also with the Colb. 2844.

267. Namely, in the Codex Veronensis, which has *tamen quæ sunt*, but the Vercellensis has the reading of the Vulgate. See Blanchini *Evangeliarium quadruplex*, P. II. p. 152. The Syriac version has $\Delta\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$ quod est; but being rendered in the Latin translation, quod suppetit, this reading has been overlooked, except by our author.

268. It is also in the margin of the Philoxenian version.

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269. Also of the Ethiopic.

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270. The Codex Regius 2865. is described by Griesbach in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. cxlii. Of the manuscript mentioned by our author in the preceding number, viz. the Codex Regius 2862. a description is given in Montfaucon's *Palæographia Græca*, p. 305—307. and p. 308. is a fac simile of its characters, from which we may judge of the Greek letters used in the twelfth century, as we know that the manuscript was written in the year 1168.

271. The date 1439. our author has copied from the *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. cxliii. but in the Paris Catalogue, Vol. II. p. 17. it is 1438.

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272. In Le Long *Bibliotheca sacra*, Tom. I. p. 178. ed. Paris. the two Codices Regii 2865. are quoted in the manner mentioned by our author. But Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, p. cxli. and in his *Greek Testament*, Vol. I. p. xxvii. quotes them 2865^a. 2865^b.

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274. In Griesbach's catalogue 72 is a typographical error, as that learned writer has himself informed me. Le Long, in his letter to Martin, printed in the *Journal des*

des Sçavans, Juin 1720, Vol. LXVII. p. 650. describes the Codex Stephani ϵ as containing the four Gospels; but, though he represents it in the body of the letter, as one of the eight, which he had discovered in the royal library, he has neglected to mention the number at that time affixed to it, or even that it was in the library at all. This omission however, with a similar one in respect to the Codex μ , he has supplied in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 208. ed. 1723.

275. If Wetstein's Codex 12. in the second part, 10. and 2. in the third and fourth, be the same as that which at present is noted 237. in the royal library, it is a manuscript containing scholia on the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, accompanied with the text; but Wetstein is silent in respect to the Scholia. Vid. *Catalogum MStorum Bibl. Regiæ*, Tom. II. p. 42. There is a circumstance relative to this manuscript, which is worthy of notice. Wetstein, Griesbach, Michaelis, with other eminent critics, are of opinion, that it is the very manuscript which Stephens quoted by the title Codex μ . Now if this be true, it necessarily follows that Stephens had, not seven only, as is generally, and with reason supposed, but eight manuscripts of the catholic epistles: for he quotes seven manuscripts, 1 John v. 7. where μ is not of the number. But μ must have contained the catholic epistles, if it was the same as that which is now marked 237. because in the enumeration of the contents of this manuscript in the Paris Catalogue, the catholic epistles are particularly specified, and Wetstein has even quoted it in them. No inference however can be drawn from the silence of Stephens, in regard to the Codex μ , to the existence of 1 John v. 7. in that manuscript; for that the manuscript actually had the catholic epistles, depends on the hypothesis, that it is the same as that, which is now marked 237. But this manuscript (which is Wetstein's Codex 10. in the catholic epistles) certainly omits the verse, and it is quoted for that purpose both by Wetstein and Griesbach. But there is a circumstance which weakens the opinion of these eminent critics, namely, that

that Stephens has not quoted his Codex *u* in one single instance in the catholic epistles, which he would hardly have neglected to do, (especially at the celebrated passage 1 John v. 7.) had the Codex *u* contained them. The description which Le Long gives of the Codex *u*, in the *Journal des Sçavans*, Vol LXVII. p. 651. is certainly false, for he describes it as containing only ‘Sept Epitres de St. Paul, qui commencent par la premiere aux Corinthiens :’ whereas the Codex *u* is quoted in almost every page of the book of Revelation. In describing the same manuscript in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 208. he adds to the preceding description the book of Revelation; and says (what he had omitted in the *Journal des Sçavans*) that it was then marked 2869. Now the account which Wetstein gives of the Codex Regius 2869, is very different from that which Le Long gives : but Wetstein’s account is probably the true one, as it enumerates the same books as the Paris Catalogue.

276. The Revelation of St. John is followed by a treatise of Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, on the twelve Apostles, and seventy disciples.

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277. Nor are any described in the Paris Catalogue.

278. In this manuscript the parts of the N. T. are arranged in the following order : 1. The Acts. 2. The Catholic Epistles. 3. The Epistles of St. Paul. 4. The Gospels. Vid. Catal. MStorum Bibl. Reg. Tom. II. p. 18, 19. It is there referred to the twelfth century.

279. The same is asserted by Le Long, who in his *Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 182. describes the Codex Regius 2872. in the following manner : *Acta, et Epistolæ Apostolorum Græce, cum scholiis marginalibus*. Also in the Paris Catalogue. Vol. II. p. 18. Wetstein therefore has incompletely described his Codex 11. in the third part of his N. T.

280. This last conjecture is the most probable, for Wetstein describes his Codex 11. in the first part as consisting of two volumes which contain the four Gospels, and

and as having been brought from the *Bibliotheca Telleriana*. Now the MSS. noted at present 121. 122. contain together the four Gospels, were both brought from the *Bibliotheca Telleriana*, and as appears from the description, p. 20. of the above-quoted catalogue, are only two parts of the same manuscript. But the Codex 119. though likewise brought from the *Bibliotheca Telleriana*, consists only of one volume.

281. Both this manuscript and the preceding are quoted by Küster, as noted formerly in the royal library 3424. in which he is followed by Weistein and other editors. But Le Long, in his *Bib. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 178. distinguishes them by the addition of the figures 2, 3; namely 3424², 3424³, which corresponds with the general account given by Fleischer. Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 280. has very minutely described the Codex Regius 3424. He refers it to the tenth century, and has given a fac simile of its characters, p. 282. In his *Bibl. biblioth.* Tom. II. p. 742. he says it was written A. C. 942.

CODICES T. ROE.

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282. Also with the Ethiopic, and the Arabic of Erpenius.

CODEx RUTGERSII.

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283. The best edition of this work was printed at Cambridge 1640, in 4to. Where the MS. itself is at present is unknown..

CODEx SANGERMANENSIS.

284. This MS. takes its name from the Benedictine monastery of St. Germain des Prez in Paris, in the library of which it is preserved. The manuscripts of this
library

library are described in Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom II. p. 1041—1165. A description of this manuscript in particular is given in Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 218. and in the plate fronting this page is a fac simile of its characters, both Greek and Latin. It is written in uncial letters, and with accents and marks of aspiration, a *primâ manu*, as Montfaucon expressly declares, who supposes it however to be as ancient as the seventh century. See also *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, Tom. I. p. 175. 184. There is another more ancient *Codex Sangermanensis* of St. Paul's Epistles, which has never been collated. It is properly only a fragment, as it contains no more than thirteen leaves; but it is supposed by Montfaucon to be as ancient as the fifth century. See his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. II. p. 1041.

285. Dr. Semler, in the 4th volume of his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, published several years before the letter to which our author alludes, has called in question the generally received opinion that the *Sangermanensis* is a mere copy of the *Claromontanus*. He produces, p. 63—65. many examples, from which it appears that if the copyist, who wrote the former, had actually the latter before his eyes, he must at least have selected various readings from other manuscripts. It seems then the *Sangermanensis* is a kind of *Codex electicus*, in the writing of which the *Claromontanus* was principally, but not at all times consulted. The assertion therefore of our author, that these manuscripts are not to be considered as separate evidence, must be admitted with certain restrictions.

CODEX SCALIGERI.

286. This manuscript is marked 243. among Scaliger's Oriental manuscripts, preserved in the University Library of Leyden, and is described p. 410. of the *Catalogus Librorum bibliothecæ Lugduno-Batavæ*, 1716, folio.

CODICES SELDENI.

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287. These manuscripts are described in the Catalog. MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ, Tom. I. p. 157—167. Our author enumerates only those five, which were collated by Mill: But Griesbach has not only re-collated two of these five, but has likewise examined two other Codices Seldeni, containing lessons from the four Gospels. In his catalogue of Evangelistaria they are numbered 26, and 27.

CODICES STEPHANICI.

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288. Our author has expressed himself in this last paragraph in such general terms, that most readers would suppose, Le Long had actually discovered in the royal library in Paris all the seven manuscripts which Robert Stephens quotes, 1 John v. 7. but Le Long did not even attempt to discover more than four of the seven, (though he discovered four other manuscripts not included in that number) because four only of *those* seven had been borrowed by Stephens from the royal library. These were the Codices δ , ϵ , ζ , η , which Le Long found to correspond to the MSS. marked in his time in the King's Library 2871, 3425, 2242, 2870. See Bib. sacra, Tom. I. p. 208. Of the other three, which Stephens quotes, 1 John v. 7. viz. those marked θ , α , γ , Weiststein supposes that the Codex θ is the same as the Coislinianus 200. which is preserved in the library of St. Germain des Prez; of the α no traces have hitherto been discovered: but the Codex γ is the same as that which is now preserved in the University Library of Cambridge, and marked Kk 6. 4. of which I shall take notice, Note 291, in the table of Stephens's manuscripts.

289. Our author is here inaccurate in saying, 'eight of which were discovered to be the Codices Stephani, as the characteristic readings above-mentioned were discovered in them, and in no other manuscript *in the whole library.*' For Le Long himself asserts that he examined only

only *eleven*, which our author likewise repeats in the next sentence, where he says, " This was an easy and sure method, as it was necessary to examine only eleven manuscripts ; but if we had to search among all the known manuscripts, it would be difficult to ascertain them, even if the data amounted to an hundred *lectiones singulares* "

With respect to the method adopted by Le Long, in order to discover the eight manuscripts, which Stephens had borrowed from the royal library, it would be perfectly satisfactory, if he had proved *a priori*, that they were necessarily contained among the eleven, which he selected for examination. But if we fail in the proof of these premises, all conclusions deduced from the inquiry must be vague and indecisive. Le Long contends that the eight MSS. borrowed from the royal library by Stephens, must be in the number of these eleven, 1st. because R. Stephens had said in his Greek Preface that eight of his manuscripts came *ex της τε κρατistu Ερρίκου Βιβλιοθηκης* ; and 2dly. because the eleven, which he selected, were the only manuscripts in the royal library, which had an H with a crown over it, as having formerly belonged to Henry II. Now it is true that Martin was mistaken in saying that, as Stephens collated his manuscripts in the time of Francis I., these manuscripts *must* now have an F on the cover, and not an H ; for they *might* have been bound again in the time of Henry II. in which case they would be found not with an F, but with an H, agreeably to the known practice in the royal library. But on the other hand, we must not forget, that this is mere possibility, not certainty : and Martin's adversaries may have been as much mistaken in concluding that the MSS. borrowed by Stephens in the time of Francis I. were re-bound in the time of Henry II. as Martin himself was in supposing that they had continued ever since in the same binding. For admitting, by way of argument, that all the manuscripts which were in the royal library in the time of Francis I. have been since re-bound, 'is it a necessary consequence that they were re-bound precisely in the time of Henry II ? Is it not

not possible that some of them were re-bound in the time of Charles IX? Is it not possible that some of them continued in the same binding till 1610? Is it not possible also that MSS. bound in the time of Henry II. might have been bound again between the years 1610 and 1720, when Le Long published his letter to Martin? But all manuscripts in the royal library bound since 1610 have neither an F nor an H, but an L on them, because every king of France since 1610 has been called Louis. It is therefore by no means certain a priori that the eleven, with an H on their covers, which Le Long selected for examination, necessarily included the eight which had been borrowed by Stephens in the time of Francis I. In fact, Le Long was led into error by the word 'Henricus' in Stephens's preface; it never occurred to him, that the manuscripts borrowed by Stephens in the time of Francis I. were re-bound in the time of Henry II. which is a mere hypothesis, adopted afterwards by Martin's adversaries in order to confute his objections to Le Long; and if Stephens had written his preface to the ed. of 1550, in the same reign, in which the manuscripts were collated, and had used therefore the word Franciscus, instead of Henricus, it is probable that Le Long would have searched only for MSS. with an F on them, of which some remains to this very day, as appears from the account given by Mr. Fleischer in the page, which follows that, to which this note refers. It appears therefore from the preceding statement, that the eight manuscripts borrowed by Robert Stephens are not necessarily included among those which are marked with an H; and according to the testimony of Mr. Fleischer the manuscript, which is supposed to be the same as the Codex Stephani γ, is still marked with an F. If Le Long had examined every manuscript of the Greek Testament which had been preserved in the royal library, ever since the time of Henry II. the eight which had been borrowed by Stephens, would certainly have been included in the number. It was Le Long's intention to do so, as appears from his letter to Martin; but the criterion which he adopted for the

the discovery of those manuscripts, which had been there ever since the time of Henry II. namely, that they were marked on the cover with an H, is wholly devoid of certainty, since the manuscripts, which he sought might have been marked either with an F or with an L, as easily as with an H. Wetstein indeed affirms, Vol. II. p. 12. of the Codex Stephani « in particular, though of no other of Stephens's manuscripts, that it was new bound in the time of Henry II. 'Codex Stephani iterum compactus est, Henrico II. Galliarum rege.' But to what does this testimony amount? Shall we conclude that the manuscript had been in the royal library in the time of Francis I. because a new cover was given it in the time of Henry II.? By no means. The fact is simply this. Wetstein observes that the Codex Regius 2869. (which is his Codex 12. in the second part of his N. T.) has the insignia of Henry II. on the cover: this MS. he believes, and probably with some reason, to be the same, as that which Stephens formerly used and quoted by the title «: but as none of the manuscripts when used by Stephens could have had the insignia of Henry II. he *concludes* that the Codex « had belonged to Francis I. and was new bound in the time of Henry II. Now admitting this conclusion to be just, and sufficiently warranted by the coincidence which Wetstein observed between the extracts from the two manuscripts, it is still only an argumentum a posteriori, and proves the fact of only one manuscript. But if we quote Wetstein's authority in favour of the opinion, that the MSS. in question were new bound in the time of Henry II. in order to justify Le Long's procedure, we shall almost argue in a circle, since in order to justify his procedure it is necessary to shew *a priori* that the eleven manuscripts selected by Le Long, were new bound in the time of Henry II. and that they necessarily included the eight, which he sought, because otherwise a coincidence in only four lectiones singulares would be no criterion at all. If a complete collation had ever been made of *all* the eight manuscripts, produced by Le Long,

with all the readings quoted by Stephens from the eight, which are supposed to correspond to them, and these extracts in general coincided, we might safely pronounce that all the eight were discovered. But this would be an argument of a very different kind, and in this case it would be wholly unnecessary to inquire, whether the MSS. had an F, an H, or an L, on their covers. But only two of these eight, viz. the Cod. *u* and *u* have been completely re-collated; and for the other six, we depend on the coincidence of four or five readings, which is very insufficient till certain premises are established, which never have been proved. The manuscripts now preserved in the royal library in Paris, which contain either the whole or parts of the Greek Testament, amount to not less than an hundred and ninety-five, and though at least three-fourths of them have been deposited there *since* the commencement of the reign of Henry II. yet the remainder, which were in the royal library before that period, amounts probably to many more than eleven. The contrary at least has never been shewn, and this alone is sufficient to render Le Long's premises uncertain. Our author himself acknowledges that the truth of Le Long's conclusion depends on the position, that the eleven manuscripts, which he selected for examination, necessarily included the eight, which he sought; since a coincidence in four or five lectiones singulares, from which Le Long argued, would otherwise be very insufficient to establish the identity of the manuscripts. But as the position above-mentioned is by no means clear, Le Long's discovery though it *may* be true, is yet not attended with that certainty, with which it is generally believed to be. Critics are often too hasty in arguing to the identity of a manuscript from the coincidence of a few readings: and many supposed discoveries of this kind, after having been so warmly defended, that those who have ventured to doubt, have been treated with contempt and ridicule, will be proved perhaps by subsequent critics to be totally false. Wettstein was thoroughly persuaded that, in addition to the eight Codices Ste-

phani,

phani, which are the subject of our present inquiry, he had discovered the Codex *δ*, and very confidently relates in his Prolegomena, p. 46. that this manuscript, after having been preserved in the library of St. Victor, and then in the library of Tellier, was at last deposited in the royal library, and there marked 2865. Now if this position had remained unexamined, it would have been as confidently repeated, as it was confidently asserted. But Griesbach, on inquiring into the truth of this happy discovery, found that the extracts quoted by Stephens from the Codex *δ*, differed in such a manner from the readings of the Codex Regius 2865, as to make it impossible for them to be one and the same manuscript. He says therefore in his Symbolæ, p. cxliv. *Falsissima sunt, quæ de Stephani codice δ in prolegomenis tradit Wettsteinus.*

Before I conclude this subject, it is necessary to observe that the object of the preceding remarks is not to shew that the eight manuscripts discovered by Le Long were not the MSS. used by R. Stephens, since the thing itself is by no means impossible. Two of them, namely the Codices Regii 2861. and 2869. which Le Long supposes to be the same as the Codices Stephani *η*, and *ι*, have been completely collated by Wettstein, whose collation strengthens the opinion of Le Long. As far as concerns therefore the Codex *η*, and the Codex *ι*, we have additional evidence in favour of the opinion that they are the same, as the Codices Regii 2861. and 2869. because Wettstein has found that, not four only, but that the readings quoted in general in Stephens's margin from the Codices *η*, and *ι*, are found in the Cod. Regii 2861. and 2869. But for the opinion that the six remaining manuscripts, namely, the Codices Stephani *γ*, *δ*, *ε*, *ς*, *ζ*, *ι*, are the same as the Codices Regii 2867, 2871, 3425, 2866, 2242, 2870, (the numbers assigned to them in Le Long's Bib. sacra, Tom. I. p. 208.) we rely on the propriety of the process adopted by Le Long, and which has been the subject of inquiry in this note. For though Wettstein speaks of these six Codices Regii, as manuscripts

which he had seen, and describes them as the same with the above-mentioned six Codices Stephani; yet, as he nowhere says that he collated, or even examined their readings, as he had done of the other two, it is reasonable to suppose that he grounded his opinion of the identity of these MSS. merely on the authority of Le Long. See the account which Wetstein has given in his Prolegomena of the manuscripts which he has noted L, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, in the first part of his N. T. and 9, 12, in the second.

But whatever be the uncertainty, with which Le Long's discovery is attended, no inference can be drawn from it in favour of Martin's opinion with respect to the authenticity of the celebrated passage in the first epistle of St. John. For whether the eight manuscripts, which Stephens borrowed, are in the number of the eleven selected by Le Long, or not, they certainly are *somewhere* in the royal library. The notion that Stephens never returned them, but that he took them with him to Switzerland, when he left Paris, is highly absurd. In his Answer to the Paris Divines, p. 37. (Wetsteinii N. T. Vol. II. p. 724.) he declares that he had returned all his manuscripts; and as these very manuscripts were at that time a subject of public controversy, it is wholly incredible, if he had asserted a falsehood, that it should have remained undetected. It was certainly known in the royal library, whether he had returned them or not, and as R. Stephens was narrowly watched and persecuted by the Paris Divines, they neither would nor could have failed to detect the falsehood, if the manuscripts had not been returned. Now there is not a single MS. of the catholic epistles, in the royal library in Paris, which has not been searched, for evidence either in favour of, or against 1 John v. 7; but in not a single manuscript in the whole library has this verse been discovered: I mean in the text, for some of them have glosses in the margin, which are similar to, though not the same as the common text, 1 John v. 7. Of the eight MSS. which Stephens borrowed from the royal library, four, namely 2, 4, 5, 7, contained

tained the catholic epistles: these four he quotes 1 John v. 7. in conjunction with three other manuscripts, which he had borrowed elsewhere. Now as he quotes all seven as agreeing in the same omission, whatever was wanting in four of them, must have been wanting likewise in the other three. But in the four, which are in the royal library, the whole of 1 John v. 7. is wanting, (not merely the words *iv ty πρηνυ*, as many have supposed from the position of Stephens's semicircle), for there is *not one in the whole library* which has the verse. It is certain therefore that the verse was omitted in all seven; and that Stephens's semicircle is misplaced. See Simon Dissertation critique sur les manuscrits du Nouveau Testament, p. 14. See also the Table of Stephens's MSS. in the following Note 291. with the remark on the Codex 17.

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290. This assertion has never been proved: and its want of proof is the very circumstance, which renders Le Long's method of proceeding less satisfactory than it would have been, as appears from the preceding note.

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291. It is true that Le Long, in his letter to Martin, asserts that he had discovered the *eight* manuscripts in question, and refers to the table at the end of the letter, p. 650. for the numbers at that time affixed to them in the royal library: but, through some extraordinary neglect, he has mentioned the numbers of only *six*, and of the two to which he has assigned no numbers, namely, the Cod. 5, and 11, he has described the latter in such a manner, as to make it doubtful whether he had even seen it. See the Journal des Sçavans, Vol. LXVII. p. 650, 651. This defect however he has in some measure supplied in the edition of his Bibliotheca sacra, which was published three years after he wrote the letter to Martin. See Tom. I. p. 208. where he mentions the numbers affixed to 5, and 11, and gives a more complete description

tion of the latter, though even this is different from the description, which has since been given by Wetstein.

As the accounts, which have been given of Stephens's manuscripts, are in general attended with some difficulty, it will be useful to present the reader with a table, not only of the eight in question, but of all the sixteen, representing the libraries, where they are at present preserved, with the numbers now affixed to them, the persons by whom they were discovered, and the collations, which have been made of them since the time of Stephens. I shall make the statement according to the opinion at present commonly received, without entering into any controversy with respect to the propriety of that opinion. The doubts, which attend the discovery and identity, of some of these manuscripts, I have stated in the preceding notes, wherever the subject has related to each of them in particular.

Table of Stephens's manuscripts.

- a. Complutensian edition.
- β. Codex Bezae, or Cantabrigiensis, re-collated by Junius, Usher, Mill, and Wetstein.
- γ. Codex Regius 2867. n. 84. discovered by Le Long, but not since collated.
- δ. Codex Regius 2871. n. 106. discovered by Le Long, but not since collated.
- ε. Codex Regius 3425. n. 112. discovered by Le Long, but not since collated.
- ς. Codex Regius 2866. n. 71. discovered by Le Long, but not since collated.
- ζ. Codex Regius 2242. n. 47. discovered by Le Long, but not since collated.
- η. Codex Regius 2861. n. 62. discovered by Le Long, and re-collated by Wetstein and Griesbach.
- θ. Codex Coislinianus 200. discovered by Wetstein, who re-collated it.
- ι. Codex Regius 2870. n. 102. discovered by Le Long, but not since collated.
- κ. Not yet discovered.

λ. Codex

- β. Codex Regius 2862. n. 82. N. B. This manuscript was brought into the royal library at the end of the last century, having formerly belonged to Petrus Stella, and afterwards to Tellier. It was collated for Küster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament; and its identity with the Codex Stephani β was first observed by Wettstein.
- γ. This manuscript I have discovered in the University library of Cambridge, where it is marked Kk. 6. 4*.
- δ. Codex Victorinus 774. discovered by Griesbach, who has re-collated it.
- ε. Codex Regius 2869. n. 237. discovered by Le Long, and re-collated by Wettstein.
- ζ. Not yet discovered.

CODICES

* The MS. thus marked, as appears from the name being written in it, belonged formerly to Vatablus, who was Hebrew Professor at Paris in the time of R. Stephens, and one of his most intimate friends. Now as Stephens, beside the Codex β, and the right, which he borrowed from the royal library, procured six others, '*quos undique curare licuit*,' to use his own expression, it is hardly credible that he should have neglected so ancient and valuable a manuscript, as that of Vatablus certainly is, since the manuscript could not have been unknown to him. The Codex Stephani γ corresponds, as to its contents, to the Codex Vatabli, which is a manuscript of the Acts and all the epistles. I selected therefore from Stephens's margin *all* the readings which he has quoted from the Codex γ alone, throughout the catholic epistles; these I compared with the Codex Vatabli, and, though they amounted to twenty-five, and several of them have been discovered in no manuscript since the time of Stephens, I found them all in the Codex Vatabli, or Codex Kk. 6. 4. without any exception, and without the least variation. This extraordinary coincidence, united with the circumstance, that the MS. which I examined belonged to one of Stephens's most intimate friends, affords the strongest proof, that the Codex Stephani γ is the same as the Codex Vatabli. Now this manuscript omits the whole of 1 John v. 7. and clearly proves therefore, as the Codex γ is one of those, which are quoted at that verse, that Stephens's semicircle is misplaced.

This Note was written in the first edition: and in consequence of its having been called in question, I have instituted a very minute enquiry into the subject, which has fully established the identity of the Codex γ and the Codex Vatabli. See my Letter to Archbishop Travis. On the Codices Regii, collated by R. Stephens, see the Appendix to these Letters.

CODICES TOMÆ HARCELENSIS.

The name of this editor of the Philoxenian version should be expressed in Latin by 'Thomas Harcelensis,' (not Heracleensis) and in English by 'Thomas of Harcel,' (not Charkel). See Note 15. to ch. vii. sect. 11.

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291. Our author should have said at the beginning of the seventh century. See the Notes 18—22. to ch. vii. sect. 11.

292. See chap. vii. sect. 11. with the notes to that section.

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293. Namely, at least two manuscripts of the Gospels, one of the Acts, and two of the Epistles. See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 112, 113. and Ridley de Verf. Syr. sect. 9.

294. Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 113.

295. In the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVI. p. 164—168. where our author reviews White's edition of the Philoxenian version, he gives examples of orthographical errors in the Greek readings in the margin of that version, as written in Ridley's manuscript; they relate chiefly to a confusion of *o* with *u*, and *i* with *u* and *u*, as may be seen on consulting White's edition. In the Or. Bibl. Vol. XVII. p. 126—133. he has printed a letter written by Professor Adler, from which it appears that the Greek marginal readings in the Codex Angelicus are still more inaccurately written than in Ridley's manuscript. But the MS. in which they are most correctly written, is that noted by Adler Codex Asserianus n. which our author has omitted to mention, though he published in his Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVIII. p. 173. Adler's account of it. This learned writer also, in his Verf. Syr. p. 65. says of this manuscript, *Græcæ voces accuratius etiam quam in precedenti (scil. Asseriano 1.) absque mendo fere exaratas sunt, sed minus nitidæ.*

296. The marginal Greek readings in the Philoxenian version are of three different kinds. 1. Such as correspond

correspond to the Syriac both in sense and in form, whether adopted in the Syriac from the Greek, or in the Greek Testament from the Syriac. Of this kind are all the examples produced by our author, except *υδρια* and *επισκοπος*. 2. Such as correspond to the Syriac in sense only : of this kind are *υδρια* and *επισκοπος*. 3. Such as differ both in form and in sense, and denote a various reading. But these last are not numerous. It may be observed of the Greek readings in general which are noted in this version, that they are of much less importance than the Syriac ; they frequently betray great ignorance, and it is often difficult to comprehend for what purpose they are added. For these reasons Professor Storr, in the *Repertorium*, Vol. VII. p. 15. absolutely denies that the Greek readings proceeded from Thomas of Heraclæa, or, as he ought to be called, Thomas of Harkel.

297. The Syriac marginal notes of the Philoxenian version may be divided into two principal classes. 1. Critical. 2. Explanatory. The former relate sometimes to the collated Greek manuscripts, at other times to the old Syriac version, and perhaps frequently to both. The latter are likewise of a twofold nature, referring sometimes to the Syriac translation, at other times to the Greek original.

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298. As *αλλ' ημεν*, the marginal reading of the Philoxenian version, John i. 18. is in the old Syriac in the text itself, it is evident that reference is made to this version. But whether the editor of the Philoxenian version intended at the same time to signify that the same reading, namely *μονογενης θεος*, was also in his Greek manuscripts, is at present difficult to determine : it is however highly probable, since *μονογενης θεος* is the reading of the Alexandrine edition, as appears from the quotations of Clement, Origen, Cyril, and Athanasius, and from the Coptic and Ethiopic versions. But of the manuscripts which have been collated in modern times, the *Codex Stephani* *, and *Colbertinus* 2844. alone have this reading.

299. This

299. This addition might likewise have been found in the Alexandrine manuscripts, collated by Thomas, as well as in the old Syriac, for it is both in the Coptic and Ethiopic. The only manuscripts, in which modern critics have discovered it, are the Cyprius, Colb. 6043. Medicæus, and the Codices Regii 50. and 64. as marked at present.

300. This is a mistake, for Thomas, the editor of the Philoxenian version, lived in the seventh century, as appears from the Notes 18—22. to chap. vii. sect. 11.

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301. The charge, though not probable, is not wholly incredible, as appears from Note 27. to this section. Nor was the influence of the church of Rome inconsiderable even in Alexandria, especially in the fourth and fifth centuries, in which period the MSS. collated by Thomas were probably written. Vid. Semleri Commentarii historici de antiquo Christianorum statu, Tom. I. § 82.

302. Read seventh century.

303. On this subject the learned and sagacious Wetstein has been very unjustly exposed to ridicule, to which Dr. Ridley's eloquence, in the fifteenth section of his Dissertation de versionibus Syriacis, has not a little contributed. It has been asserted, that Wetstein's conjecture, that these four manuscripts were used by Thomas, must be without foundation, because it appears from the subscription to the Philoxenian version, that three at the utmost were collated for the Gospels. But it has been totally forgotten, that Thomas collated also one manuscript for the Acts of the Apostles, a book which is not contained in the Codex Stephani 2, and at least two for the epistles, which are neither in the Cod. Stephani 2, nor in the Cantabrigienfis. This circumstance alone therefore decides nothing, since of these four manuscripts he might have used three for the Gospels, one for the Acts, and two for the Epistles, viz. the Alexandrinus and Ephrem, in which alone, of these four, the epistles are contained. This remark is made, not with a view of defending the opinion of Wetstein, which may be

be confuted on other grounds, as appears from the Notes to these four manuscripts, but merely to rescue a character, to which sacred criticism is under the highest obligations, from the charge of an absurdity.

304. To each of the following Syriac quotations our author has subjoined a German translation, for which, instead of translating it into English, I have substituted White's Latin translation, which corresponds to the Syriac as accurately as possible. I have likewise corrected from White's text some inaccuracies in our author, and have made some trifling alterations in the statement of those examples, which in the original seemed obscure.

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305. If I understand our author rightly, he means that ܡܕܢܐ should be written ܡܕܢܐ, and ܡܕܢܐ written ܡܕܢܐ. With respect to the latter, the very same orthography which is found in Ridley's MS. or in the Oxford edition, is observed likewise in the Cod. Aſſemanianus 2. the most correct manuscript of the Philoxenian version hitherto discovered. See Adler's *Verf. Syr.* p. 123. In regard to the former, it is more probable that Thomas actually wrote ܡܕܢܐ, as found in Ridley's MS., than ܡܕܢܐ, as our author conjectures, because there is added in Greek, Βησαββα (Βησαββα), which corresponds to the Syriac as written in the manuscript, but not to our author's alteration: and it necessarily follows, that if Thomas wrote in Syriac ܡܕܢܐ, he wrote in Greek Βησαββα, but the Greek is not written in this manner in the Philoxenian version. The following is perhaps the true statement of this example. In the text of the Philoxenian, as well as the old Syriac version, John i. 28. we find ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ, which corresponds to Βησαββα: but Thomas, on collating his Alexandrian MSS. found here a different reading, which is usually written Βησαββα, but was either written Βησαββα, in the manuscript used by Thomas, or he took it for such: he wrote therefore in the margin of his new edition Βησαββα, (for the omission of β is the erratum of a copyist, as will appear from the

the following note) and expressed this reading in Syriac by a twofold orthography, ܚܒܕܐ and ܚܒܕܐܝܬ, both of which denote *apaca*, thereby intending to signify, that as *Ba-Savia* in the Greek had a various reading *Ba-Sapaça*, so the Syriac ܚܒܕܐ ܐܘܪܝܬ should have likewise a various reading, which might be expressed either ܚܒܕܐ ܐܘܪܝܬ or ܐܘܪܝܬ ܚܒܕܐ. The coincidence of the Greek reading, as written in the margin of the Philoxenian version, with the two modes of expressing the same in Syriac, clearly shew that no inversion has taken place in the Syriac through the negligence of a copyist, unless we suppose that mere accident has produced the same inversion in all three words, which is wholly incredible.

306. Admitting that the ancient Syrians pronounced ܐܘܪܝܬ as if it were written ܐܘܪܝܬ, which no one however can positively affirm, it is no necessary consequence that, because they dropped the Tau in speaking Syriac, they therefore left out Theta in writing Greek, especially as ܐܘܪܝܬ itself even if pronounced in that manner, was not written without the Tau. In fact *Baapaça*, in Ridley's copy, is a mere erratum for *Ba-Sapaça*, as appears from the more correct manuscript the *Codex Assenianus* 2. in which Theta is very distinctly expressed. See Adler's *Verf. Syr.* p. 123.

307. This note therefore proceeded not from Thomas, the editor of the Philoxenian version, but from a former Syrian proprietor of Ridley's manuscript, who had examined different copies of it. White also expressly relates, that it was written a recentiori manu. See his note to this passage, p. 623.

308. In the *Vercellensis*, *Veronensis*, and *Corbeiensis*, but in a different position. See *Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, P. I. p. 276, 277.

309. The Ethiopic version expresses 'vinum non habebant, quia defecit vinum eorum:' but this clause is found, not in the first verse, to which the marginal reading of the Philoxenian version refers, but in the third verse, where *υψηλαυτος οινος* is used in the Greek. From this,

this, and the preceding note, it is reasonable to suppose that the reference of the Philoxenian version is originally a mistake, and that it properly belongs to the third verse, where it is possible that Thomas found in Greek MSS. the reading in question, but certainly not in the first.

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310. Also in the Ethiopic, and Armenian, and in one instance in Origen. See Griesbach in loco.

311. Rather καὶ ἀπηλθεν.

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312. In the Coptic this reading is wholly omitted. See Wettstein and Griesbach in loco.

313. That no single manuscript, among the four which Wettstein believed to have been collated at Alexandria, has all the variations which are noted in the four first chapters of St. John, in the margin of the Philoxenian version, is no argument against Wettstein's opinion; for as Thomas selected readings from more than one MS. we cannot expect to find them all in one alone. Wettstein's adversaries therefore have no reason to triumph, since this argument, by which they endeavour to confute his opinion, is not more solid than those, by which he endeavoured to establish it. Professor Adler, in his *Verf. Syr.* p. 132. makes the following very just observation, particularly in reference to the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, *Quæ quidem sententia, me iudice, eo probari non potest, quod lectiones hujus codicis singulares in suis quoque exemplis invenerit, neque eo refelli, quod vel alias varietates observaverit criticus, quæ in Cantabrigiensi desint, plures enim codices eum consuluisse scimus, vel multas omiserit quæ in Cantabrigiensi servantur, non enim omnes codicum suorum lectiones, sed eas tantum attulisse videtur, quæ ipsi probabiliores haberentur.*

This learned writer has, in the above-mentioned work, p. 79—132. given a very complete and accurate collation of the marginal readings of the Philoxenian version of
of

afterwards in that of St. James in Würzburg. He died in 1516.

321. The German title is, *Reufs Beschreibung einiger Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Tübingen*.

CODICES UFFENBACHIANI.

322. The Codices Uffenbachiani are described in the *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana MSta, seu Catalogus et recensio MStorum codicum qui in bibliotheca Zach. Conr. ab Uffenbach Trajecti ad Mœnum adservantur, et in varias classes distinguuntur, quorum priores J. H. Maius Prof. Ord. Giessensis recensuit, reliquas possessor ipse digessit. Halæ Herm. 1720, fol.*

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323. The common reading Ephes. vi. 22. is *ἡ γυνὴ τὰ πρὸς ἑμὺν*, which gives a perfectly good sense, and is well adapted to the context. The manuscript in question has here *ἡ γυνὴ τὰ πρὸς ὑμῶν*, which is not good sense, and *ὑμῶν* is evidently an erratum of a copyist for *ἑμῶν*, for which reason Griesbach has not noted it. But our author, in order to procure it a sense, divides *γυνὴ* into two words, and omits the *τὰ*, whether by accident or design I know not. But it is probable that here is a typographical error, and that he meant *ἡ γυνὴ τὴ τὰ πρὸς ὑμῶν*.

324. Our author considers therefore the Codex Uffenbachianus 3. of which Bengel has given a few extracts, as the same with that which Professor Schulz discovered in the University Library of Gießen: Griesbach on the contrary considers them as two distinct manuscripts, denoting the one Codex 101. or Uffenbachianus 3. the other Codex 122. or Codex Giessensis. It is necessary therefore to examine which of these two eminent critics is mistaken. Now there is a passage in Bengel's *Introductio in Crisin Nov. Test.* § 7. which seems to put the matter out of doubt. *Addi poterat Uff. 3. qui habet Ev. Johannis, et εἰς ἑξῆς: quidem est, sed plane recens,*

cens, et cum edd. priscis Basileensibus ita congruit, ut ex earum aliqua descriptus existimari debeat. Tres hosce, et Hirsaugiensem illum, et alia complura, impertit nobis Z. C. ab Uffenbach. Here the Codex Hirsaugiensis is manifestly distinguished from the three Codices Uffenbachiani denoted 1, 2, 3. and this very Codex Hirsaugiensis is that which is now at Gießen, being written by Nicolaus monachus Hirsaugiensis, as appears from the subscription. Besides, the Uffenbachianus 3. is, according to Bengel, a copy of the Basel edition; the Cod. Hirsaugiensis, preserved at Gießen, according to Maius, who collated it, and whose extracts Schulz communicated to our author, is a copy of the Codex Trithemii, preserved in the Bodleian. Griesbach therefore has very properly distinguished them. But whether this eminent critic has not made another mistake, in reckoning as two different manuscripts his Codex 97. and Codex 122. the former of which he terms Hirsaugiensis, the latter Griesensis, which appear to be one and the same manuscript, I leave to his own decision. See Note 195.

CODEX BIB. S. VICTORIS.

325. Our author therefore has counted the same manuscript twice.

CODEX UPSALENSIS.

A manuscript of the Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the catholic epistles, has been collated, and described by Professor Aurivillius, in the following work, Codex manuscriptus Græcus Novi Fœderis, e bibliotheca Academicâ Upsaliensi descriptus, et collatus a P. F. Aurivillio, Upsaliæ 1786, 4to.

CODICES USSERII.

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326. These two manuscripts of Usher have been the subject of many conjectures, among the critics of the New Testament. Where Usher procured them is unknown,
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known, but it is certain, that after his death, which happened March 20th, 1656, they were purchased, with his other manuscripts and printed books, which amounted together to ten thousand, by the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, who sent them over to Ireland, where they were deposited in Dublin Castle. There they remained till the Restoration, when they were transferred to the library of Trinity College in Dublin, where the two manuscripts in question, the Codex Usser. 1. et 2. were collated by Dodwell for Fell's edition, and by Bulkeley for that of Mill. See Parr's Life of Usher, p. 80—102. Fell's preface to his edition of the Greek Testament, and Mill's Prol. § 1459. Wetstein's conjecture therefore, (Prol. p. 52.) that the Cod. Usser. 1. (now marked D. 20. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, see the Cat. MSS. Angl. et Hib. T. II. P. II. p. 28. N°. 414.) is the same as the Cod. Henrici Googe, seems improbable, because Walton, in the Catalogue of MSS. prefixed to the Variantes Lectiones Novi Testamenti in the last volume of the London Polyglot, which was published in 1657, a year after Usher's death, describes the Codex Henrici Googe, as being at that time the property of Dr. Henry Googe, who had lately been Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge. It is however possible, that the collation of the Codex Googii had been made many years before the publication of the Polyglot, that Usher bought the manuscript shortly before his death, and that Walton, ignorant of this circumstance, described it as being the property of the same person, as it was, when the collation was made.

The Codex Usserii 2. is noted F. 1. See N°. 416. in the page of the above-quoted Catalogue. Before this manuscript came into the hands of Archbishop Usher, it had belonged, according to Mill, Prol. § 1460. to a Dr. Goad, (which Wetstein, Prol. p. 52. has converted into Dr. Good) for which Mill quotes the authority of Usher, 'uti notavit Usserius.' Usher therefore must have made a memorandum to this purport, in the beginning

ginning of the book, which was observed by Dr. Bulkeley, who communicated the account to Mill: since it does not appear that Usher has given any account of it in print. But there is another part of the history of this manuscript, which is not perfectly clear. Mill is of opinion, (Prol. 1460.) that the manuscript in question came from the hands of this Dr. Goad into the library of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, and that it is the very same as that, which Walton quotes in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot by the abbreviation Em. In this opinion he is followed both by Wetstein, and our author. Now, to prevent mistakes, it is necessary to observe, that the abbreviation Em. in the *Variantes Lectiones Novi Testamenti* in the London Polyglot, does not denote the same thing in the Gospels as in the Epistles. Walton, in his Catalogue of manuscripts prefixed to the *Variantes Lectiones*, mentions a manuscript of the Epistles belonging to Emmanuel Library, which is still preserved there, and has been described above by our author under the title Cant. 3. But Walton very frequently quotes readings from a MS. Em. in the Gospels, and yet takes no notice in his Catalogue of any other than that of the Epistles. (Mill, Prol. § 1460.) on comparing Walton's extracts from the MS. Em. with those which he had received from the Usher. 2. found that they frequently agreed. He conjectured therefore that they were one and the same manuscript, and that the Usher. 2. which was in his time, and is still preserved in Trinity College in Dublin, had formerly belonged to Emmanuel College in Cambridge, and was the first part of a manuscript of the Greek Testament, that of the Epistles, which remains there at present, being the second. This, which Mill gives as mere conjecture, has been converted by Pfaff into matter of fact. In eodem Collegio (sc. Emmanuelis) extant etiam quatuor evangelia nitidissimo charactere descripta, sed haud accurate. Pfaff de var. Nov. Test. lectionibus, cap. v. sect. 4. But, as Pfaff neither had nor could have seen this manuscript, and has evidently copied from Mill, as

appears from his using the same words, it is clear that he has strengthened Mill's expressions, so as to exceed the bounds of truth. It is certain, as I have found on examination, not only that no Greek manuscript of the Gospels is at present in Emmanuel Library, but that no such manuscript ever was there. No article of the kind is to be found in any catalogue belonging to that library, not even in that made in the middle of the last century by the celebrated Barnes, who was many years Fellow of that College: which Catalogue is printed in the *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti. Oxoniæ 1697, folio*. Nor does James, in his *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis, Londini 1600, 4to.* mention, in his Catalogue of manuscripts belonging to Emmanuel College, any one that contains the Gospels. Pfaff's assertion therefore, and Mill's conjecture, are wholly ungrounded. Still further, the premises, on which Mill founded his conclusion, are themselves precarious. For on comparing Walton's extracts from the MS. Em. with those of Mill from the Usher. 2. in the first chapter of St. Matthew alone, I found not only that Walton frequently quotes remarkable readings from the MS. Em. where Mill has none from the Usher. 2. and vice versa, but that Mill quotes *Βισ* as a various reading to *Αβισ* from the Usher. 2. where Walton says that it is totally wanting in the MS. Em. It is probable therefore that the MS. Em. and the Usher. 2. denote two distinct manuscripts. Besides, it is wholly inconceivable, that a Greek manuscript of the Gospels, if it once belonged to Emmanuel College, should ever become the property of Usher; for it is not in the power of any learned society to part with treasures of that nature, and a literary theft would have been inconsistent with the character of Usher. Since this note was written, I have met with a book called the "Considerator considered," by Br. Walton, D.D. Lond. 1659, 8vo. In this book, p. 143. Walton says, "As for that MS. of St. Paul's Epistles in Emanuel Colledge, though there was another MS. in the same Colledge, of the Gospels, and Acts, whose name

name was casually omitted in the Catalogue," &c. and a few lines further, "Those readings of that MS. came to hand after the rest were finished, and after the Catalogue of the MSS. was drawn up ready for the Presse, whereby the name of this MS. was forgotten to be inserted in the Catalogue." It appears then that in Walton's time there actually was a MS. of the Gospels and Acts in Emmanuel College, (perhaps the property of one of the Fellows, as no mention is made of it in any catalogue of MSS. in the College library); but as Walton says, that the collation was not sent to him till after the Catalogue of the MSS. (which is prefixed to the Var. Lect. in the last volume of the London Polyglot) was ready for the press, the MS. was probably in Em. College after the death of Usher, and therefore not the same as the Codex Usserii 2.

CODICES LAURENTII VALLÆ.

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327. Laurentius Valla, one of the most learned men of the fifteenth century, was born at Placentia in 1407, and died at Rome in 1458. As he has given no description of the manuscripts which he collated, nor distinguished the readings of one manuscript from those of another, it is impossible at present to ascertain them; though they are probably still preserved in some of the libraries of Italy. But whether we discover them or not is of little importance, as the readings which he extracted, which Erasmus published, and which have been inserted in the critical editions of the Greek Testament, are generally such as are found in manuscripts of the least antiquity, and the least value. See Semler's Note 89. to Wetstein's Prolegomena.

328. Laurentinus Valla has quoted no manuscript Math. v. 22. either for or against the omission of ΕΙΧΗ. At least Wetstein has quoted none from Valla's collection of various readings.

CODEX VATICANUS.

The most complete catalogue of the Vatican manuscripts is that, which was published by the two Assemani in 1756, in 3 vols. fol. But this work is not to be procured, as almost all the copies were burnt, soon after they were printed, in the fire which consumed a wing of the Vatican. Another, though a much less perfect catalogue, is given in Montfaucon *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 1—155. The most complete description of the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, marked 1209 is given in Birch's *Prolegomena*, p. 13—24.

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329. When our author wrote this sentence, he had not sufficient data to form a comparison between the readings of the Vaticanus and the Alexandrinus in the New Testament; but since the publication of Professor Birch's Greek Testament, the comparison has been made, and the two manuscripts found to be as different in the New Testament as in the Old. See Note 339.

330. This arrangement is confirmed also by the testimony of Professor Birch, (*Prolegomena*, p. 18, 19.) who thence deduces a conclusion similar to that of our author. *Ex qua numerorum transpositione recte, ut opinor, conjici poterit epistolam ad Hebræos primitus locum obtinuisse inter epistolam ad Galatas, et eam quæ ad Ephesios inscribitur.* It may be also observed, that the subscriptions at the end of St. Paul's epistles differ from those which are found in most other Greek MSS. and which are ascribed to Euthalius. In Birch's *Prol.* p. 17. they are printed in parallel columns, whence it appears that the subscription to the first epistle to the Corinthians, in the Cod. Vat. differs from that of the other Greek manuscripts, even in regard to the place where the Apostle is supposed to have written the epistle, the former having *προς κορινθίους α' ιγραφη απο ιφισα*, the latter *προς κορινθίους α' ιγραφη απο φιλιππων*.

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331. Reliqua hujus epistolæ (scil. ad Hebræos, a cap. ix. 14.) pars, una cum Johannis Apocalypsi, a manu recentioris codicis Beffarionis aliquo, ut tradunt, suppleantur.

Birch Prol. p. 16.

332. Literæ, non accentus et spiritus atramento interdum obductæ sunt cum antiquior scriptura ætate flavescere incepisset. Quod quo tempore sit factum non constat, summam tamen diligentiam et curam a librario adhibitam fuisse, plura sunt quæ demonstrant. Birch Prol. p. 15. He then gives examples, in which the corrector has introduced readings from other manuscripts, but has still preserved the original text. For instance, the original reading Matth. vii. 14. was *οτι εστιν*, but the corrector preferring the reading *τι εστιν*, has not retouched the *ο* with fresh ink, like the other letters, and has drawn across it a fine stroke, which leaves the *ο* still visible. He adds however, p. 16. Pauca observavi loca in quibus emendator scalpillo usus est, quo facilius hoc modo codicis lectionem ad suum exemplar conformaret, ut Matth. xiv. 18. ubi a prima manu fuerat *ΚελεΥCATE*, litera T linea transigitur, atque ex ultima E lineola media eraditur, qua correctione effecit *ΚελεΥCΑC*. Our author therefore is not accurate, in describing the later readings, which have been introduced into this manuscript, as if they were noted only in the margin.

333. The Danish title of this publication is *Beskri-
welle over Græske Handskripter of det Nye Testament*.

334. This he has performed in his *Prolegomena*,
p. 13—24.

335. In the fac simile published by Blanchini, are neither accents nor marks of aspiration, and Montfaucon, in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 3. describes it *Codex Bibliorum Græce, caractere unciali et rotundo, sine accentibus, quinti, sextive sæculi*. But Birch, who has very carefully examined this manuscript, expressly declares that it has both. Accentus et spiri-

tus, quorum ultimi antiquam servant figuram . . . , ab ipsa prima manu literis sunt impositi, quod Blanchinus notare neglexit. This indeed is no absolute proof against its antiquity, for on a wall in the ruins of Herculaneum was found a verse of Euripides, written with accents. See *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano*, Tom. II. p. 34. But, though accents were used by grammarians in the first century, and indeed some time before the Birth of Christ, yet they do not appear to have been introduced into manuscripts of the Greek Testament in general before the seventh century. The most ancient manuscripts of the Greek Testament in uncial letters, and with accents, which Montfaucon has described in his *Palæographia* are the *Claromontanus*, and *Sangermanensis*; in which accents and spirits are written precisely of the same form, as those which, according to Birch, are in the *Vaticanus*. See the *Palæogr.* p. 216, 219. Moreover, they are only a *secunda manu* in the *Claromontanus*, though a *prima manu* in the *Sangermanensis*. Now as Birch expressly declares that these marks are a *prima manu* in the *Vaticanus*, we might conclude, if we had no other data, that it was not written before the seventh century. On the other hand, though they were not in common use before the seventh century, they were sometimes used in manuscripts of the Greek Testament, even in the fifth century: for Euthalius, who lived in the fifth century, published an edition of St. Paul's epistles, with accents. See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 73.

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336. In the *Cod. Alex.* they are also larger if Blanchini has observed a due proportion in his fac simile of these two manuscripts, in the plates annexed to P. I. p. 492. There is likewise some difference in the formation of the letters, though the difference is not material. The abbreviations in the *Cod. Vat.* are very few, being confined to those words which are in general abbreviated,

ated such as $\Theta\alpha\sigma$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\sigma$, $\iota\eta\sigma\alpha$, $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$, which are written $\overline{\Theta C}$. $\overline{K C}$. $\overline{I C}$. $\overline{X C}$. Nor is any difference observed in the size of the letters, which in other manuscripts are generally larger at the beginning of a section: but in the Cod. Vat. they are all of the same size, except at the beginning of a book. See Birch's Prol. p. 14. This is a proof of very great antiquity.

337. As it appears from a comparison of different Greek inscriptions, that the Greek characters during the six first centuries underwent little alteration, the resemblance between the letters of the Cod. Vat. and those of the pillar of Hippolptus afford no proof, that the manuscript was written in the same century as the inscriptions as our author justly observes. For by a similar argument it might be shewn, that the Cod. Vat. was written in the first century, since Birch relates, in his Prol. p. 14. that its characters resemble those of the Greek manuscripts, which have been discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum. On the other hand, these circumstances united afford a very strong presumption, that it was not written later than the sixth century.

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338. As a division of the Greek Testament into sections is attended with great convenience, and the ancient transcribers in general adopted for that purpose the $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ and $\tau\iota\tau\lambda\omicron\iota$ of Eusebius, it is probable that the writer of the Codex Vaticanus would not have been singular in this respect, and that he would have adopted them likewise, if they had been known to him. The omission of them therefore in the Codex Vaticanus, though no proof that it was written before the time of Eusebius, is at least a presumptive argument that it was written before the canons of Eusebius were in general use in the country where the transcriber lived. And by the same mode of reasoning, as was used at the end of Note 122. with respect to the Codex Bezae, we may conclude that the Codex Vaticanus was certainly written before the close of the fifth century.

339. Affirmare non dubito, inter omnes qui hodie extant manuscriptos N. T. codices, vix ullum reperiri, cui eadem tribuenda sit dignitas atque auctoritas, sive codices antiquitatem, sive ipsam textus indolem spectes. Nullus Origeniano textui propius accedit, et tam multas exhibet lectiones in quibus cum Origene solus convenit. Mira in lectionibus quoque singularibus cernitur convenientia cum Codd. Paris. 9. 62. Cantabrigiensi et illa antiqua Versione Syra, quæ sæculo post C. N. sexto sub auspiciis Philoxeni facta, insequenti sæculo cura ac studio Thomæ Harclensis ad græcos codices correctæ et perfectæ fuit.

Birch Prolegomena, p. 19.

As the subject here relates to the internal excellence of the Cod. Vat. and the value of its readings, it may not be improper to subjoin a translation of the best critical description which has been hitherto given of this manuscript: for Dr. Semler, in the work which has been frequently quoted, has judiciously avoided an inquiry, for which sufficient materials had not at that time been collected; and our author himself acknowledges that, if he had published his Introduction two years later, he could have communicated more information. This will be amply supplied by the following account, which is taken from a German periodical publication, the Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung for 1789, Vol. I. p. 237. It is the result of a very accurate comparison of the readings produced by Birch from the Codex Vaticanus, with those of some of the best Greek manuscripts collated by Wettstein, and others. It discovers the hand of a master in the art of criticism, and though the author is not known to the public, it is not unworthy of the pen of Griesbach.

‘The Codex Vaticanus has a great resemblance to the manuscripts noted by Wettstein C. D. L. 1. 13. 33. 69. 102. and to the Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions; but it is preferable to most of them, in being almost entirely free from those undeniable interpolations, and arbitrary corrections, which are very frequently found in the
above.

above-mentioned manuscripts, especially in D. 1. and 69. It may be applied therefore as a mean not only of confirming their genuine readings, but of detecting and correcting those that are spurious. It is written with great accuracy, and is evidently a faithful copy of the more ancient manuscript, from which it was transcribed. Peculiar readings, or such as are found neither in other manuscripts nor ancient versions, are seldom discovered in the Codex Vaticanus; and of the few which have been actually found, the greatest part are of little importance. But in proportion as the number of such readings is small, the number of those is great, in support of which few only, though ancient authorities, have been hitherto produced. But this manuscript has not throughout the whole N. T. the same uniform text. In the first and greatest part of St. Matthew's Gospel it follows a recension, which is different from that observed in the other Gospels: for in that of St. Matthew, if we except the few last chapters, it approaches nearer to the Cod. D. than to the Codices C. and L. Here it seldom coincides with the two last, where they differ from the first, if we except those particular cases where the Codd. 1. 33. have also the same reading, for then the Cod. Vaticanus accedes in general to these three or four manuscripts. On the other hand, it has in this part of St. Matthew's Gospel a great number of readings which have been hitherto discovered in the Cod. D. alone. It is also very nearly allied to the Cod. 1. and in many paragraphs the alliance is somewhat greater than to the Cod. D. so that a considerable number of the *lectiones singulares* of the Cod. 1. are observed in the Cod. Vaticanus. Next to these manuscripts, it resembles none in a greater degree than the Cod. 33. But in the latter part of St. Matthew it deviates from these, and accedes very sensibly to the Codd. L. and 102. and this is continued as far as the middle of St. Mark's Gospel. During this portion it departs widely from the Cod. D. and coincides in a very remarkable manner either with one or with both of the Codd. L. and 102. in *lectiones singulares*, and even in their

their very minutiae. But to determine the degree of affinity between the Cod. Vat. and the Cod. L. it is necessary to compare the readings of the former, not only with those which Wetstein has given of the latter, but with the more copious extracts in Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ*. From the middle of St. Mark's Gospel the Cod. 102. is defective; but the agreement between the Codd. Vat. and L. is still continued, and that in so great a degree, that, though the affinity of the Cod. L. to the Cod. C. is very great, its affinity to the Vaticanus is still greater. The same analogy is continued through the Gospel of St. Luke, where the Cod. Vat. and L. almost universally coincide. And as the Codd. D. and 1. agree with the Cod. L. more frequently in this Gospel than in that of St. Mark, their deviation from the Vaticanus is of course less sensible in the former, than in the latter. But even there the characteristic readings of the Cod. D. occur seldom in the Vatican manuscript. Since therefore, as appears from the preceding comparison, the Codd. Vat. and L. were evidently derived from the same source, they may be reciprocally applied in order to correct their mistakes, and to separate the dross from the genuine gold.

With the Cod. A. the Vatican manuscript seldom agrees, and in characteristic readings hardly in any instance, if we except the omission of Luke xxii. 43, 44. where the Vatican deviates from its usual track, and forms an unnatural coalition with the Alexandrine manuscript; but this very circumstance weakens the authority, to which it would be otherwise entitled in regard to this passage.

Lastly, in St. John's Gospel the Vatican text is on the whole similar to that which is found in St. Luke, and its agreement with that of the Cod. L. still great, even in *lectiones singulares*, though not wholly so exact as in this Gospel, and in that of St. Mark. For instance, John v. 4. which relates to the pool of Bethesda, is found in the Cod. L. but omitted by the Vat. in conjunction with Wetstein's Cod. C. Birch's Urbino-vaticanus 2. and a

Paris

Paris manuscript. And because the Cod. A. and D. agree with L. more frequently in St. John than in the other Gospels, their coincidence with the Vat. is more frequent in the former than in the latter. Sometimes it here agrees with the Codex D. alone, at other times with the common reading, and in many cases it deviates from both.'

N. B. The inquiry has been hitherto confined to the Gospels, because the extracts from the Vatican manuscript in the Acts and the Epistles are not yet published.

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340. This is one of the sentences which our author wrote when he believed that the Codex Alexandrinus, with many other Greek manuscripts, had been corrupted from the Latin, and which he has neglected to alter since the time that he has changed his sentiments.

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341. It is wholly impossible that Erasmus, who was well acquainted with Greek manuscripts, could imagine that the Cod. Vat. written in uncial letters, and without intervals was the produce of the fifteenth century. In a letter to Stunica, in which he quotes it for the omission of 1 John v. 7. he calls it Codex Vetusissimus. See Wetstein's Prof. p. 25. That he spake of it at other times in less favourable and even in dubious terms, is by no means extraordinary, when we recollect the persecution, which he underwent in consequence of the omission of that verse in his two first editions of the Greek Testament. See Note 3. to sect. 3. of this chapter, where an attempt is made to reconcile the contradictions, of which our author complains.

342. These extracts were copied by Woide; and his copy is probably at present in Oxford, as the Syndics of the University Press purchased all Woide's papers. The original of these extracts is now in Trinity College Library.

343. That they not only can, but actually do, vary
from

from each other in a very great degree, appears from the description given in Note 339.

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344. This representation is not perfectly exact : for Bentley did not absolutely refuse to communicate his extracts to Wettstein, who relates, *Prol. p. 24.* that the reason why he could not procure them, was Bentley's absence from Cambridge, during the short stay that he made at that time in England. It does not appear then that a pique against Bentley was the cause of Wettstein's unfavourable opinion of the *Codex Vaticanus*. The true reason was the imperfection and inaccuracy of those extracts, which alone Wettstein had seen, though he concluded too hastily that a more complete collation would confirm the opinion, which the incomplete extracts perhaps warranted. But this is a subject on which the public has been unable to form a judgement before the year 1788, when Birch's edition of the four Gospels was printed.

345. *Tom. I. p. 329. ed. Boerner.* Our author means the Paris edition of 1723.

346. But the alterations which have been occasionally made by a later hand leave the ancient reading distinctly visible. See Birch's *Prolegomena*, p. 15.

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347. I have collated in several chapters of *St. Matthew* all the extracts which Birch has given from this manuscript alone, with the text of the *Complutensian* edition, and have found the difference to be such as to warrant the conclusion, that it was not used by the editors of that edition. Not to take up too much room, I will subjoin only the collation of the three first chapters, in which I omit those various readings, which consist only in a variation of orthography in proper names.

Cod. Vaticanus 1209. solus. Editio Complutensis.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Math. i. 18. | χρῖς ιησ | - | ιησ χρῖς. |
| — | γὰρ abest | - | γὰρ adest. |
| 19. | δειγματισαῖ | - | παράδειγματισαῖ. |
| 23. | θίος - - - | - | ο θίος. |
| 24. | ιγιρθίς - - | - | διγιρθίς. |
| 25. | ίως ἔτεκεν - | - | ίως οὐ ἔτεκε. |
| — | αὐτῆς τὸν πρῶ- | } | αὐτῆς τὸν πρῶτοτοκὸν adest. |
| | τοτοκὸν abest | | |
| Ch. ii. 8. | ἐξίτασάτε ἀκ- | } | ἀκριβῶς ἐξίτασάτε. |
| | ρίβως - - | | |
| 13. | εἰς τὴν χώραν | } | εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν abest. |
| | αὐτῶν adest | | |
| 15. | ὑπὸ κυρίῃ - - | - | ὑπὸ τῆ κυρίῃ. |
| 21. | ἐσηλθὲν - - | - | ἤλθιν. |
| 22. | τῆ πατρὸς αὐ- | } | ἡμεῶν τῆ πατρὸς αὐτῆ. |
| | τῆ ἡμεῶν - | | |
| Ch. iii. 2. | καὶ abest - - | - | καὶ adest. |
| 3. | διὰ - - - | - | ὑπὸ. |
| 4. | τροφή ἣν αὐτῆ - | - | τροφή αὐτῆ ἦν. |
| 7. | αὐτῆ abest - | - | αὐτῆ adest. |
| 10. | καὶ prius abest | - | καὶ prius adest. |
| 11. | ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω | - | βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς. |
| 12. | ἀποθήκην αὐτῆ | - | ἀποθήκην. |
| 14. | ἰωάννης abest - | - | ἰωάννης adest. |
| 15. | εἰπὲν αὐτῷ - - | - | εἰπὲ πρὸς αὐτόν. |
| 16. | βαπτισθεὶς δὲ - | - | καὶ βαπτισθεὶς. |
| — | αὐτῷ abest - - | - | αὐτῷ adest. |
| — | πνεῦμα θις - - | - | πνεῦμα τῆ θις. |
| — | καὶ ultimum | } | καὶ ultimum adest. |
| | abest - - | | |

The preceding comparison affords an absolute demonstration that the Codex Vaticanus 1209. was not once consulted in this part of the Greek Testament by the Complutensian editors, for I have omitted not a single reading that is peculiar to this manuscript, yet not one

of them is found in the Complutensian edition. Now as this manuscript is of the highest antiquity, and of the greatest authority, it is incredible, if the Complutensian editors had it really in their hands, that they should have totally neglected it in three whole chapters immediately following each other; and we have reason to conclude, that if Vatican manuscripts were sent to them, this was not in the number. To obviate the objection which might be made on the supposition that the Codex Vaticanus 1209. might have arrived after a part of the Greek Testament was already printed, I have collated the last chapter of St. John; but there the difference is still greater than at the beginning, for in that chapter alone Birch has quoted not less than twenty-eight readings from this manuscript, yet not one of them is to be discovered in the Complutensian edition.

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348. Since the publication of this Introduction, Bentley's extracts, as far as relates to the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, have been inserted in Birch's edition of the four Gospels, Woide having sent a copy for that purpose to Copenhagen. See Birch's Prol. p. 24. See also Note 342.

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349. As the first volume of this valuable work is now published, it is necessary to supply what our author was unable to communicate, and to give at least a catalogue of those Vatican manuscripts, which Professor Birch has collated, and described in his Prolegomena to Vol. I. p. 3—33. For more ample information recourse must be had to the work itself; for a transcript of the whole would not only be too voluminous, but unnecessary, as the original is accessible to every reader. But as our author gives in this chapter a catalogue of all the manuscripts which had been at that time collated, it is not improper to enumerate those, which have been made known within the last three years, in order that the whole number of collated manuscripts

manuscripts may be exactly ascertained. For the above-mentioned reason I have not distinguished those, which Professor Birch has completely collated, from those which he has cursorily inspected, or only examined for particular passages: this information can interest those only who examine the readings which he quotes, and this implies the possession of the book itself. He divides them into four classes. 1. Cod. Vaticanus. 2. Palatino-Vaticanus. 3. Alexandrino-Vaticanus. 4. Urbino-Vaticanus. He has arranged them in his Prolegomena, and also quoted them among the various readings, according to the numbers which are affixed to them in the Vatican. The cyphers, which are prefixed to them in the following list, serve only to number them, and have no reference to the work itself. The two which our author has described I have not numbered.

CODICES VATICANI.

1. Codex Vaticanus 349. membranaceus, sæculi xi. vel xii. continet quatuor Evangelia.
2. Cod. Vaticanus 351. membranaceus sæculo x. vel xi. caractere unciali exaratus complectitur lectiones Evangeliorum.
3. Cod. Vaticanus 354. membranaceus quatuor continet Evangelia literis uncialibus scripta.
4. Cod. Vaticanus 356. membranaceus sæculo xi. ut conjicio exaratus quatuor complectitur Evangelia.
5. Cod. Vaticanus 358. membranaceus sæculo, ut conjicio xii. exaratus, continet iv. Evangelia cum scholiis variorum in margine.
6. Cod. Vaticanus 359. chartaceus Græco-latinus, quatuor complectitur Evangelia.
7. Cod. Vaticanus 360. membranaceus sæculi xi. integrum N. T. complectitur præter Apocalypsin.
8. Cod. Vaticanus 361. membranaceus sæculo, ut videtur, xi. exaratus complectitur quatuor Evangelia.
9. Cod. Vaticanus 363. membranaceus sæculo, ut

opinor, xi. exaratus, continet quatuor Evangelia, Acta Apostolorum, epistolas catholicas et Pauli.

10. Cod. Vaticanus 364. sæculo, ut arbitror, xi. in membranis scriptus habet quatuor Evangelia.

11. Cod. Vaticanus 365. membranaceus sæculi, ut conjicio, xi. continet quatuor Evangelia.

12. Cod. Vaticanus 665. sæculo xiii. in charta bombycina scriptus complectitur Matthæi et Marci Evangelia cum Euthymii commentario.

13. Cod. Vaticanus 756. membranaceus continet iv. Evangelia cum commentariis Patrum in margine. Scriptus videtur sæculo xi. vel xii.

14. Cod. Vaticanus 757. membranaceus continet quatuor, Evangelia cum commentariis Origenis, Gregorii Thaumaturgi, Apollinarii, Cyrilli, et aliorum.

15. Cod. Vaticanus 758. membranaceus habet Evangelia Lucæ et Johannis, cum Patrum variorum commentariis.

16. Cod. Vaticanus 1067. membranaceus caractere unciali sæculo, ut opinor xi. exaratus continet lectiones Evangeliorum usui ecclesiastico distributorum.

17. Cod. Vaticanus 1158. membranaceus sæculo, ut conjicio xi. eleganter exaratus, a Cypri regina Innocentio VII. R. P. dono oblatus complectitur quatuor Evangelia.

18. Cod. Vaticanus 1160. in membranis sæculo, ut arbitror, xi. exaratus, integrum N. T. continet.

Cod. Vaticanus 1209. Veteris Novique Testamenti. Vid. supra, N°. 253.

19. Cod. Vaticanus 1210. membranaceus sæculo, si recte colligo, xi. scriptus integrum N. T. complectitur, excepta Apocalypsi, adjecto Davidis Psalterio.

20. Cod. Vaticanus 1229. membranaceus sæculo, ut videtur, xi. exaratus continet quatuor Evangelia, cum Patrum commentariis in margine.

21. Cod. Vaticanus 1254. membranaceus sæculi xi. complectitur quatuor Evangelia.

22. Cod. Vaticanus 1548. membranaceus continet Evangelia Lucæ et Johannis.

CODICES PALATINO-VATICANI.

23. Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus 5. membranaceus sæculo ut videtur xii. exaratus continet Evangelia Matthæi et Marci, cum Patrum commentariis in margine.

24. Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus 89. membranaceus sæculo, ut conjicio, xi. exaratus quatuor Evangelia complectitur cum menologio.

25. Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus 136. membranaceus sæculi xi. vel xii. quatuor continet Evangelia.

Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 171. membranaceus integrum N. T. complectitur. Vid. supra, N°. 255.

26. Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus 189. membranaceus sæculo undecimo exaratus quatuor continet Evangelio.

27. Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus 189. membranaceus sæculi, ut videtur xi. quatuor continet Evangelia, cum scholiis Patrum in margine.

28. Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus 227. membranaceus, et sæculo, ut videtur xi. exaratus, continet quatuor Evangelia.

29. Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus 229. in charta bombycina sæculo, ut puto, xii. exaratus, complectitur quatuor Evangelia.

CODICES ALEXANDRINO-VATICANI.

30. Cod. Alexandrino-Vaticanus 28. in charta bombycina scriptus non ultra sæculum xiii. assurgere videtur: continet quatuor Evangelia cum commentariis Theophylacti.

31. Cod. Alexandrino-Vaticanus 79. membranaceus sæculo, ut conjicio, undecimo exaratus, complectitur quatuor Evangelia.

32. Codex Alexandrino-Vaticanus 189. membranaceus complectitur quatuor Evangelia.

CODICES URBINO-VATICANI.

33. Codex Urbino-Vaticanus 2. membranaceus quatuor complectitur Evangelia: nitide et eleganter exaratus est. Scriptus videtur in usus Johannis II. Imperatoris Orientis, qui Alexio anno 1118. in imperio successit.

34. Codex Urbino-Vaticanus 53. scriptus est in membranis charactere unciali sæculi xi. et quatuor Evangelia complectitur.

The description of the manuscripts, containing the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, is not yet published.

CODICES VELESIANI.

PAGE 352.

350. We may rather conclude, from the examples produced by our author, that Velez used Latin manuscripts, and translated the readings which he quoted from them into Greek.

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351. Though our author has here endeavoured to confute the opinion of Wettstein, and to shew that the *lectiones Velestianæ* are not Greek translations of Latin readings, but that they were actually derived from Grecian sources, yet whoever impartially weighs what Wettstein has said on this subject in his *Prol.* p. 59—61. will be more inclined to favour his sentiments, than those of our author. The few examples, which have been given by the latter to shew that the *lectiones Velestianæ* differ sometimes both from the Vulgate and the Latin manuscripts published by Blanchini, are more than counterbalanced by the numerous and undeniable instances produced by Wettstein of translations from the Latin. For the circumstance, that a few of these readings are to be found in no Latin manuscript hitherto collated, is of little consequence in deciding the question; since the collation has been confined to a very inconsiderable number, and not one has been either published or examined among those

those which are preserved in the libraries of Spain, where Velez resided, in which it is not impossible that those *lectiones Velelianæ* might be discovered, which are sought in vain in the manuscripts of Sabatier and Blanchini. Besides, Velez himself has no where declared that they were taken from Greek manuscripts, which is a mere conjecture of Mariana: Velez has observed a profound silence on the subject, and this very silence is an argument in favour of Wetstein, for as the intention of the Spanish critic was evidently to support the readings of the Latin, he would hardly have neglected to note in the copy of the Greek Testament, in which he wrote them, that they were taken from Greek originals. Bengel considered these readings as of no value, and Michaelis, the father of our author, says in his *Tractatio critica*, p. 97. in *Velelianis transparenere Vulgatam, ita quidem ut in plerisque se prodatur inconsultum et adfectatum Velelianorum librorum in conformandis Latinæ versioni Græcis studium*. And Griesbach, in the preface to his *Gr. Test.* p. 30. says, *Lectioes Velelianæ, e latinis codicibus collectæ, et græcis vocabulis expressæ*. Our author therefore has augmented his catalogue of Greek manuscripts by the addition of sixteen, which probably never existed.

CODICES VENETIANI.

The manuscripts preserved in the different libraries in Venice are enumerated in Montfaucon *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, Tom. I. p. 467—483.

Professor Birch in his *Prolegomena*, p. 55, 56. has described the following manuscripts preserved in the library of St. Mark in Venice. He has not completely collated them, but examined them only in select passages.

1. Codex 5. sæculo xv. Beffarionis jussu exaratus, membranaceus, Vet. et Nov. Testamentum complectitur.

2. Codex 6. partim in membranis, partim in charta scriptus est, sæculi xv. continetque Vet. et Nov. Testamentum.

3. Codex 8. membranaceus, sæculi circiter x. habet quatuor Evangelia.

4. Codex 9. membranaceus sæculi ut videtur xi, quatuor Evangelia complectitur.

5. Codex 10. membranaceus, sæculi xv. integrum N. T. complectitur. Primo loco ponuntur Acta Apostolorum, et Epistolæ omnes, sequuntur Evangelia, quibus Apocalypsis a diversa manu scripta subjungitur.

6. Codex 27. membranaceus, sæculi x. quatuor Evangelia complectitur cum patrum commentariis in margine.

7. Codex 539. membranaceus. sæculi xii. quatuor Evangelia continet græce et arabice.

8. Codex 540. membranaceus, sæculo xii. exaratus, complectitur quatuor Evangelia.

9. Codex 542. membranaceus, sæculi xi. habet quatuor Evangelia.

10. Codex 548. chartaceus, sæculi xiv. quatuor Evangelia, complectitur cum synaxario.

11. Codex 544. membranaceus, sæculi xi. continet quatuor Evangelia cum commentariis Patrum.

CODICES VINDOBONENSES.

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A very full account of the manuscripts preserved in the imperial library at Vienna is given in the following work; P. Lambecii *Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi libri octo*. Vindobonæ, 1665—1679. 8 tom folio. A new and improved edition of it was published by Kollar in 1766—1782, likewise at Vienna.

352. Our author describes this MS. by the name of Vindobonensis 3. but for what reason I know not, as no number is affixed to it, either by Mill or Wettstein. Now as the Vienna MSS. are usually quoted by the numbers affixed to them in the Commentaries of Lambecius, where this manuscript is noted Codex 2. and described Lib. III. p. 2—15. I have taken the liberty to alter our author's notation to Vindobonensis 2. Besides, the manuscript

manuscript in question is quoted by Alter as the Codex Lambecii 2.

353. Our author should rather have said, how did Lambecius know this, for Wetstein only quotes the words of Lambecius. Compare Wetstein's Proleg. p. 41. with Lambecii Commentarii de bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensis, Lib. III. p. 15. Now Lambecius was certainly able to determine, whether these points were a prima manu, or not.

N. B. Whenever I quote the Commentaries of Lambecius, I mean the original edition of 1665—1679.

354. The German title of this work is Michaelis Erklärung der Begräbnis- und Auferstehungs-Geschichte nach den vier Evangelisten. Halle 1783. In the place to which he refers, he describes two different towns of the name of Emmaus, the one sixty, the other an hundred and sixty stadia from Jerusalem, and shews that St. Luke meant the former.

355. Our author acknowledges then that *κατον εξηκοντα* is not the genuine reading, and yet censures those who are of the same opinion.

356. The fac simile is in the second plate annexed to p. 492. But Treschow in his Tentamen, p. 124. says, Specimina characteris Græci nobis exhibent Lambecius, Montefalconius, et Blanchinus, duo posteriores vero parum accurate. See therefore the fac simile given by Lambecius, Lib. III. p. 14. The fac simile, which is given by Montfaucon, is p. 194, of the Palæographia Græca.

357. The readings of this fragment are given in Alter's Greek Testament, Vol. I. p. 999—1001.

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358. The description which Wetstein gives of this manuscript is as follows: Contulit cum editis Gerhardus a Mastricht, syndicus Bremensis, ad Imperatorem legatus A°. 1690, unde apographum nactus Millius appendici suæ interuit sub titulo Viennensis, in editione vero Wetsteniana 1711 vocatur Cæsareus. Postea G. a Mastricht

r f f 4

accuratiorem

accuratiorem hujus Codicis collationem communicavit cum H. Wetstenio, qui eam margini editionis suæ adscripsit, unde et multos typographi in exprimendis hujus codicis lectionibus errores correxi, et non paucas in editione vel studio vel incuria omissas varias lectiones descripsi. Wetstenii Prol. p. 54.

359. At present we have very complete extracts from his MS. in Alter's Greek Testament, Vol. I. p. 375—413. and Vol. II. p. 631—688.

360. Extracts from this MS. have been also given by Altea, Vol. I. p. 323—374.

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361. From the Codex Lambecii 1. or, which is the same, the Codex Nesselii 23. Professor Alter has printed his Greek Testament which was published at Vienna in two Vols. 8vo. in 1786 and 1787. He has no where departed from the text of this manuscript, except where it had manifest errata, which he has corrected from the text of Stephens's edition of 1546, but he has noted these errata at the end of each volume, as he says p. 6. of his preface, ut codicem Vindobonensem, uti est, lectoribus integrum exhiberem. Beside the chasm, Rev. xx. 7. to the end, which our author has noted from Wetstein, it appears from Alter's preface, p. 4, 5. that there are likewise the three following chasms in the back of Revelation, ch. xiii. 5—xiv. 8. xv. 7.—xvii. 2. xviii. 10.—xix. 15. Alter has supplied these chasms from the Codex Nesselii 302. Some extracts from this MS. are given by Birch, who says p. 58. of his Prolegomena, Hunc codicem iis in locis examinavimus, ubi a textu recepto libri manuscripti variare solent.

362. Wetstein neither has nor could have quoted this manuscript Matth. vi. 13. for he has given no extracts from it in the Gospels. He has noted it only in the catalogue of manuscripts prefixed to St. Paul's epistles, but even here I have never found a quotation from it, not even Rom. xiv. 23. where he quotes not less than forty-seven manuscripts in support of a very remarkable reading

ing which is likewise confirmed, as appears from Alter's edition, by the *Codex Lambecii* 1. the manuscript in question.

363. The *Codex Lambecii* 1. does not omit this passage at the end of both chapters. See Alter's *Greek Testament*, Vol. II. p. 132. where it appears that the passage is at the end of ch. xiv. Our author in writing this note must have forgotten an error, which he himself had corrected in the place to which he refers. See Note 12. to ch. vi. sect. 10.

364. Our author in his *Orient. Bib.* Vol. VI. p. 19. observes, that the examples which Treschow has produced from this manuscript, were not sufficient to shew that this manuscript had been altered from the Latin. But Treschow himself says only (*Tentamen*, p. 60.) *Quibusdam in locis hunc codicem a versione Latinâ interpolatum fuisse suspicor*; and adds in the following page, *Nec tamen prætereundum esse censeo codicem nostrum aliis in locis a versione latina valde discrepare.*

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365. Here is only an extract from Treschow's *Tentamen descriptionis codicum Vindobonensium*, but the reader will find a more complete description in the work itself, p. 62—73. This manuscript is described also in *Lambecii Commentarii*, Lib. III. p. 48—57. Extracts from this manuscript are given in Alter's *Greek Testament*, Vol. II. p. 415—558.

366. The *Codex Lambecii* 35. is described in Treschow's *Tentamen*, p. 73—76. and complete extracts are given from it in Alter's *Greek Test.* Vol. II. p. 741—788.

367. The *Codex Lambecii* 36. is described in Treschow's *Tentamen*, p. 76—79. and *Lambecii Commentarii*, Lib. III. p. 58. Complete extracts are given from it in Alter's *Greek Testament*, Vol. II. p. 789—853.

368. The *Codex Lambecii* 37. is described in Treschow's *Tentamen*, p. 79. and *Lambecii Commentarii*, Lib. III. p. 58. Complete extracts are given from it in Alter's *Greek Testament*, Vol. II. p. 689—740.

369. To the Codices Vindobonenses enumerated by our author, may be added the following, which have been very accurately collated by Alter, and of which the extracts may be found in the parts of his Greek Test. to which reference will be made. I omit those which have been already mentioned, as well in the notes immediately preceding, as also in the Notes 165. 234.

1. Codex Lambecii 33. Nesselii 337. a manuscript of the four Gospels written in small letters in the 14th century, Vol. I. p. 414—464.

2. Codex in Kollarii supplementis 9. in Forlosiæ Auctario 31. a manuscript of the four Gospels written in 1192, Vol. I. p. 528—635. See Treschow's Tentamen, p. 90.

3. Codex in Kollarii supplementis 16. in Forlosiæ Auctario 6. a manuscript containing the four Gospels, and not written before the tenth century, though attested by three Italian Archbishops to have been written thirty years after Christ's ascension, Vol. I. p. 636—703. See Treschow's Tentamen, p. 41—48. 108—123. Treschow calls this manuscript Codex Carolinus, because it was formerly in the private library of Charles VI.

4. Codex Lambecii 30. Nesselii 240. a manuscript of the four Gospels, supposed to have been written in the 11th century, and brought by Busbeek from Constantinople. Vol. I. p. 807—880. See Treschow's Tentamen, p. 32—34. and Lambecii Commentarii. Lib. III. p. 47.

5. Codex Lambecii 31. Nesselii 188. a manuscript of the four Gospels. Vol. I. p. 881—998. Treschow, in his Tentamen, p. 34—41. has given an accurate description of this manuscript, from which it appears to be of very great importance. It agrees with the Cod. Cant. in not less than 80 unusual readings, with the Cod. Ephrem in upwards of 35. with the Stephani in 50. with the Cod. Reuchlini in upwards of 50. and has several which are found in that manuscript alone, with the Cod. Regius 2244. in 60 unusual readings, and with the Cod. Colb. 2844. in 22.

6. Codex

6. Codex Lambecii 15. Nesselii 5. a fragment of an Evangelistarium, consisting only of six leaves. Vol. I. p. 1002—1007. It must be observed, that the Codex Lambecii 15. is not the manuscript that is thus numbered in the third book of the Commentaries of Lambecius where the Codices Theologici are enumerated, for there Cod. 15. is a commentary on several parts of the Old Testament; but it is a Codex juridicus 15. at the end of which are the fragments in question.

7. Codex Lambecii 32. Nesselii 321. a manuscript of the four Gospels. Vol. II. p. 1012—1054.

8. Codex in Auctionario Forlosiæ 30. in supplementis Kollarii 8. a manuscript of St. Matthew's Gospel. Vol. I. p. 1055—1068. See Treschow's Tentamen, p. 89.

9. Codex purpureus aureus, in Auctionario Forlosiæ 23. in supplementis Kollarii 7. an Evangelistarium written in uncial letters. Vol. I. p. 1069—1078. See Treschow's Tentamen, p. 91—107.

10. Codex in Auctionario Forlosiæ 19. in supplementis Kollarii 10. contains all the epistles of St. Paul, except those to Titus and Philemon. Vol. II. p. 854—920.

11. Codex Lambecii 248. Nesselii 307. a manuscript containing, beside several works of the Greek fathers, the Revelation of St. John with a marginal commentary of Andreas Cæsareensis, Vol. II. p. 921—940. It is described in Lambecii Commentarii, Lib. V. p. 134—141.

12. Codex in Auctionario Forlosiæ 29. in supplementis Kollarii 26. a manuscript of the Revelation with the commentary of Andreas Cæsareensis. It is defective from ch. xix. 20. to the end. Vol. II. p. 941—967.

Of these twelve manuscripts, the 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, are likewise quoted by Birch. See his Prolegomena, p. 57—60. Of the rest which he has examined and quoted, the Cod. Lambecii 1. the Cod. Kollarii 4. which is the same as the Cod. Parrhasii and the Cod. Kollarii 6. have been already mentioned; there remain therefore to be noted,

13. Codex Lambecii 38. Nesselii 337. a manuscript of the four Gospels, with commentaries of the fathers in the margin.

14. Codex

14. Codex Lambecii 39. Nesselii 180. contains several passages of the Gospels, with commentaries.

15. Codex Lambecii 40. Nesselii 301. contains select passages from the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, with commentaries of the fathers.

Lambecius has described these three MSS. Lib. III. p. 59, 60. he relates of all three that they contain commentaries of the Gospels, and makes no mention of the text. But as Birch is very circumstantial in saying of the first, that the commentaries are written in the margin, no doubt can be made that his account is exact.

CODICES WAKIANI.

PAGE 358.

370. Of the four manuscripts formerly in the possession of Archbishop Wake, and at present in the library of Christ Church, our author calls the two first Codices Wakiani, the two last Codex Wakii 1. and Codex Wakii 2. To prevent mistakes therefore, it is necessary to observe, that he has here inverted the names which are given them in Weistein's and Griesbach's catalogue, where Cod. Wakii 1. and Cod. Wakii 2. denote those which he calls simply Codices Wakiani, without affixing to them any number.

CODICES WHEELERIANI.

371. The manuscripts, which formerly belonged to Dr. Wheeler, are described in the *Catalogi MStorum Angliæ, et Hiberniæ in unum collecti*, Tom. II. P. I. p. 357. and it appears from the last page of the preface to this work, that they are at present preserved in the library of Lincoln College in Oxford.

372. Griesbach has quoted for this reading five manuscripts of what is called the old Latin version.

CODEX

CODEX WESTMONASTERIENSIS.

PAGE 359.

373. The Codex Bibliothecæ Regiæ Westmonasteriensis 953. is at present in the British Museum, where all the manuscripts that formerly belonged to his Majesty's library are deposited. It is noted among the manuscripts brought from the King's library I. B. I.

CODEX WINCHELSEANUS.

374. I know not where De Missy's copy is at present, but Jackson's autograph of the extracts, which he had made from the Codex Winchelseanus, is now preserved in the library of Jesus College in Cambridge, where it is marked O, Θ, 3.

375. Wetstein quotes the Coptic for the same reading.

CODICES WOLFII.

PAGE 361.

376. Of the first of these three Codices Wolfii Griesbach relates, in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, p. lxiv. that though written in uncial letters, it has accents and marks of aspiration. He judges from the oblong form of the letters, that it was not written before the tenth century. It was examined by Griesbach in the British Museum; but he has not mentioned whether the other two manuscripts, which belonged to Mr. Wolf of Hamburg, are likewise preserved there.

CODEX ZELADÆ.

A manuscript of the four Gospels, supposed to be written in the eleventh century, and at present the property of Cardinal Zelada, has been examined in particular passages by Professor Birch. See his *Prolegomena*, p. 50.

Recapi-

Recapitulation of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, either wholly or partially collated, which have been mentioned in these Notes, in addition to those described by our author.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------------------|---|---|-------|
| Codices Barberiniani | - | - | 10 |
| Codices Sui Basilii Romæ | - | - | 4 |
| Codex Bononiensis | - | - | 1 |
| Codices Borgiani | - | - | 3 |
| Codex Cromwelli | - | - | 1 |
| Codices Escorialenses | - | - | 12 |
| Codices Florentini | - | - | 24 |
| Codices Harleiani | - | - | 6 |
| Codex Manheimensis | - | - | 1 |
| Codices Sæ Mariæ in Vallicella | - | - | 4 |
| Codices Marshi | - | - | 2 |
| Codices Mosquenses | - | - | 44 |
| Codices Seldeni | - | - | 2 |
| Cod. Regius 1886 ^a . at present 60. | - | - | 1 |
| Codex Upsalensis | - | - | 1 |
| Codices Vaticanæ | - | - | 34 |
| Codices Venetiani | - | - | 11 |
| Codices Vindobonenses | - | - | 15 |
| Codex Zeladæ | - | - | 1 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| MSS. described by our author | - | - | 177 |
| | | | 292 |

Total of the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, which have been wholly or partially collated } 469

In Dr. Griesbach's new edition of the Greek Testament, which is now ready for the press, all these manuscripts will probably be quoted.

377. This task has been in a great measure executed by Wettstein, as far as relates to the manuscripts which he has collated, for he has prefixed to each of the four parts of his Greek Testament, a catalogue of the manuscripts which contain those respective parts, has noted the

the chasms as far as they were known to him, and has in general given such accounts of them, that we may judge of the degree of diligence and care that has been used in collating them.

378. As this paragraph appeared in our author's third edition, published in 1777, and the questions, which he proposed, he has left unanswered after an interval of ten years, though continually engaged in comparing the different readings of the Greek Testament, the translator must decline the inquiry, as not having sufficient experience in this subject. One material difference however I have observed, between four manuscripts brought from Greece, two of which came immediately from mount Athos, noted by Weistein 38. 40. 73. 74. and the Moscow manuscripts collated by Matthäi. Namely, these four manuscripts contain the story of the adulteress John vii. 53—viii. 11. but it is omitted in all the Moscow manuscripts, which have the text without scholia, as appears from Matthäi Evangelium Johannis, p. 359. It has been observed, Note 7. to ch. vii. sect. 37. that the text of Theophylact differs from the Slavonian version as often as it agrees with it: this remark was made on the authority of Dobrowsky, who can best determine on which side the manuscripts in question preponderate.

C H A P T E R IX.

Of the Quotations from the New Testament in the works of ecclesiastical writers.

PAGE 363.

1. It does not appear that the reading *ἡ ἑστία τῆς* ~~ἡ ἑστία~~ is erroneous, though not that of the common printed text. Griesbach has taken it into the text of his edition, and seemingly with reason, for it is supported by the authority of the Vaticanus, Cantabrigienfis, Stephani 1, Codex Reuchlini, Colbertinus 2844, and

and several other Greek manuscripts, as also by that of the Old Syriac, the margin of the New Syriac, the Arabic of Erpenius, both Persian versions, the Coptic, Armenian, the old Italic, the Gothic, and the Vulgate. It is quoted by Origen four times, by Irenæus in one instance, by Porphyry, by Jerom, and several other Latin fathers. Our author observes, in his note at the bottom of the page, that five of the manuscripts, which have the reading, are supposed to latinize. Now this note appeared in the third edition of his Introduction, but he should have altered it in the fourth, because he acknowledges that the charge laid against the four first of these MSS. is ungrounded.

PAGE 364.

2. Dr. Semler, in his 79th. Note to Wetstein's Prolegomena, recommends another source of various readings, the Concilia Græca.

PAGE 365.

3. Griesbach on the other hand seems inclined to reject it.

PAGE 368.

4. Apparatus criticus, p. 49. ed. 2da.

PAGE 369.

5. The Cod. Cant. is the only manuscript quoted by Wetstein, but Griesbach found the same transposition in the Cod. Colb. 2844.

PAGE 370.

6. It is probably a mistake when our author says that $\alpha \lambda \nu \iota$ is found in Origen, for Griesbach, who has very accurately collated the works of this father, declares expressly, in his note to this passage, *Lectio recepta* (scil. $\alpha \mu \eta \sigma \mu \epsilon \lambda \omicron \gamma \iota \varsigma$) extat in codicibus græcis omnibus, et patribus græcis omnibus. With respect to the authenticity of
of

of the reading which our author prefers, see Note 11. to chap. vi. sect. 9.

7. When a Greek father quotes a passage as taken immediately from the Greek Testament, it seems to be of no importance whether he comments upon it or not, as far as relates to the question, with which alone we are at present concerned, 'What was the reading of his manuscript, or manuscripts?' At the same time it must be acknowledged, that the evidence is stronger, where the quotation is attended with a commentary, in which the words of the text are repeated, because in that case there is not only an accession of evidence arising from the commentary itself, but the evidence of the one is confirmed by that of the other: except when they disagree, in which case the evidence of the commentary is perhaps superior to that of the text, as far as relates to the omission of words; for if a word omitted in the quoted text is explained in the commentary, we may conclude that it was omitted in the text by mere accident.

PAGE 371.

8. The omission of *υμων* after *διπλοτερον* by Justin Martyr, decides neither for nor against the common reading, for the passage here quoted from the Greek father is so constructed, that the insertion of *υμων* would make it absolute nonsense. The turn of expression in the whole sentence differs entirely from that which we find in St. Matthew, and the former can by no means be considered as a quotation from the latter. With respect to Justin's quotations in general, see Note 4. to ch. ii. sect. 6. where it is shewn that Justin probably quoted, not from our four canonical Gospels, but from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which, during the first century, and the former part of the second, was in common use among the Christians of the East, and which, even in the fourth century, was thought by Jerom to be of so much importance, that he translated it into Latin. The difference therefore between Justin's quotations and

the text of the four Gospels, cannot be alleged as an argument in favour of the opinion, that the ancient fathers were negligent and inaccurate in their quotations, because Justin did not quote from them, but from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and with this Gospel his quotations might perfectly agree.

PAGE 372.

9. Radicitus ex animo evellenda est præjudicata multorum opinio, qui e patrum allegationibus certo cognosci posse negant, quid in suis codicibus scriptores illi legerint, nec ne. Etsi enim lubentissime concedo scripturæ sacræ loca a patribus sæpe excitari negligenter, nec codicibus inspectis, sed memoriter atque confuse: extant tamen criteria sat multa atque luculenta, quorum ope discerni possunt allegationes fideliter e codicibus depromptæ a vagis ad dicta scripturæ provocationibus, in quibus patres vel propter memoriæ lapsum, vel ex oscitantia nimiaque festinatione, vel etiam de industria scriptorum sacrorum verba paullulum inflexerunt immutarentque. Ac si vel maxime ad liquidum res non semper deduci possit, judicari tamen ex istis criteriis potest, utrum absque erroris metu allegationem quandam pro certa et accurata habere, et in delineanda sacri textus historia tuto ea uti queamus, an vero in dubio res relinquenda sit: id quod consilio nostro abunde sufficit.

Griesbachii Hist. textus Ep. Paulin. sect. 1. § 13.

The criteria, of which Griesbach here speaks, he has explained in his *Dissertatio de codicibus Evangeliorum Origenianis*, Halæ 1771, p. 36—50. See also Wetstenii *Animadversiones et cautiones*, sect. 14.

PAGE 374.

10. The Greek words, John xx. 17. are λεγεις αυτη ε ιησους, μη μη απτη. What mistake then has Epiphanius here committed?

PAGE 377.

11. I know not whether Ephrem understood Hebrew, but

but he certainly understood Greek, for his life has been written by a Syrian historian, who expressly relates that Ephrem was instructed in Greek by Basilus, the bishop who ordained him deacon. See Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 44.

PAGE 380.

12. Our author delivers in his Orient. Bibl. Vol. VIII. p. 153. the same rules, as in this part of his Introduction.

13. Mill's Prolegomena, § 608—1079. Wetstenii Prolegomena, p. 65—79. Much valuable information on this subject may likewise be derived from Simon histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament.

PAGE 381.

14. This very example is a proof that Porphyry did not quote from the Syriac version, unless we suppose that the Syriac, as well as the Greek text, was altered in consequence of his objection. But it cannot be inferred, with any certainty, from his objection, that a Syriac version of the Greek Testament at that time existed; nor is it probable that a writer, who was master of the Greek, and who wrote not to edify an illiterate congregation, but addressed his arguments to the most learned among the Christians, would have had recourse to a translation, though the translation had been established by the church of his country. With respect to the other example, *ὁ Θεός*, Mark i. 2. we must not forget, that though it was the reading of the Syriac version, it is the reading likewise of several Greek manuscripts, though our author says that their number is small. But as the Codex Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis, Stephani, and Codex Bezae, are in the number of those, which have *ὁ Θεός*; as the same reading is found in the Coptic, the Armenian, the Vulgate, the old Italic, and the Gothic; and as it is quoted by Irenæus, Origen, and Jerom, it was probably the reading of the Greek MSS. in general in the time

of Porphyry. It affords therefore no presumption whatsoever, that Porphyry quoted from the Syriac version. In fact, no evidence, either historical or critical, has hitherto been produced, sufficient to warrant the opinion that a Syriac version at that time existed. See the Notes to ch. vii. § 6. of this Introduction.

PAGE 382.

15. Wetstein actually quotes in this verse Tertullianus de carne Christi, c. 19.

16. In those examples, in which Wetstein does not quote the particular book or page of a Greek father, the reader may generally discover them himself. When he quotes Theophylact, for instance, without any further reference, it is as easy to find the place in his commentary, as the passage in the Bible, because it is continued with the text in an uninterrupted series.

CHAPTER X.

Conjectural Emendations of the Greek Testament.

PAGE 390.

1. It does not appear to have been Wetstein's meaning, that the same liberties in regard to critical conjecture, in which the first editors of the Greek Testament indulged themselves, might be taken by a critic of the eighteenth century, for Wetstein has not admitted into the text of his edition any conjectures whatsoever; though he has frequently quoted them in his notes. The meaning of this critic was, that as Stephens departed from the text of Erasmus, Beza from the text of Stephens, and the Elzevir editors again from Beza, so it was allowable for a critic in the present age to alter the readings of the text which is now in common use, wherever they can be shewn, by a decided majority of evidence

evidence from the Greek manuscripts, the Greek fathers, and the ancient versions, to be spurious. The truth of this assertion is not to be doubted, for if a passage is not authentic in itself, it acquires no prerogative by length of time, or by having been printed in a thousand editions, between the year 1514 and the close of the eighteenth century. See Wettstein's N. T. Vol. II. p. 852. and the preface to the second volume of Griesbach's N. T. p. 13.

PAGE 391.

2. But though Wettstein defends the right of critical conjecture, he recommends great caution in the application of it: and says, Vol. II. p. 858. '*Quicquid autem sit de asserti nostri metaphysica veritate, illud saltem de momento ejus moneo, nemini inde magnum periculum imminere: licet enim plerasque omnes, quas vidi, et in V. L. exposui, conjecturas doctas atque ingeniosas existimem, neque proinde studium cujusquam vituperem, ingenuè tamen fateor, ex omnibus illis vix unam aut alteram sese mihi probare utcumque potuisse.*

PAGE 397.

3. I have here given an English translation of our author's German translation. Whoever wishes to examine the words used by Origen himself, will find them in Wettstein's note to Matth. viii. 28.

PAGE 400.

4. This quotation likewise may be seen in the original, in Wettstein's Note to John i. 28.

PAGE 402.

5. Our author having rejected the critical emendations of his predecessors, proposes here a long catalogue of examples, where he would alter the text of the Greek Testament, without the authority of any manuscript, father, or version. It is true that he displays in them both ingenuity and learning; and as he leaves them to

the determination of the reader, it would be foreign to the present purpose to call in question the probability of any one example in particular: and for that reason the reader will excuse my having given no extracts from two German works, to which he refers in two or three instances in the course of this section, viz. Michaelis's History of the Resurrection, entitled in German, Auferstehungs-Geschichte, and Michaelis's Mosaic Law, entitled in German, Mosaisches Recht. But as critical conjecture is at best a desperate remedy, and the sources, from which the genuine readings of the Greek Testament may be drawn, are so numerous, the disease must be very grievous, where a medicine of this nature can be justly applied. In a commentary, or an introduction, amendments of this kind may be proposed, but they should never be admitted into the text of the Greek Testament itself. The alterations which have been made by Griesbach are clear and decisive; they are founded on authorities, which are not to be rejected. But as soon as we admit a reading, that is found in no ancient manuscript, in no ancient father, and in no ancient version, we rely merely on the *opinion* of the proposer, who, though possessed of the most profound learning, and endowed with the greatest ingenuity, is not only exposed to the danger of mistaking the meaning of a passage, and of amending therefore where no amendment is necessary, but in the corrections themselves may be guided rather by a lively imagination, than a solid judgment, or, what renders them still more precarious, may be influenced by polemical as well as critical motives, which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish, and with the honest intention of restoring what he supposes the genuine text, recommend such readings as favour his own party. It is true that we cannot apply this objection to our author, who makes an accurate distinction between critical and theological conjecture; but as the line of separation is sometimes difficult to be drawn, and the principle, if once admitted, is subject to the greatest abuse, it is certainly

tainly more safe to reject it, at least from the text itself, in editions of the Greek Testament.

PAGE 405.

6. The person, who signs himself R. in Bowyer's critical conjectures, is Markland. In the third edition the name is written at full length. Valkenaer likewise wrote some critical conjectures on the N. T. They are printed at the end of Hemsterhufii Orationes. Lugduni Bat. 1784, 8vo.

PAGE 408.

7. In the reference to 3 Maccab. iii. 22. is an erratum which I have not been able to correct.

PAGE 417.

8. See on this subject Simon Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. ch. xxix.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Authors, who have collected Various Readings to the Greek Testament.

PAGE 420.

1. Our author means the first edition. In the second edition of the Apparatus criticus it is p. 74.

PAGE 423.

2. Another edition of this work was published at Cambridge in 1642, folio, under the following title, Joachimi Camerarii commentarius in Novum Fœdus elaboratus, nunc denuo plurimum illustratus et locupletatus.

PAGE 425.

2. See Mill's Prolegomena, § 1505.

PAGE 429.

4. To the names mentioned by our author, may be added those of Cesar de Missy, Jackson, Woide, Alter, and Birch. See also the account given by Le Long, of those critics, who have engaged in collecting various readings to the New Testament, in his *Bibliotheca sacra*, Tom. I. p. 466—468. ed. Paris. 1723: the chapter in Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 170—181. de variarum lectionum collectoribus atque editoribus: Simon *Histoire critique du texte du N. T.* ch. xxix: Pfaff de genuinis N. T. lectionibus, cap. vi, and Gerardi de Mastricht *Prolegomena*, p. 1—29.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the editions of the Greek Testament.

S E C T. I.

PAGE 430.

1. The German title of this work is *Nachricht von einer Hallischen Bibliothek*. It was a periodical publication of Dr. Baumgarten, and printed between the years 1748 and 1751, in eight volumes 8vo. Mill and Wetstein, in their *Prolegomena*, and Griesbach in the preface to the second volume of his *Greek Testament*, have described the principal editions of the Greek Testament: also Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, Vol. IV. p. 185—191. Bengel in his *Apparatus criticus*, p. 69—86. ed. 2da. Walch in his *Bibliotheca Theologica*, Tom. IV. p. 14—32. A very complete account, not only of the principal or critical, but of the editions of the Greek Testament in general, is given by Dr. Masch, in his improved edition of Le Long *Bibliotheca sacra*, P. I. p. 189—328. Those who have not this edition, may consult the Paris edition of Le Long *Bibliotheca sacra*, Tom. I. p. 199—226.

PAGE 431.

2. It is generally supposed, that before the Complutensian edition of the Greek Testament, which was finished in 1514, unless the date is false, no part of the Greek Testament had ever been printed. But the six first chapters of the Gospel of St. John were printed at Venice, by Aldus Manutius, in 1504, as appears from the subscription, Venetiis ex Aldi Academia, mense Junio MDIIII. A copy of this hitherto unknown edition is preserved in the library of the Duke of Würtemberg, at Stuttgart, and is described by Adler in the Repertorium, Vol. XVIII. p. 150. The whole of St. John's Gospel was published at Tübingen in 1514. See Le Long. Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. II. Vol. III. p. 624.

COMPLUTENSIAN EDITION.

PAGE 431.

3. The Complutensian Polyglot is best described in Le Long Bibliotheca sacra, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 332—339. where the authors are enumerated who have written on this celebrated edition.

PAGE 431.

4. For the German titles of these publications, see Note 15. to this section.

PAGE 433.

5. The account given in the preface to the Complutensian edition of the Greek Testament, in regard to the Greek MSS. which were sent from the Pope's library, is hardly reconcileable with the subscription at the end of the Revelation. In the former no mention is made even of the Codex Rhodiensis, or of any other MSS. than those sent from the Pope's library, α δη και αυτα ο αγιω-
τατος εν χριτω πατηρ, και κυριος ημων, ο μεγαλος αρχιερευς Λεων
δικατος, τη ορμη ταυτη συλλαμβανειν προθυμυμεινος, εκ της
αποστολικης βιβλιοθηκης αγομιναι επιμψι, κ.τ.λ. Now Leo X.

was

was elected Pope March 11, 1513, and yet the subscription at the end of the Revelation bears date Jan. 10, 1514. If therefore the manuscripts were sent by Leo X. they must have arrived when at least three parts of the Greek Testament were already printed, and yet the editors, in the preface at least, mention no other manuscripts. One mode of solving the difficulty is, to suppose that manuscripts were sent from Rome by Julius II. the predecessor of Leo X. and that the writer of the preface to the Complutensian Greek Testament, who knew that the latter was at that time Pope, but perhaps was ignorant how long he had reigned, committed an anachronism in ascribing to Leo X. what had been done by Julius II. Or perhaps he knew that they were sent by Julius II. but meant to flatter the vanity of the reigning Pope, by attributing to him an act of his predecessor. Or Leo X. before he was Pope, might have been instrumental in procuring them from the Vatican, and be therefore entitled to the compliment. Or perhaps the date 1514 is a false one, as the Complutensian edition was not delivered to the public, before 1522. The question still remains to be answered, whether they had other manuscripts of the Greek Testament, beside those, which were sent from Rome. The silence of the editors is no proof of the contrary, for they make no mention of the Codex Rhodiensis, though Stunica, in his controversy with Erasmus, frequently applies to it, as a manuscript used in the Complutensian edition. Cardinal Ximenes, in the preface to the first volume, (it is true that what he there says relates chiefly to the Old Testament) says, '*quorum quidem tam Hebræorum, quam Græcorum ac Latinorum multiplicem copiam variis ex locis non sine summo labore conquestivimus.*' But he adds, '*Ex ipsis quidem Græca Sanctitati tuæ debemus, qui ex ipsa apostolica bibliotheca antiquissimos tum Veteris, tum Novi Testamenti perquam humane ad nos misisti, qui nobis in hoc negotio maximo fuerunt adiumento.*' Now, as every body would understand from this sentence that Ximenes was indebted for *all* his Greek manu-

manuscripts to Leo X. he has either expressed himself in too general terms, in order to compliment the Pope, or Stunica has appealed to a manuscript, that was never used, and which no author but himself appears to have ever seen. With respect to the Codex Ravianus, see Note 243. to ch. viii. sect. 6.

PAGE 484.

6. Griesbach is of the same opinion. See his preface to the second volume of his Greek Testament, p. 16.

7. Our author is not quite accurate in saying, that the types of the Complutensian edition resemble the letters of the most modern manuscripts: for of all the specimens of Greek hand-writing, which Montfaucon has given in his *Palæographia Græca*, from the first introduction of the small letters, down to the fifteenth century, none resembles the types of the Complutensian edition more than that which is found in manuscripts of the ninth century. See Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 271. On the other hand, letters not very unlike the Complutensian are found in manuscripts of the eleventh, twelfth, and even thirteenth century. See the *Palæographia*, p. 291. 293. 308. 324.

8. It is generally said that the Complutensian Greek Testament is printed without any accents, and the same is asserted even in the preface to the work itself: ‘*Nudæ tantum literæ sine ullis aut spirituum aut tonorum notis impressæ:*’ and again, ‘*visum est priscam in eo linguæ illius vetustatem majestatemque intactam retinere, ac opus ipsum prætermittis etiam ipsis quibusvis minimis appendiculis excusum ad imaginem antiquarum scripturarum publicare.*’ Yet whoever examines the Complutensian Greek Testament, will find that the words are really accented: of which the editors in the same preface give the following account, ‘*Cæterum ne alicui dubium aliquod possit occurrere, in qua videlicet syllaba accentum oporteat collocari, simplex tantum apex in polysyllabis dictionibus adjectus est; et is quidem non tanquam Græcus accentus, sed tanquam notula signumque quo*



quo dirigi possit lector, ne in prolatione, modulationeve dictionum aliquando labatur.' Now this simplex apex is precisely the Greek acute accent, and it is constantly placed upon that syllable, to which the acute accent, according to the common rules of accentuation, belongs, for instance, on the antepenultimate of ἀνθρώπος, and ἀνθρώποι, on the penultimate of ἀνθρώπου, ἀνθρώπων, &c. The place of the tone therefore is as distinctly marked in the Complutensian, as in any other edition; and it is surely a contradiction to say, that it is printed sine ullis tonorum notis, and yet to acknowledge that a simplex apex (which is the acute accent itself) is placed over the syllable to which the tone belongs. Further, it is said in the preface, that this apex being designed as a guide to learners, is placed only over polysyllables; yet whoever examines the work itself will find, that it is placed over every dissyllable without exception. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that the Complutensian Greek Testament so far differs from the common editions, that no separate mark is used for the circumflex or the grave accent: the place of the circumflex being supplied by the acute accent, which is also printed over the last syllable of words, where the grave accent is printed in the common editions.

9. Accents afford no proof that a manuscript is modern; for they are found in several very ancient manuscripts written even with uncial letters; for instance, the Vaticanus, Claromontanus, Sangermanensis, Regius 2861. Codex Wolfii, &c. Perhaps there are as many ancient manuscripts in uncial letters, which have accents, as those which have not. See Note 29. to ch. xiii.

10. See Note 347. to chap. viii. sect. 6. where the question is clearly decided in the negative.

PAGE 435.

11. If the editors of the Complutensian Greek Testament had used this mark in those cases only, where the Greek text differs from the Latin, as our author supposes, this argument might be admitted in favour of the assertion,

assertion, that the Greek text of this edition has not been altered from the Latin. But I have found numberless examples where this mark is used, though there is no difference whatsoever between the Greek and Latin texts. For instance 1 John v. 7. Quoniam tres sunt   qui testimonium dant, though here is no omission, the Greek being οτι τρεις εστιν οι μαρτυρες. It was therefore by no means the intention of the Complutensian editors to point out by this mark the difference between the Greek and the Latin texts; and they had evidently no other object in view, in the insertion of this mark, than to dilate the Latin text, as often as it occupied less space than the Greek, and vice versa, in order that both columns might correspond line for line.

12. That the Greek text 1 John v. 7. in the Complutensian edition is a mere translation of one of the editors, is probable, because the passage is found in not a single ancient, and in only two modern manuscripts, the Montfortianus and the Ravianus, the latter of which is only a copy of this edition; and in the former the text is very different from that in the Complutensian edition. It cannot therefore, as in the third edition of Erasmus, have been taken from this manuscript: though on the other hand, it is not impossible that they found it in some modern MS. in which the passage, as in the Cod. Montfortianus, had been already translated. The question can never be decided, because the MSS. which they used are either destroyed, or are at least unknown. It is however of no importance, whether the passage was translated by a Complutensian editor, or by a transcriber of the fifteenth century. That the Latin Vulgate, as printed in the Complutum edition, had peculiar influence on the Greek, in the whole of this passage, is not to be denied, for the clause και οι τρεις ες το εν εστι, immediately preceding ες τιν μαρτυριαν, which is omitted in not a single ancient Greek manuscript, nor in our printed editions, though in some few manuscripts of the Vulgate, is rejected from the Complutum edition, for no other reason than because it is there wanting in the Latin

Latin text: so that this clause, which in the common editions occurs twice, occurs there only once, and that exactly in the place, where it does not occur in the Greek manuscripts. The circumstance likewise proves, that the Complutensian editors made use of modern manuscripts of the Vulgate, for this final clause of the eighth verse is found in all the copies of the Vulgate, which were written before the Lateran council held in the year 1215.

PAGE 436.

13. This very modern manuscript, which Erasmus calls Britannicus, is no other than the Codex Montfortianus, as appears from Note 220. to ch. viii. sect. 6.

14. The proper question to be asked seems to be the following, 'Did not the Complutensian editors, in consequence of a too high opinion of the Vulgate, and a mistaken zeal for the Christian religion, introduce sometimes into the Greek text readings of the Vulgate, which they did not find in the Greek manuscripts?'

PAGE 438.

15. But Griesbach makes a proper distinction between the Greek reading *αυρα*, which can refer only to 'Christi,' and the Latin reading '*ejus*,' which may refer either to Christ, or to Mary.

16. But it is the reading of the Arabic version published by Erpenius.

PAGE 439.

17. As the controversy between Semler and Goeze, relative to the Complutensian Bible, was conducted in German, it might be expected that a short abstract should be given of it in these notes; but as this would take up too much room, I will quote only the titles of the principal publications, for the sake of those who are acquainted with German, and who may wish to examine the subject more minutely.

Semler's

Semler's historische und kritische Sammlungen über die so genannten Beweis-Stellen in der Dogmatik, Vol. I. Halle 1764, 8vo.

Goezen's Vertheidigung der Complutensischen Bibel insonderheit des Neuen Testaments gegen die Wettsteinischen und Semlerischen Beschuldigungen, Hamburg 1765, 8vo.

Semler's genauere Untersuchung der schlechten Beschaffenheit des zu Alcala gedruckten Neuen Testaments, Halle 1766, 8vo.

Goezen's ausführlichere Vertheidigung des Complutensischen Neuen Testaments, Hamburg 1766, 8vo.

Semler's historische und kritische Sammlungen über die so genannten Beweis-Stellen in der Dogmatik, Vol. II. Halle 1768.

Goezens Fortsetzung der ausführlicheren Vertheidigung des Complutensischen Griechischen N. T. nebst einer Sammlung der vornehmsten Verschiedenheiten des Grundtextes und der Vulgata derselben, Hamburg 1769, 8vo.

It was the principal object of Goeze to support the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. and as this passage is in the Complutensian Bible, he defended the antiquity and value of the Greek manuscripts, from which he supposed that passage had been taken, and not translated from the Latin. Semler's object was to shew the spuriousness of this passage, and at the same time to support the opinion of Wettstein, that the text of the Complutensian Greek Testament in general is of little value. Now in this controversy two questions have been united, which ought to be separated. 1. Whether 1 John v. 7. be genuine. 2. Whether the manuscripts used by the Complutensian editors were ancient and valuable: for the one might be denied, though the other were affirmed, since editors who used the best manuscripts might interpolate a spurious passage. The former question is at present clearly decided in the negative. In regard to the latter, I am too little acquainted with the Complutensian Bible to be able to form any judgement; it is sufficient there-
fore

fore to add, that Griesbach accedes to the opinion of Wettstein and Semler, and says, in the preface to the second volume of his Greek Testament; p. 16. Complutenses non habuerunt codices Græcos, nisi paucos, recentiores, exigui fero, si ad lectionum bonitatem species, pretii.

Thus far I had written in the first edition of these notes: but since that time I have accurately collated the Complutensian text, and have seen with my own eyes, that Griesbach's opinion is well-founded. I have examined the Complutensian edition throughout whole books, and have found that the readings of ancient manuscripts, which are not at the same time contained in modern manuscripts, are not contained in the Complutensian edition. There is no reason therefore to suppose, that the editors used ancient MSS. since they inserted no readings, but such as are found in modern MSS. And the very numerous differences between the Complutensian text, and that of ancient MSS. especially of the celebrated Codex Vaticanus (see above, Chap. VIII. note 347) prove that the editors either were not in possession of ancient manuscripts, or, what is the same thing in our present inquiry, did not form the Complutensian text from them. With respect to the charge brought against the Complutensian editors, that they modelled their Greek text according to the Vulgate, I have found, that *in general* it is not true. For though in some few single passages, as Matth. x. 25. 1 John v. 7. they follow the Vulgate in opposition to all the Greek manuscripts, there are more than two hundred passages in the Catholic Epistles, in which the Complutensian Greek text differs from the text of the Vulgate as printed in the Complutensian edition.

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18. The reading of the Complutensian edition is not $\alpha\iota\varsigma$ Βηθλεεμ, but $\alpha\iota\varsigma$ Βηθλεμ. The editions copied from that of Complutum, to which our author alludes, are the Plantin, and the Geneva editions.

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19. This very circumstance may console us for their loss, for, as rockets are not made of vellum, it is a certain proof that the MSS. were written on paper, and therefore of no great antiquity. It is true that our author calls them vellum MSS. on account of the words 'como membranas inutiles,' quoted in his note. But the word 'como' makes this expression too indeterminate, to lead to any certain conclusion.

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20. Our author gives here some examples from the book of Revelation, in which the Codex Guelpherbytanus C. agrees with the Complutensian edition. For instance, ch. v. 8. they both omit *ei* before *εξοστισαγης*, ch. vii. 15. have *τη θρονου* for *τα θρονου*, ver. 16. *ετι, αλ' εμνη* for *ετι, αλ' εμνη*. He has given several other examples, but on comparing these with the list of readings in Knittel's own publication, I have found them to be errata, which I have not taken the pains to correct, as they seem to be of no importance.

21. The mark, to which our author alludes, was not intended to point out the difference between the Greek and Latin texts. See above, Note 11.

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22. From the Greek text of the Complutensian edition were printed the following, viz. seven at Antwerp by Plantin in 1564, 1573, 1574, 1590, 1591, 1601, 1612: five Geneva editions in 1609, 1619, 1620, 1628, 1632: and lastly that of Mayntz in 1753. These are described in Le Long Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 191—195.

EDITIONS BY ERASMUS.

23. The origin and progress of the editions by Erasmus is related at full length in Wetstein's Prolegomena, Vol. II. H b h p. 120

p. 120—141. and in I.e Long. Bibl. sacra, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 281—292.

24. See Maittaire Annales Typographici, Tom. II. Purs prior, p. 2. Note e.

25. The first edition of Erasmus, which was finished in 1516, was not only not begun in 1513, but not even proposed to Erasmus before April 17th, 1515: for Rhenanus, in a letter addressed to him from Basel with this date, writes, *Petit Frobenius abs te Novam Testamentum, pro quo tantum se daturum pollicetur, quantum alius quisquam. Ib. Not. b.* And Erasmus himself says of his first edition, *Præcipitatum fuit verius quam editum.* The subscription to this first edition is *Basilæ, in ædibus Johannis Frobenii Hammelburgensis, Mense Febuario, Anno m.d.xvi.* But, what is extraordinary, and seems hardly to agree with the date of Rhenanus's letter, the preface to the annotations annexed to this first edition is dated, *Basilæ, m.d.xv.*

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26. The article is not omitted before *αλλος*, in almost all our editions of the Greek Testament; Weistein at least quotes only those of Colinæus and Bengel. The omission, which may rather be ascribed to the hurry of Erasmus than to actual design, was corrected by Robert Stephens; see his third edition; p. 198; and the article is really found before *αλλος*, not only in that of Stephens, but in all the common editions.

27. This edition has two dates, for the subscription at the bottom of p. 565. is *m.d.xviii.* but the two following pages are dated *m.d.xix.*

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28. The manuscripts which Erasmus used, are those noted by Weistein in the first part 1. 2. 3. 61. 69. (Proleg. p. 120.) 4. 7. in the second part, and 1. in the fourth part.

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29. It is probably a mistake that two editions of the Greek Testament were printed at Strasburg in the same year 1524. Maittaire, in his *Annales Typographici*, T. II. Pars posterior, p. 644. describes *Novum Testamentum Græce cura Fabricii Capitonis editum apud Wolsium Cephalæum*, 8vo. Argentorati 1524: but makes no mention of any other edition of the Greek Testament at Strasburg in the same year. Our author seems to have confounded 1524 with 1534, in which last year another Strasburg edition of the Greek Testament appeared, but this was not modelled after the edition of Aldus. See *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 198.

30. This edition, which has a preface by Oecolampadius, was re-printed in 1535, with the subscription, *Basileæ apud Jo. Bebelium, mense Februario, AN. M.D.XXXV.*

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31. Dr. Harwood has likewise a very high opinion of this edition, for in his view of the various editions of the classics, p. 118. he says, 'I have found this edition of the Greek Testament by Colinæus by far the best and most correct.'

32. The full title of this edition is given in *Le Long Bibliotheca sacra*, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 302. It there appears, that though Wettstein has ascribed to it the title *editio Bogardi*, and our author describes Bogard as the publisher, that Bogard has no concern in the publication. Some of the copies were sold in his shop, and these have on the title 'vencunt apud Jacobum Bogardum,' while the other copies have 'vencunt apud Johannem Neigny.'

33. Three editions of the Greek Testament were published by Plater at Basel, the first in 1538, the second in 1540, the third in 1543. See a description of them in *Le Long Bibl. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. I. 200. Now the title of the third corresponds to that which is here given by our author and dated by him 1544. His date therefore is probably a mistake, and ought to be 1543.

It is true that Maittaire in his *Annales Typographic* Tom. III. Pars prior, p. 357. mentions a fourth edition by Plater in 1544, but he acknowledges that he had never seen it, and that he relies on the authority of Le Long. Now Dr. Masch in the place above quoted says, *Addit Le Long editionem iteratam anno 1544, de qua vero omnino dubito.*

34. *Ες τῇ καὶ ἑξῆς* for *εἰς τῇ καὶ ἑξῆς* is found in no MS. and in no other edition: and as it not only alters the sense as our author remarks, but even destroys it, it is undoubtedly an error of the press.

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35. Our author mentions only seven editions taken from the text of Erasmus, but they amount to upwards of twenty. See Le Long. *Bib. sacra.* ed. Masch, P. I. p. 196—205.

EDITIONS BY R. STEPHENS.

36. *Prima Stephani editio Complutensem sequitur pressius, quidque ipse probavit magis indicat: secunda item, sed admixtis erratis pluribus: in tertia, Erasmi editioni quintæ vix uspiam mutatae marginem varietate editionis Complutensis et MSS. suorum distinctum opponit.*

See Griesbach's Pref. to the ad. Vol. of his Greek Testament, p. 24—26.

37. Wettstein, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 143, 144. has clearly shewn, that H. Stephens was the person who collated the manuscripts for the editions published by his father R. Stephens. Now it is generally supposed, and it is likewise asserted by our author, in treating of the *Codices Stephanici*, that all the sixteen manuscripts (including the Complutensian edition) which are quoted in R. Stephens's edition of 1550, had been collated previous to the first edition of 1546. But we must except at least the *Codex β*, which could not have been collated till after the year 1547, because this manuscript was collated

collated in Italy, and H. Stephens did not go into Italy before that year. See Maittaire *Historia Stephanorum*, p. 204—207. Nor does R. Stephens say a syllable about any manuscript collated in Italy, in the preface to his two first editions, though he particularly mentions the manuscripts borrowed from the royal library. It is true, that in the preface to the edition of 1550 he pretends to have regulated the text of his two first editions, by the extracts from all the manuscripts which he quotes in the third: but this was probably done with no other view, than to enhance the value, and promote the sale of his former publications.

38. That is, Robert Stephens has noted in the margin of his edition five hundred and ninety-eight readings of the Complutensian text, which differ from his own. But Mill, on collating the two editions, found that they differed in above seven hundred instances, in addition to those which Stephens had marked, so that the whole number amounts to at least thirteen hundred. See Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1226.

39. See Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1220. In this same year another edition was printed at Paris, precisely of the same size, and with types so nearly resembling those of the two first editions of R. Stephens, that without due attention, the one might be mistaken for the other. The title is *Τὸ κατὰ διὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀρχαῖον*. *Novum Testamentum*. Parisiis, impensis viduæ Arnoldi Birkmanni, 1549. 16mo. At the end is, *Excudebat Lutetiae Parisiorum Benedictus Prævotius, typographus, in vico Frementello, ad clausum Brunellum, sub insigni stellæ aureæ, anno M.D.XLIX. Idibus Martiis*. But it consists of two volumes; and there are no Greek letters in the margin expressive of the ancient Greek chapters, as in the editions by R. Stephens. It seems to be nothing more than a re-impression of R. Stephens's first edition. Le Long, in his *Bib. sacra*, P. I. p. 215. ed. Malch., mentions another edition of the same size, and printed at Paris in the same year, with the very same subscription; but instead of Birkmann, the name of Haultin is on the

title page. I have never seen it: but it is probably the same edition, with a different title-page.

40. The three first and fifth of the editions of Robert Stephens were published at Paris, the fourth at Geneva. The two first are in 12mo. and have no various readings: the third which is in folio is one of the most elegant editions that were ever printed, and has the readings of Stephens's manuscripts in the margin. In the fifth, various readings are printed at the end. They are described in *Le Long Bib. sacræ*, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 208—214. 305—307. The editions which were printed from those of Robert Stephens are described *ib.* p. 215—222.

EDITIONS BY BEZA.

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41. I have given a literal translation of this sentence, but I do not exactly comprehend its meaning. The words seem to import, that Beza procured Stephens's edition of 1550, in which various readings had been written in the margin, in addition to those which are printed in that edition. In writing this sentence our author had probably in view the following passage in Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1258. Paulo post evulgatam a Rob. Stephano N. T. editionem illam nobilissimam anno 1550, Henricus ejus filius, notatis ad oram istius editionis lectionibus variantibus Ed. Complutensis, et quindécim MSS exemplarium, adjecerat variationes aliorum decem codicum, et editionum pene omnium quæ Stephanicam præcesserant. Hoc exemplar Robertus Theodoro Bezae suo in manus tradidit. But for this assertion Mill had no historical evidence, and the whole relation has no other ground than the following passage in Beza's preface to his edition of the Greek Testament (sign. IIII. ed. 1582.). Ad hæc omnia accessit exemplar ex Stephanianæ nostræ bibliotheca cum *viginti quinque* plus minus manuscriptis codicibus, et omnibus pene impressis ab Henrico Stephano ejus filio et paternæ fedulitatis hærede, quæ diligentissime collatum. Now as only fifteen manuscripts

manuscripts are quoted in R. Stephens's edition of 1550, and Beza uses the expression *viginti quinque*, Mill concluded that H. Stephens collated ten other manuscripts *after* the publication of the edition of 1550, that the readings of the ten additional manuscripts were added to those of the other fifteen, and that the edition of 1550, thus enriched with written marginal readings, was presented to Theodore Beza. But as Henry Stephens himself has never given the least hint of this second collation of manuscripts, Wettstein (Prol. p. 145.) contends that the words '*viginti quinque plus minus*' are hyperbolical, and that proper allowance must be made for Beza's lax mode of expression: '*verba hyperbolica Bezae esse commoda interpretatione mollienda.*' A more ingenious solution is that, which ascribes the inaccuracy not to Beza himself, but to the printer: namely, it has been supposed that Beza wrote *xv* codicibus, the number of manuscripts actually quoted in Stephens's margin; that *xv* was mistaken for *xxv*, and that hence arose the expression '*viginti quinque*' in Beza's preface. Now all these explanations of Mill, Wettstein, &c. rest on the supposition that by the words '*Exemplar ex Stephani nostri bibliotheca,*' Beza understood R. Stephens's edition of 1550. But if this had been Beza's meaning, he would rather have said *Editio Stephanica an. 1550*, or *editio Stephani tertia*, and would hardly have used the indeterminate expression *Exemplar*, without any thing to fix its meaning. Besides, if he had meant the printed edition of 1550, and the words *viginti quinque* are to be understood, not literally, with Mill, but hyperbolically with Wettstein, why was it necessary for him to have recourse to the library of R. Stephens in particular, when he might have procured it from every bookseller in Europe. By the word '*exemplar*' therefore I would rather understand some printed edition of the Greek Testament, prior to any of those of R. Stephens, in which H. Stephens had noted, either in the margin, or on blank leaves, if the book was interleaved, the readings of those manuscripts, which he had collated for his father's editions. We know

for certain that, whatever was the mode adopted by H. Stephens in forming his collection of various readings, the collection itself, as written by H. Stephens, came into the hands of Beza. See Westlein's Prolog. p. 146. We know likewise, that though only fifteen manuscripts, are quoted in Stephens's margin, a much greater number were examined by Henry Stephens, if not collated: for he says in his preface to the edition of 1587 (see Westlein's Prolog. p. 143) *Plusquam triginta veteres scripturæ libros vidi, partim in regis Gallie bibliotheca, (quorum autoritatem et fidem pater meus in illa editione grandi secutus est) partim in Italianis.* All these circumstances are in favour of the above-mentioned hypothesis, that Beza understood by the word 'exemplar' Henry Stephens's autograph. For as Beza knew that H. Stephens had seen upwards of thirty manuscripts, but that only fifteen were actually quoted in the edition of 1550, he might easily take some indeterminate medium, and use the expression *Exemplar cum viginti quinque plus minus MSis codicibus collatum*, as he probably did not know the precise number that was actually collated. And as the subject related not to the printed text, but only to the marginal readings written by Henry Stephens, we see the reason why Beza used the general term *Exemplar*, without thinking it necessary to specify the particular edition.

42. Our author is perfectly accurate in describing the edition of 1565, as the first edition, which Beza published of the Greek Testament. For though Beza's Latin translation, which first appeared in 1556, was reprinted in 1559, accompanied with the Greek text, yet as that Greek text was nothing more than a re-impression of R. Stephens's fourth edition, it does not belong to the series of editions published by Beza. See Westlein's Prolegomena, p. 146. and Le Long Bib. sacra, ed. Masch, Tom. I. p. 808.

43. In the dedication 'Christiano lectori,' which Beza has prefixed to his edition of 1582, he says, *Nunc modo cum*

cum variis *Septendecim* Græcorum codicum a Roberto Stephano citatorum lectionibus, &c. In the edition of 1598, he says, *Annus agitur quadragesimus secundus, Christiane lector, ex quo N. T. Latinam interpretationem emendare sum aggressus, Græco contextu non modo cum novendecim vetustissimis manuscriptis, &c.* Now these two accounts do not contradict each other, because in the word *novendecim* in the last edition, Beza meant to include his own two manuscripts. But it is difficult to explain Beza's mistake, in saying that seventeen manuscripts are quoted in the margin of R. Stephens's edition of 1550, when R. Stephens himself expressly declares in the preface to that edition that he quotes only sixteen, including the Complutenian: and though there are many errata in Stephens's margin, the number 16 or 17 has never been discovered in it. Perhaps however the mistake was occasioned in the following manner. We sometimes say that the number of manuscripts quoted by Stephens amounted to sixteen, at other times we say that they amounted only to fifteen, according as we include the Complutenian edition, or not. Beza therefore in writing his dedication might have a general recollection of sixteen manuscripts, and forget that the Complutenian was included in that computation: in which case, as he knew that it was actually quoted, he might add it to the sixteen, and thus describe Stephens's manuscripts as being one more, than they really were.

Another charge of still greater inaccuracy is laid to Beza by Wetstein, Prol. p. 148. *Fœdissimum illud est quod circa varias lectiones a R. Stephano A° 1550 editas commisit: cum enim ex præfatione Stephani sciret xv tantum MStos Codices ab eo consultos et cum editione collatos fuisse, non veritus est eorum numerum augere, de viginti quinque plus minus manuscriptis Stephani codicibus in præfatione locutus.* But this charge rests on the supposition that the word 'Exemplar' in Beza's preface signifies R. Stephens's edition of 1550, which is improbable, as appears from Note 41.

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44. Our author has neglected to mention the edition of 1598, which was the last edition published by Beza himself. It is described, as well as the four preceding editions of 1565, 1576, 1582, and 1589, in *Le Long Bib. sacra*, ed Masch, Tom. I. p. 309—313.

45. *Apparatus criticus*, p. 72. 2da.

46. The Elzevir editions follow the text of Stephens much more closely than that of Beza. See *Le Long. Bib. sacra*, ed. Masch, P. I. p. 226. The first Elzevir edition, which was printed in 1624, deserves particularly to be noticed, because the text of the Greek Testament, which had fluctuated in the preceding editions, acquired in this a consistency, and seemed during upwards of a century to be exposed to no future alterations. The text of this edition is found in almost all, that have been printed since that period, and to this text Wettstein himself adapted his various readings. See his *Prolegomena*, p. 151. It has acquired therefore the title of *Editio recepta*, and the expression *textus ab omnibus receptus*, of which the editors boast in their preface, has been really prophetic. But that it deserves not the title of *textus perfectus*, is evident from the critical edition of Griesbach.

47. Jo. Boissii Veteris interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus collatio in quatuor evangeliiis et apostolorum actis. Londini, 1655, 8vo.

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48. Mill, in his *Prolegomena*, § 1298. relates that this edition was taken from that of Robert Stephens the younger, printed at Paris in 1569.

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49. This work of Rumpæus, which is in very low estimation, I have never read, and therefore cannot tell whether he has accused Curcellæus justly or unjustly.

50. The

50. The Paris Polyglot does not consist of nine volumes, as our author says, but of ten: and the Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Latin texts of the New Testament are not contained in the fifth volume, but in the ninth and tenth volumes.

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51. It is not absolutely certain that Fell was here guilty of an oversight. See Note 326 to ch. vii. sect. 6.

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52. Both printed at Leipzig, the one in 1697, the other in 1702.

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53. That Mill adhered strictly to the truth, or, in other words, that he never misrepresented any subject of criticism by design, is an assertion which no one will deny; but, as we have equal reason to believe the same of Wetstein, our author very unjustly pays a compliment to the former, at the expence of the latter. The praises, which our author has bestowed on the diligence of Mill, are perfectly just; but at the same time, whoever is acquainted with the literary life of Wetstein must acknowledge, that Wetstein's unremitted labour was hardly ever exceeded in any age, or in any country.

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54. This edition was republished at Leipzig in 1723; at least many of the copies of Küster's edition, have on the title page, *Editio Secunda, Lipsiæ, sumptibus Filii J. F. Gleditschii 1723.* But Dr. Masch, in his edition of *Le Long's Bibliotheca sacra*, P. I. p. 239. says, *Editio iterata, uti libri titulus vult: sed sunt qui non sine veri specie affirmant antiquiorem editionem novo ornatam esse titulo.*

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55. Critical examination of the late new text and version of the Greek Testament by Leonard Twells. London 1732, 8vo.

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57. Bengel himself says, *Ne syllabam quidem, etiam si mille MSii, mille critici juberent, archæac non receptam adducar ut recipiam.* This is the greatest deference, as Mr. Bowyer observes, that ever was paid to the press.

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58. This charge is really ungrounded, for Wetstein leaves us by no means in a state of uncertainty, whether the common reading be supported by no manuscript, or by an hundred. It is true that he quotes in general only those manuscripts, which have the reading that differs from his printed text, but as we know not only how many manuscripts he used in each part of the Greek Testament, which alone would be insufficient, but likewise, partly from his own Prolegomena, partly from those of Mill, what manuscripts have been collated throughout, and what have only been consulted for particular passages, what manuscripts are complete, and what are defective, we are enabled to form a tolerable judgement in regard to the proportion of evidence in favour of the common text, to that which is against it. Nor is the omission to be censured as a fault; for had Wetstein quoted on all occasions the evidence in favour of the common reading, as well as that against it, he would have swelled his work to at least four folio volumes. But if it is really a fault, Bengel in his Apparatus criticus is guilty of the very same; for instead of quoting in all cases the evidence on both sides of the question, as our author's words at least imply, he quotes in general only in favour of those readings, which he either preferred or thought worthy of notice; and when he does quote manuscripts on the other side of the question, it is in general no direct and positive testimony, but only a mere inference. For instance, if seven manuscripts had been examined by Mill in a particular passage for a certain reading, and that reading was quoted only from four, he concluded that it was not in the other three, and put them down as evidence

evidence on the other side. But this conclusion may be made by every man, as easily as by Bengel.

WETSTEIN'S EDITION.

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59. This paragraph is followed in the German original by a long description of the controversy between Wetstein and the clergy of Basel; which I have taken the liberty to omit, not only because it seems foreign to the present subject, but because every reader may find it at full length at the end of Wetstein's Prolegomena.

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60. On the religious controversy which was conducted between Wetstein and the clergy in Basel, I make no remark, because it seems wholly superfluous in reading a work, which is philological and critical, to enquire whether the author was a member of the church of Rome, a follower of Luther, or a disciple of Calvin. But, when Wetstein's honesty as a critic is called in question, it is necessary to defend him. Our author accuses him of being guilty of a finessè, that is inconsistent with honour and integrity. But in what does this finessè consist? In explaining the words $\alpha\lambda\lambda\ \omega\sigma\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\sigma\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha$, $\circ\ \omega\sigma\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\omega\tau\alpha\varsigma$, Rom. ix. 5. in that part of the page, which is allotted to the various readings. Now this accusation implies not only want of candour, but want of attention to Wetstein's general plan. For though the inquiry here relates not to a variation in the words, it relates to a variation in the stops; it belongs therefore properly to that part of the page in which the varieties in the text itself are examined. It is true, that no ancient manuscripts can be quoted on this subject, but if this is an argument in favour of the accusation, all readings that are quoted from critical conjecture should be referred to the notes at the bottom of the page, which our author himself would surely disapprove. But even if we admitted that the note were improperly placed, the only

only inference would be that Wetstein had been guilty of an error in judgment, not of a breach of honesty: for if his intention had been to propagate false principles, and place them to the best advantage, he would have gained nothing by the present position, since they would have been more visible among the notes at the bottom of the page, which are printed in larger letters than those among the various readings, and are alone consulted by at least three fourths of those, who make use of his edition.

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61. No man, who is acquainted with Wetstein's Greek Testament, will deny that in the letters, and figures, which denote the collated manuscripts, are numerous errata; but the source, which according to our author's representation must have been the most productive of error, seems to be imaginary. For it pre-supposes that Wetstein not only made two different classifications of his manuscripts, the one in the first, the other in the second edition of his Prolegomena, but that he also arranged under the text of his Greek Testament his various readings, first according to the marks assigned to his manuscripts in the first edition of his Prolegomena, and afterwards altered these marks agreeably to the notation, which is used in the second edition, which was prefixed to his Greek Testament. Our author speaks of this alteration as of a real fact; but there is no historical evidence in favour of the assertion, nor is it agreeable to the rules of probability. That Wetstein had collected his materials, that he was in possession of most of his extracts from the manuscripts, which he has quoted, at the time when he published his first edition of the Prolegomena in 1730, may be readily admitted; but that they were arranged under the text, in the order in which they appeared twenty years afterwards, and that Wetstein employed this long interval merely in transforming the marks from one notation to the other, which necessarily follows from the supposition that his various readings were arranged so early as 1730, is highly improbable; and

and when we take the following circumstance into the account, is wholly incredible. It is well known that according to Wettstein's first arrangement the manuscripts were divided into four principal classes, the last of which was subdivided into three under-classes, and that the notation in each class began with N°. I. Further, this classification had no reference to the contents of the manuscripts as in the second edition, for in the same class are frequently manuscripts of the Gospels, manuscripts of the epistles, &c. It could therefore never have entered into Wettstein's imagination to quote by these numbers, since he would have left his readers wholly in the dark in regard to the manuscripts, which he meant. The case is here totally different from that which we find in his Greek Testament, where, though the same letter or figure in the four different parts frequently denotes four different manuscripts, the notation is subject to no confusion, because the Prolegomena prefixed to each of the four parts sufficiently determine their meaning: whereas the general classification, which Wettstein first adopted merely to point out to his readers the chronology and country of his manuscripts, he could never have intended as a mode of notation in quoting the various readings. It appears therefore that our author's apprehensions are ungrounded, and that the transformation, which he supposes to have been productive of error, has never existed.

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62. Our author here censures Wettstein very unjustly, and the charge of partiality, which he lays to that eminent critic, recoils upon himself. Polemical divinity must be totally separated from sacred criticism, for a reading is not rendered spurious by its opposition to an established creed, nor genuine by their agreement. The text of the Greek Testament must be determined, before articles can be formed from it, and we argue in a circle, if we condemn a text as spurious because it contradicts a theological system, when that very system depends on the authenticity of the text. The only business of a critic is
impartially

impartially to weigh the evidence, which may be brought for or against a reading, and to determine on that side on which the scale preponderates. Now that Wetstein has acted agreeably to this principle in preferring *Κυρις* to *Θις*, Acts xx. 28. no man who transgresses not the bounds of truth can deny: for *Θις* is found in not a single ancient manuscript written in uncial letters, whereas *Κυρις* is ratified by the authority of the Codd. Alexandrinus, Ephrem, Cantabrigiensis, and Laudanus 3. See Griesbach's clear and impartial remarks on this passage. For the rejection of *Θις*, 1 Tim. iii. 16. Wetstein has the same proportion of evidence in his favour, since here again this reading is found a *prima manu* in not a single ancient manuscript in uncial letters, nor in a single ancient version, except the Arabic which is of very little authority. See Griesbach's note to this passage. Wetstein therefore is by no means partial in summing up the evidence for this or that particular reading, not even in passages, which relate to controverted points of speculative theology.

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63. As Wetstein's Greek Testament is a kind of standard in sacred criticism, it is of importance to determine, whether the negligence, of which our author complains, is founded on fact. I have therefore carefully examined the ten examples which he has here produced as proofs of his assertion; but what is extraordinary, there is not one among the ten in which our author is not mistaken: this short Note therefore contains not less than ten ungrounded accusations. To set this matter in a clear light, I will specify from our author's *Curæ* in *Actus Apostolorum Syriacos*, to which he refers, each particular charge, and quote in answer what Wetstein has performed, or neglected.

Acts vii. 29.

Curæ, p. 96. Mill quotes *καί* for *ε* from Covel 3. Wetstein omits this quotation, and quotes Barocc. 3.

Answer.

Answer. Wetstein does not quote Barocc. 3. He quotes only Cod. 28. which in the Acts of the Apostles denotes Covell. 5. Now 28. is here an error of the press for 26. which denotes Covell. 3. for whoever compares the quotations of Mill and Wetstein in the Acts of the Apostles, will find that where the one has Covell. 3. the other has 26.

Acts xii. 14.

Curæ, p. 109. Mill quotes Laud. 3. for the insertion of *αὐτῷ* after *ἠνοιξί*, which Wetstein has neglected.

Answer. Mill does not quote Laud. 3. for the insertion of *αὐτῷ* only, but for *αὐτῷ τὴν θυραν*, instead of *πυλωνα*, and Wetstein quotes the same reading from the same MS.

Acts xiii. 1.

Curæ, p. 110. Note (*). The Cod. Steph. β. is quoted in this verse for *μαναη*, but Wetstein has not quoted for this reading the Cod. Cant.

Answer. If Wetstein therefore had quoted the Cod. Cant. his quotation would have been wholly unwarranted: and that the Cod. Cant. has not this reading I have found on examining the MS.

Acts xvi. 22.

Curæ, p. 121. Mill quotes the Cod. Cant. and Covell. 3. for *οχλος πολυς*, both of which MSS. are omitted by Wetstein.

Answer. Mill quotes the Cod. Cant. for *πολυς οχλος*, the Covell. 3. for *οχλος πολυς*, and Wetstein has the very same readings from the very same MSS.

Acts xvi. 37.

Curæ, p. 122. Mill quotes the Cod. Cant. for *αἰτιατες*, which Wetstein omits.

Answer. Wetstein has actually this reading from the Cod. Cant.

Acts xviii. 8.

Curæ, p. 125. Mill quotes the Cod. Cant. for the addition of *τῷ θεῷ*. Wetstein omits it.

Answer. Mill does not quote the Cod. Cant. for the addition of *τω θειω* only, but for the addition of a whole clause, and this very clause is quoted word for word by Wettstein from the same MS.

Acts xix. 18.

Curæ, p. 127. Mill has improperly quoted the Syriac version for *αμαρτίας*, instead of the common reading *πραξις*, but Wettstein has quoted no various reading.

Answer. If Mill has quoted inaccurately from the Syriac version, Wettstein is rather to be commended for not following his example. But Wettstein has actually quoted the reading *αμαρτίας* from the Cod. Basil. B. X. 20.

Acts xix. 27.

Curæ, p. 129. Mill quotes the Cod. Cant. for the omission of *μεγαλειότητος*, which Wettstein has neglected.

Answer. Mill quotes the Cod. Cant. for the omission of *την μεγαλειότητα αутης*, (*μεγαλειότητος* is a mistake of our author, occasioned by Mill's quoting this reading from another MS.) and this very omission is noted by Wettstein.

Acts xxi. 22. (21. is an erratum).

Curæ, p. 139. Mill has quoted from the Editio Complutensis a various reading, *ακροαται γαρ*.

Answer. The Ed. Compl. is here quoted neither in Küster's edition, nor in that of Oxford.

Luke xxiv. 18.

Lastly, our author adds in the Note in question, that Wettstein has neglected to quote *ης* for *ου*: but this charge is as ungrounded as the preceding, for Wettstein not only quotes this reading, but supports it by the authority of three MSS. whereas Mill had quoted no MS. and Küster only two. He also refers for this reading to Mill's Prolegomena, § 1347. which he could not have copied from Küster, by whom this reference is not made.

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64. Our author seems not aware of a circumstance, which Griesbach relates in the Preface to his Greek Testament, Vol. I. p. 17. that Mill himself, after the sheets of his edition were printed off, made, in the copy which he reserved for himself, many corrections with the pen. This copy is now preserved in the Bodleian, and was used by Wetstein, who profited by Mill's written corrections, and cannot therefore himself be corrected from Mill's printed Notes.

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65. Our author is here doubly mistaken, for it appears from the end of Note 63. that Wetstein has not omitted *ut*: it also appears from the Apparatus Criticus, p. 213. that Bengel has only quoted the two MSS. which had been alleged by Küster, viz. the Parisin. 5. 8. They cannot therefore be called Bengel's extracts.

66. This is a proof not only of Wetstein's critical judgement, but of his impartiality and integrity.

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67. Here again our author himself is inaccurate, not Wetstein: for Acts xiv. 13. Mill quotes the Syriac version for the omission of *αὐτῶν*, and this is actually noted by Wetstein. Acts xxiii. 9. it is true that Wetstein deviates from Mill; but Wetstein is accurate, and Mill inaccurate. The common reading is *οἱ γραμματεῖς*, as a various reading to which Mill quotes *τινὲς τῶν γραμματέων*, as expressed in the Syriac version. Wetstein takes no notice of any difference between the cases of the noun substantive in the Greek and the old Syriac, but simply quotes the latter, for *τινὲς* instead of *οἱ*. He has therefore corrected the error of his predecessor, for the Syriac text is really *ܐܢܬܐ ܠܗܝܡܢܐ*, 'quidam legisperiti.' But from the Philoxenian version Wetstein has quoted *τῶν γραμματέων*.

68. These two examples, in which Wetstein is not to be defended, are properly corrected by Griesbach.

69. It is rather a matter of surprize that Wetstein has so seldom failed, as he used the MS. only fourteen days. The readings, which he inaccurately quoted from the Philoxenian version, are noted by Storr in the 7th. and 10th. Vols. of the Repertorium.

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70. This assertion is more than any man can prove: for *αν* is very frequently used as synonymous to *εαν*, and Wetstein has therefore very properly omitted to quote the Vulgate; for its reading *cum* decides neither in favour of *αν*, nor of *εαν*. The fact is simply this, *οπως αν ελθωσι* is usually translated as if *αν* were a potential particle, but the author of the Vulgate has taken it in an hypothetical conjunction.

71. *Και* is used in this manner not only in no classic author, but in no instance in the whole Greek Testament. Our author says this use of it is a Hebraism, but though we sometimes find an hypothetical clause begin with *και*, 'si,' and the clause, which contains the inference, with the particle *η*, for instance Gen. xiv. 9. yet this use of the particle *η* in Hebrew is by no means so common, as that of the particle *ف* in Arabic.

72. The reading of the Codex Cantabrigiensis is not *οπως επελθωσιν*, but *οπως αν επελθωσιν*. Whether the reading *επελθωσιν* is a translation of some Latin version, I will not undertake to determine; but it is certainly not a translation of that version which is opposite to the Greek text in the Codex Cantabrigiensis, for that has 'ut veniant tempora.' At all events it is more reasonable to suppose, that Tertullian's reading 'superveniant' is a translation of *επελθωσιν*, than *επελθωσιν* a translation of 'superveniant.'

73. Mill has quoted *ut cum* from the Vulgate, to shew that the Greek conjunction is there used hypothetically, not potentially, and decides neither in favour of *αν*, nor of *εαν*.

74. It is likewise omitted in the old Latin versions, as they are called, in the Codd. Claromontanus, Sangermanensis, and Boernerianus, as well as in the Arabic of Erpenius. See Griesbach in loco.

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75. The text of Wechel's edition of 1597, is *ἐπετινα Βαβυλωνος*, and *Δαμασκη* is quoted only as a various reading at the bottom of the page, but without any particular manuscript being specified, namely, 'pro Βαβυλωνος, al. Δαμασκη.' Mill therefore quotes in this passage not the text of Wechel's edition, but a various reading to the text of that edition, which the editor has given, on his bare word, without quoting any authority, or at least without naming any manuscript in particular. Now it is well known, that the various readings in Wechel's edition were chiefly taken from the readings in the margin of Robert Stephens (Mill's Prol. § 1298); but Robert Stephens has Βαβυλωνος in the text, and it is accompanied by no various reading whatsoever. The reading therefore Δαμασκη is supported by no authority, and Weistein acted right, in rejecting what Mill had taken upon trust.

76. It is true that Weistein is here guilty of an oversight, and that he did not observe that *ⲁⲓ* preceded *ⲉⲃ*, which alters the sense. But this very mistake shews that Weistein did not take his readings from the Latin translation.

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77. Our author having summed up his evidence, now passes sentence upon Weistein; but before we absolutely condemn him, let us recollect that of the eighteen examples, which our author has produced in the last six or seven pages as proofs of Weistein's negligence, thirteen are decidedly false, and the fourteenth doubtful.

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78. Our author here acknowledges that Acts ii. 25. as quoted by Theophylact, differs not from the common

text, and yet censures Weistein for not producing a various reading. That Theóphylact, after having quoted *εἰ*, comments on the passage, as if *εἴη* were used, is nothing to the purpose; for it was the business of Weistein to select from Theophylact the words, which he actually quoted from the Greek Testament, not to form readings from the construction which was given them by the Greek father. The fact is simply this: Theophylact quotes from his manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles *οἱ ἐκ διξίων μὲν εἰν*, and after having quoted several verses more, says in his commentary, when he comes to treat of the passage in question, *τοὶ δὲ ἐκ διξίων εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας, κ. τ. λ.* Theophylact. in Actus Apost. p. 36. editio Sifani. Coloniae 1567. The Greek father therefore has used *εἶναι* as equivalent to *εἶναι*: but we cannot therefore conclude that he found *εἴη* for *εἰ* in any Greek manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles.

79. It is true that Theophylact (p. 51. ed. Sifani) quotes *οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ στρατός τε ἱερ.* But it is probable that *στρατός* is here either an erratum of the transcriber, who wrote the manuscript of Theophylact used by Sifanus, or a typographical error for *στρατηγός*: for Theophylact, in explaining these words in his Commentary, says, *οὐν αὐτοῖς δὲ φησὶ καὶ ὁ στρατηγός τε ἱερ.* and where the same subject occurs again, ch. v. 26. he has in the text itself *τοῖς ἀπελθὼν ὁ στρατηγός οὐν τοῖς υπηρέταις, κ. τ. λ.* Vid. p. 61. ed. Sifani.

80. Weistein is not to be censured for quoting *μὴ λησῇ*, though, when it is followed by *αὐτὸν*, the grammatical construction is irregular. An impartial collector of various readings produces the evidence which he finds, without inquiring into relations, or dependencies. An erroneous reading leads frequently to the discovery of the genuine text, and *μὴ λησῇ αὐτὸν* is not unworthy of notice, as appears from its being actually the reading of the Cod. Cantabrigienfis, and Laudanus 3.

81. Sifanus has actually printed *ἐν τῷ σπέρματι*, but says in his Note, in apographo est καὶ τὸ σπέρμα. Vid. p. 69. ed. Sifani.

82. Wei-

82. Wetstein therefore could not quote Theophylact in his favour.

83. This omission is supplied by Griesbach.

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84. Most of the examples here quoted by our author may be seen in the translator's Notes to the sixth chapter of this Introduction.

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85. This painful task has been reserved for the translator, who has submitted to the drudgery of comparing almost every quotation with the quoted originals. Many have been noted in the course of these remarks, but a much greater number has been tacitly corrected, especially in references to the Bible. Our author is no more entitled to excuse than Wetstein, for of the numerous errata in the German original a great part may be rather ascribed to the writer, than to the printer; and like those of Wetstein, are frequently of such a nature, that they not only correct not themselves, but leave those readers in the dark, who would examine the subject more minutely. It is true that several are noted in the list at the end of the work, but these are either trifles, or correct themselves; while those are totally neglected, where labour is required to detect and amend them. It is not however my intention to censure our author, but to apologize for Wetstein, since I have the same indulgence to request of the public: and if the former has so great a number of mistakes in making three or four thousand quotations, we must surely make allowance for a critic, who has produced above a million.

86. This is a single instance in support of the charge of Wetstein's inaccuracy in his Prolegomena. See Note 126. to ch. viii. sect. 6.

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87. It cannot be denied that these two errata are really in Wetstein's text, but the very circumstance, which

our author mentions as a mean of increasing the confusion, really corrects the two errata. It is well known that when Wettstein quotes a various reading to any word of the text, he repeats that word where he quotes his readings. Now in the first instance he repeats δ , in the latter $\eta\mu\omega\nu$: the repetition therefore corrects, not increases the mistake.

88. Here therefore we can correct Wettstein from Mill, from whose quotation it appears that 28. in Wettstein's quotation is an erratum for 26.

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89. It is true, that if Wettstein, in imitation of Mill, had quoted his MSS. by name, instead of referring to them by letters or figures, the references would have been attended with fewer errata. But his various readings, instead of filling, as at present, a fourth, or at the utmost a third part of each page, would then have occupied as much space as is now allotted both to various readings and remarks, and he must have either omitted those profoundly learned and valuable Notes, with which no expositor of the New Testament can dispense, or have swelled his work to double the size.

90. How ungrounded this conclusion is, appears from Note 61.

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91. This four-fold notation is certainly attended with inconvenience, but on the other hand it has its advantages: for Wettstein had two objects in view in affixing letters and cyphers to his manuscripts. 1. As a mean of referring to them. 2. As a mean of determining the number which he used in each part: and this last object is of the greatest importance, in determining the proportion of evidence for and against a reading.

92. The difficulties, of which our author complains in this paragraph, are not so great as he represents; and they may be greatly diminished, or even reduced to nothing, by a very simple method, which I have found of

of great service in the use of Wettstein's Greek Testament. A single folio page, if written closely, is sufficient to contain a transcript of Wettstein's four catalogues of MSS. prefixed to each of the four parts of his Greek Testament. This transcript, if placed on the desk, whenever the invaluable work in question is an object of study, will enable the reader at a single view to decypher each of the references, and after moderate practice to retain in his memory the marks, by which at least the principal manuscripts are denoted.

93. The principal objection, which I would make to Wettstein, is, not that he is deficient in point of accuracy, for perfect accuracy is not to be expected in so extensive a work, in which it is wholly impossible for the attention to be always awake, but that he too frequently violates the rules of propriety and good breeding. Woide therefore was not unjust, in saying in his preface to the Codex Alexandrinus, § 68. *Doctrinam ei concedo, et literas, et diligentiam, et multiplicem lectionem: sed mansuetudinem, humanitatem, candorem in Prolegomenis ejus desidero.*

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94. Here follows in the German original a long account of Bentley's intended edition of the Greek Testament, and of the controversy which was conducted between him and Middleton on that occasion. But as the subject itself is of little importance, because Bentley's plan was never put into execution; and as those, whose curiosity may lead them to inquire into the history of Bentley's proposals, and the opposition with which they met from Middleton, may derive better information from the publications of the time, than can be expected from the work of a foreigner, I have taken the liberty to omit the whole description. Those who wish to see a short account of this intended edition, may consult Wettstein's Prolegomena, p. 153.

GRIESEBACH'S EDITION.

95. Properly speaking, Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament has been printed only once: for the first publication was nothing more than a Synopsis, or Harmony of the Gospels. His edition of the Greek Testament consists of two volumes 8vo. printed at Halle, the one in 1775, the other in 1777. A new edition, with extracts from two hundred MSS. in addition to those quoted in the former, has been lately published. These additional manuscripts are those, which have been collated by Matthæi, Alter, Birch, Moldenhawer, &c. and of which an account has been given in the Notes to ch. viii. sect. 6.

96. He has also inserted the extracts from the two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts collated by Knittel, and those of the Codex Gieffenfis, and some other manuscripts which he collated in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. He has himself very accurately collated all those Latin versions, which were published by Sabatier and Blanchini, and the mistakes which had been made by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, in the quotations from the Oriental versions, he has corrected, by the assistance of Bode's Pseudo-critica Millio-Bengeliana. See Griesbach's Pref. to the first Vol. of his Greek Testament, p. 16—19.

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97. Our author should have produced at least two or three examples, in which Wetstein quotes a manuscript for the addition of *ουτως*, where it is not in the common text of St. Mark's Gospel, and which is omitted by Griesbach. I have found several instances where Wetstein quotes MSS. or versions for the omission of *ουτως*, e. g. ch. i. 16. 29. 31. ii. 43, &c. but none for the insertion of *ουτως*, which is hardly to be expected from any transcriber, since according to the common and probably genuine text, it occurs not less than forty times, which is

as frequently as in all the other books in the Greek Testament put together. I have found none that is omitted by Griesbach.

98. If Griesbach had quoted the Cod. Veronensis and Brixienfis in support of the reading $\mu\mu$, in opposition to $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, of the neglect of which our author complains, he would have quoted erroneously; for these MSS. have not *nisi*, but *sed*. See Blanchini Evang. Quadruplex, P. I. p. 345.

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99. See Note 263. to ch. viii. sect. 6.

100. Our author should have mentioned these ancient and important authorities in favour of $\alpha\gamma\rho\omega$, for Weststein quotes only the Codex Mori, and alleges not a single father, nor a single version. Perhaps the old Syriac version is meant by our author, which has $\Delta\gamma\rho$, and this is rendered in the Latin translation *agrum*; but it might be rendered with equal, if not more propriety, *agros*; for it is a novem collectivum, its proper meaning being not *ager*, but *rus*: it includes therefore plures *agros*. See the Lex. Hept. p. 3432.

101. The value of Griesbach's edition is so decided, that it would be superfluous to expatiate on its merits. But lest the omissions, of which some complain, should be considered as blemishes, it may not be improper to consider the point of view, from which this excellent work should be examined. Now it was not the object of Griesbach to form a complete collection of all the various readings, which had been produced by Mill, Bengel, and Weststein, and to add the numerous extracts which he had made himself, but to give only a select and choice collection, omitting all such as were either trifling in themselves, and supported by little authority, or were evident corrections, errata, or interpolations: to one of which classes most of the examples belong, which have been alleged by our author in the last paragraph.

102. Griesbach has accurately collated not less than seventeen different copies of the Latin version. See the

the Preface to the first Vol. of his Greek Testament, p. 19, 23.

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103. See Note 95.

MATTHÆI's EDITION.

104. See Note 229. to ch. viii. sect. 6. where these Moscow manuscripts are enumerated, at least those which contain the text of the Greek Testament.

105. The epistles to the Hebrews and Colossians were published in 1784, and last of all the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in 1788, making in all twelve vols.

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106. To the critical editions of the Greek Testament, which have been enumerated by our author, may be added the following:

1. *Novum Testamentum ad Codicem Vindobonensem Græce expressum: Varietatem lectionis addidit Franciscus Carolus Alter Prof. Gymnasii Vindobonensis, Tom. I. 1787, Tom. II. 1786, 8vo.*

The plan, on which this critical edition is formed, differs entirely from that which was adopted by Mill, Wettstein, and Griesbach. The text is printed separately, the various readings at the end, and these again are not arranged as in the above-mentioned editions, but a separate place is allotted to the collection of extracts from each manuscript and version. The text, which he has adopted, and with which he has collated his MSS. is that of the Codex Lambecii 1. in the Imperial library at Vienna, and which he terms in the title *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, Codex Vindobonensis. But wherever he discovered manifest errata, he has corrected them from the edition of Robert Stephens, printed in 1546, and has subjoined at the end of each volume a list of these errata, under the title *Vitia Codicis Vindobonensis*. In the book of Revelation it has four chāsms, which he has supplied from the

the Codex Nesselii 302. The MSS. which he has collated with this adopted text, have been already described in the Notes to the eighth chapter of this Introduction, under the title Codices Vindobonenses. See the Note 369. The versions which he has collated are the Coptic, the Slavonian, and the Latin. In the collation of the Coptic he has used the edition of Wilkins, from which he has given complete extracts of the four Gospels in his first volume; but those which he has produced from the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, are not printed separately, according to his general plan, but must be sought among the extracts from the three Greek manuscripts, Codex 15. in auctario Forlosiæ, Codex Lambecii 28. and Codex Lambecii 248. Of the Slavonian version he has given extracts from three Imperial manuscripts of the Gospels, one of which is only a fragment, and from one of the Acts and the Epistles; he has also collated the Moscow edition of 1614, in the fourteen first chapters of St. John. His extracts from the Latin version are taken from two Imperial MSS. the one of the Gospels, the other of the Acts and the Epistles.

It is in general acknowledged that this edition has been executed with great care and diligence, and as it contains the readings of manuscripts which had been hitherto totally neglected, or very superficially examined, it is a work with which no man engaged in sacred criticism can dispense. Its use however is attended with the two following inconveniences: The text which has been preferred by the editor, and to which his various readings are adapted, being that of neither Mill nor Wettstein, but of a manuscript, which seems by no means entitled to the honour of forming the basis of an edition of the Greek Testament, the accommodation of his extracts to those of Mill and Wettstein, to which they are properly supplements, is attended with uncertainty, because they relate to different texts. Nor is the arrangement itself attended with less inconvenience; for the extracts from each manuscript and version being printed apart, it is necessary, whenever we would examine the evidence
which

which he has produced for or against a reading, to consult as many different parts of the volume, as the editor has collated manuscripts and versions. The first inconvenience is not to be remedied without a totally new collation, but it is to be hoped that the learned editor himself will correct the latter, and adopt the usual plan, if his work should survive a re-impression, to which it is justly entitled.

2. Quatuor Evangelia Græce, cum variantibus a textu lectionibus Codd. MSS. Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ, Barberinæ, Laurentianæ, Vindobonensis, Escorialensis, Havnienfis regis, quibus accedunt lectiones versionum Syrarum, Veteris, Philoxenianæ, et Hierosolymitanæ, jussu et sumptibus regis edidit Andreas Birch. Havniz 1788, fol. et 4to.

This splendid and valuable work, which contains the result of the united labours of Professors Birch, Alter, and Moldenhawer, who at the expence of the present King of Denmark have travelled into Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, in order to examine and collate the precious remains of sacred antiquity, is one of the most important productions, that have been lately exhibited in the province of biblical literature. The editor, Professor Birch of Copenhagen, has himself collated all the Greek manuscripts which are quoted, except the Codices Escorialenses, which were collated by Professor Moldenhawer. They are described at large in the Prolegomena, and have been enumerated in the notes to the eighth chapter of this Introduction, under the Codices Barberini, Sæ Basilii Romæ, Bononiensis, Borgiani, Escorialenses, Florentini, Sæ Mariæ in Vallicella, Vaticani, Venetiani, Vindobonenses, and Zeladæ. The part which Professor Adler has taken in this work, consists in the extracts from the Syriac versions, especially the Syra Hierosolymitana, which he himself discovered, and has described in the third part of his Versiones Syriacæ, from which I have given an extract in Note 5. to chap. vii. sect. 12. The text, which the learned editor has adopted, is the same which was printed by Mill, namely, the third edition

edition of Robert Stephens, for which he has assigned his reasons in the preface prefixed to his *Prolegomena*. He has followed also the example of Mill, in quoting his manuscripts not by letters, or by numbers, but by an abbreviation of their names, and has improved the plan of his predecessor, by annexing to each abbreviation, not an arbitrarily adopted number, but that very number, which is affixed to them in the respective libraries in which they are preserved. This is a very great advantage, for by these means we become as it were acquainted with each evidence that is produced: nor is it attended with that inconvenience, to which Wetstein would have been exposed, had he adopted a similar plan, because his more extensive scheme included all the known manuscripts of the Greek Testament, whereas the edition in question, which is a supplement to Wetstein, contains the readings of those only, which had been wholly neglected, or very imperfectly collated. The great value of this splendid work, and in which it surpasses all former editions, consists in the very complete extracts which are given from the celebrated Cod. Vaticanus, marked in the Vatican library N°. 1209. a manuscript, which, though probably of more importance than any now existing, had been so neglected, that the few and imperfect extracts which had been made, induced Wetstein to entertain an unfavourable opinion of it. Another material advantage, peculiar to this edition, consists in the extracts from the *Versio Syra Hierosolymitana*, the readings of which very frequently confirm those of the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, where it is wholly unsupported by other authority, a circumstance which shews the value and antiquity, not so much of the manuscripts themselves, but of the text which they contain.

Another volume was published by Birch at Copenhagen in 1798, containing various readings to the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. But they are not accompanied with the text.

3. *Η ΝΕΙΝ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*. The New Testament, collated with the most approved manuscripts, with select notes in

in English, critical and explanatory, by E. Harwood, D.D. London 1776, 1784, 2 vols. 12mo.

This edition, though not mentioned by our author, is certainly entitled to a place among the critical editions of the Greek Testament, though it is not accompanied with various readings: for though Dr. Harwood has adopted the common text as the basis of his own, he has made critical corrections, wherever the received reading appeared to him to be erroneous. The manuscripts which he has generally followed, when he departs from the common text, are the Cantabrigienſis in the Gospels and the Acts, the Claromontanus in the Epistles of St. Paul. In the preface to the first volume, p. 7. after having described them, as approaching the nearest of any manuscripts now known in the world to the original text of the sacred records, he adds, 'Accordingly in this edition these have been most commonly followed; but the different lessons they exhibit have never been adopted blindly or implicitly. In many places these two manuscripts are mutilated and defective; several leaves, several chapters are wanting; in which case the readings of other manuscripts, particularly the Alexandrine, have been espoused. The common text has never been deserted without reasons, which appeared to me to justify such a departure, and no innovations have been introduced from precipitancy or affectation. Conjectural emendations I have exploded, nothing of this nature, however plausible and ingenious, being admissible, when, through the providence of God, such a number of very ancient and venerable manuscripts have been transmitted to us. Not a single word in any one important point has been inserted in this edition, but what is supported by the best manuscripts.'

It is therefore not improbable that this critical edition contains more of the ancient and genuine text of the Greek Testament, than those which are in common use: but as no single manuscript, however ancient and venerable, is entitled to such a preference as to exclude the rest, and no critic of the present age can adopt a new reading,

reading, unless the general evidence be produced, and the preponderancy in its favour distinctly shewn, the learned and ingenious editor has in some measure defeated his own object, and rendered his labours less applicable to the purposes of sacred criticism.

S E C T. II.

PAGE 495.

1. The liberties which Griesbach has taken, are such as are warranted by the strictest rules of criticism. See his preface to the second volume of his Greek Testament, p. 13—16.

2. It will be therefore necessary, whenever our author complains of imperfections observable in all the editions of the Greek Testament, to take notice of such as cannot be attributed to Griesbach.

3. By the four principal editions, our author means the Complutensian, and the editions of Erasmus, Robert Stephens, and Beza.

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4. Πιστοειν is rejected by Griesbach.

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5. Griesbach has rejected it from the text of his edition.

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6. For that reason these words also are rejected by Griesbach.

S E C T. III.

PAGE 499.

1. The most copious collection of readings is that which has been given by Wettstein, but these readings
 Vol. II. K k k are

are not accommodated to the third edition of Stephens ; Wetstein having adopted the editio recepta.

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2. Griesbach has prescribed to himself rules equally severe with those recommended by our author ; for he has admitted critical conjecture in no instance whatsoever, and where he has expunged, corrected, or added, the evidence (which he has accurately produced) is, in point of authority, three and four-fold in his favour.

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3. This is not applicable to Griesbach. See the following Note 11.

4. Griesbach has collated them with great accuracy. See his Pref. to the first volume of his Greek Testament, p. 19.

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5. The latter part of this paragraph our author should not have left, as it stood in the third edition, because he no longer suspects the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Codices Græco-Latini, of having been corrupted from the Latin.

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6. But on the other hand, there is less danger of making mistakes in the substitution of figures for names, than in the substitution of names for figures. It would be therefore more certain, as well as more easy, to adapt the notation of Mill to that of Wetstein, than the contrary. Another reason would be, that Wetstein quotes more than twice as many manuscripts as his predecessor.

7. It is true, that abbreviations are less exposed to errata than letters or figures ; but if the manuscripts were thus quoted in an edition of the Greek Testament, formed on that extensive plan which our author recommends, it would be swelled to several folio volumes.

8. Griesbach

8. Griesbach has very carefully distinguished the manuscripts of the Latin version, which he quotes to the number of seventeen. He has likewise quoted them in such a manner, that there is no danger of taking them for Greek manuscripts.

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9. This has been done by Griesbach. See the Pref. to the first volume of his Greek Testament, p. 19.

10. This likewise has been performed by Griesbach: for instance, when he quotes the Greek text of the Cod. Cantabrigienfis, he quotes by the mark D.; when he means the Latin text, he quotes by the abbreviation Cant.

11. In regard to the Arabic, our author complains in another part of his Introduction, that the Roman, Polyglot, and Erpenian editions, are not distinguished from each other in the quotations from this version. But Griesbach quotes them distinctly, and separately, by the title, Ar. Rom.—Ar. Pol.—Ar. Exp., and when all three coincide, by the abbreviation Arr.

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12. For those, who are endued with such ignorance, as our author here represents, there is no cure, and therefore no deviation from the common plan is on that account necessary. Besides, critical editions are intended only for men, who are acquainted with the subject: and those, who are ignorant of it, should be initiated in the science, before they presume to form a judgment.

13. To set this matter in a clear light, let us compare the manuscripts which Wettstein has quoted in favour of the omission of Acts ix. 5, 6. with those which he passes over in silence, and for the sake of brevity, confine the comparison to those which are written in uncial letters. These in the Acts of the Apostles amount only to seven, which Wettstein has noted A. B. C. D. E. F. G. Of these seven, he quotes for the omission of the passage in question only A. C. E.; but Cod. B. had been at

that time very superficially collated, the Cod. D. and F. contain not this passage, and of the Cod. G. he had only a few extracts, which he had taken from Blanchini: these four therefore, as far as relates to Wettstein, are neutral. It appears then that a knowledge of these circumstances alone enables us to decide on the present reading, for of these seven witnesses, three only (at least in Wettstein) are entitled to a voice, and these three condemn it.

14. We must not however conclude that Wettstein's plan is faulty, because his meaning has been mistaken. By our author's assertion, that Acts x. 6. is contained in no manuscript whatsoever, must be understood, that it has been hitherto quoted from no manuscript.

15. It appears therefore, from the evidence which Wettstein has produced, that of sixty-nine, forty-five are against the common reading; and if from the twenty-four, which remain, we deduct those, which are here defective, or have not been consulted on this passage, the superiority of evidence in favour of the omission is so great, as to render quotations on the other side of the question, if any can be produced, entirely superfluous.

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16. Our author here discovers a light in Bengel, with respect to a passage, which he says Wettstein had left in obscurity. But the real fact is, that Wettstein has brought the matter much nearer to a state of certainty, than Bengel. The latter quotes, for the insertion of *καί*, those manuscripts which had been alleged by Mill, to which he adds the few which he himself collated: but quotes none for the omission of this reading, because he knew of none that omitted it. Wettstein has done the very same, and has even augmented the number of manuscripts in favour of the insertion. The superiority therefore is on the side of Wettstein. Our author's conclusion, that the reading in question is omitted in no manuscript, because Bengel has quoted none in support of the omission, is wholly erroneous, for Bengel's evidence is here
negative;

negative; he quotes none, because he knows of none, which every reader might have done, as easily as Bengel. And, what renders the conclusion still more extraordinary, is, that Wettstein has clearly decided that the reading is not in the Codex Claromontanus a prima manu; for he expressly quotes it as inserted in the Cod. D. ex emendatione, and this has been confirmed by Griesbach. Further, as Wettstein has quoted, in this passage, no other manuscript in uncial letters than the Claromontanus, it might have been reasonably concluded, that in those, which have been carefully collated, and have no chasm in the passage, such as the Alexandrinus; and Boernerianus, the reading is omitted: and that this conclusion would have been just, appears from actual experience; for it is not inserted in the Codex Alexandrinus, as may be seen on consulting the edition by Woide: and that it is not inserted in the Cod. Boernerianus, appears from the edition by Matthäi, fol. 3.

17. Remarks similar to those which were made at the end of the preceding Note, are likewise applicable to this example.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the marks of distinction, and divisions of the Greek Testament.

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1. The person who first distinguished the several parts of a period in Greek writing, by the introduction of a point, was Aristophanes of Byzantium, who lived in the hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad, under Ptolemæus Epiphanes, King of Egypt. See Montfaucon Palæographia Græca, p. 31. But though Aristophanes of Byzantium was the first person, who applied points to the purpose of marking the divisions of the sense, yet points

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are

are found in inscriptions written upwards of four hundred years before the birth of Christ. See Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 135.

2. The treatise of Diomedes de oratione is printed in the following work, *Grammaticæ Latinæ auctores antiqui, Opera et studio Helicæ Putschii*, Hanoviz, 1605, 4to. The place, where Diomedes speaks of the division of discourse into parts is p. 460, 461. but he is totally silent as to the mark, or marks, by which those divisions were noted. The words of Dionysius Thrax, (Fabricii *Bibl. Græca*, T. VII. p. 37.) on which the opinion is founded, that a point, when placed at the top of the line, corresponded to our full stop, when placed in the middle to our semicolon, and when placed at the bottom of the line to our comma, are the following: Στιγμασι νομι τρεις· τέλεια, μέσα, υποστιγμα. Καὶ ἡ μὲν τέλεια σιγμα ἐστὶ διακρίσεως ἀπνευσμένης σημεῖον. Μέση δὲ σημεῖον πνεύματος ἐνικν παραλαμβάνομενον. Ὑποστιγμα δὲ διακρίσεως μετέωρου ἀπνευσμένης, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ ἐνδοσθενὲς σημεῖον. Dionysius then proceeds, Πᾶς ἀσπείρει σιγμα ὑποστιγμῆς; Χρησθ' ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ σιγμα πρὸς τὸ διάστημα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑποστιγμα πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα. Now the expressions μέση σιγμα and ὑποστιγμα are interpreted by Montfaucon, (*Palæogr.* p. 81.) as well as by our author, 'a point placed in the middle of the line,' and, 'a point placed at the bottom of the line,' and of course τέλεια σιγμα is taken to signify 'a point at the top of the line.' This interpretation derives great probability from the circumstance, that a point of only one shape, namely that of our full stop, was used, as appears from the most ancient manuscripts, and inscriptions, and of course that its position only could form a ground of distinction into the three degrees of σιγμα, μέση σιγμα, and ὑποστιγμα. But on the other hand it may be said, 1. That different degrees of pause may exist, without any difference in the position of the point, which is used to denote the pause, or even without any point at all, as was the case before the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium. 2dly, That the words of Dionysius, 'full stop,' 'intermediate stop,' and 'inferior stop,'

stop,' are too ambiguous to lead to any positive conclusion with respect to the position of the point, because they may relate only to the degrees of pause; and Dionysius himself, in answer to the question, 'how does the *εἰς* differ from the *πρὸς*?' replies only, 'by a different degree of pause,' but is totally silent as to any difference in the position of the point expressive of that pause. 3dly, That if it had ever been the custom of the Greeks, to place a point at the top, in the middle, or at the bottom of the line, according as the sense was more or less complete, some traces of this custom would still be visible in our ancient manuscripts, and inscriptions. But in some of these the point is placed in general at the top of the line, that is, on a level with the upper stroke of the letters, in others usually in the middle; but I have found none, in which the three degrees of pause are denoted by the point being placed at the top, in the middle, and at the bottom of the line. In the Codex Alexandrinus the point is in general at the top of the line, whether it corresponds to our comma, colon, or full stop. I have examined the whole of St. John's Gospel in this manuscript, without finding the point placed on a level with the middle of the word in a single instance; and I observed only five examples where it was placed at the bottom. Two of them are unconnected with the present inquiry, for they merely denote abbreviations, thus, *ἡμῶν* John v. 19. and *ἡμῶν* John ix. 20. The other three were probably placed at the bottom by mere accident: but if they were placed there by design, they are unfavourable to the hypothesis, that a point at the bottom of the line denoted the shortest pause, because two of these examples are at the end of Ammonian sections, namely those marked *x* and *μζ*; and the third, though not at the end of an Ammonian section, is at the end of a sentence, (John ii. 5.) and is followed by an interval, or blank space. In the Codex Bezae I have observed no instance of a single point at the bottom of the line: it is

sometimes placed in the middle, sometimes at the top, but apparently without any plan, or view of ascertaining the degrees of pause.

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3. Our author is not quite accurate in saying that the most ancient manuscripts have no points. It is true that in the fac simile of the Cod. Alexandrinus given by Montfaucon; Palæogr. p. 214. and of the Vaticanus by Blanchini, Evangeliar. Quadr. P. I. p. 492. pl. 1. we find no points: yet that they are used in the former appears from Woide's edition, and that they are found in the latter, though not frequently, is related by Birch in his Prolegomena, p. 14. The Codex Ephrem likewise has points, as appears from the fac simile given by Montfaucon in his Palæographia, p. 214. The only two very ancient manuscripts in uncial letters, which I have had an opportunity of examining in the original are the Codex Beza and the Codex Alexandrinus; and in both of these points are certainly found. In the Alexandrinus the six first lines of St. John's Gospel, are pointed thus:

ΕΝΑΡΧΗΗΝΟΛΟΓΟΣΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣΗΝ
ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΝ·ΚΑΙΘΣΗΝΟΛΟΓΟΣ·
ΟΥΤΟΣΗΝΕΝΑΡΧΗΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΝ
ΠΑΝΤΑΔΙΑΤΤΟΥΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ·ΚΑΙΧΩ
ΡΕΙΣΑΤΤΟΥΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΟΤΑΔΕΕΝ·
ΟΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΕΝΑΤΤΩΖΩΗΗΝ·

Of these five points there are only three in the same passage in the Codex Beza, (I speak here from my own examination of the MS.) viz. the 2d. 4th. and 5th. which are placed in the same manner as in the Codex Alexandrinus. Perhaps however there was a point originally after the first ΘΝ, as in the Alexandrinus: for the MS. is at present so effaced at that spot, that the two last strokes of the N are no longer visible. It is remarkable that these two manuscripts agree in pointing a part of this passage, which corresponds to the 3d. and 4th.

verses, so as to give it a sense different from that which is expressed in our printed editions. These have *Χωρίς αὐτὸς ἔγνωτο καὶ ἐν ὁ γέγονεν*. *Εν αὐτῷ ζῶν*, κ. τ. λ. In the Cod. Alex. and Cod. Bezae we find *Χωρίς αὐτὸς ἔγνωτο καὶ ἐν Ὁ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶν*. κ. τ. λ. That the points were written a *primâ manu* even in the Codex Bezae appears from the circumstance, that where they are found, there is a greater interval between the letters, than where they are not found.

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4. See Note 35 and 36 to this chapter.

5. In the Codex Alexandrinus, in the Gospels the blank spaces or intervals are found at the end of each Ammonian section, and no where else. In the Acts and Epistles likewise they are regularly at the end of each section,

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6. Instead of separating the clause *καὶ διομινοὶ τε θειοὶ διαπαντός* from the other clauses, which are expressive of the good qualities of Cornelius, perhaps it would be better to omit *καὶ* in the first verse on the authority of the Alexandrinus, Ephrem, Laudianus 3. and many other Greek manuscripts, and point the passage in the following manner: *Αὐτὸς τε τις ἐν Καισαρίᾳ ονόματι Κορνήλιος, εκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπειρῆς τῆς καλεσμένης Ἰταλικῆς, εὐσεβὴς, καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Θεὸν συν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ποιοῦν τε ἐλεημοσύνας πολλὰς τῷ λαῷ, καὶ διομινοὶ τε θειοὶ διαπαντός, εἶδεν ἐν ὄραματι κ. τ. λ.*

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7. Wetstein, in his Prolegomena, p. 73. relates that Euthalius published an edition of the Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles, and adds, *Libros istos etiam ἐβίχοντο* scripsit, id est ita ut singulæ lineæ singulas sententias absolvent, eaque distinctione lectores scire possent, quæ continuo spiritu legerent, et ubi paulum intermitterent. He then quotes his authority for the assertion that

that Euthalius first divided these books into *στίχαι* or lines. *Πρῶτος δὲ ἐν ὑποτάξει ἀποστολικῆς βιβλίας στίχων ἀναγὰς τὸ καὶ γραφῆς, κ. τ. λ.*

The Codex Bezae is written in these *στίχαι* or lines, and that the reader may have a notion of this manner of writing, I will copy the six first lines of the Acts of the Apostles.

ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΤΩ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΗΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ

ΩΜΗΤΣΑΤΟΙΗΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΝΤΕ

ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΝ ΑΧΡΗ ΧΗΜΕΡΑΣ

ΑΝΕΛΗΜΦΘΗΝΤΕ ΙΛΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΛΟΙΣ

ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΙΟΥΟΥΣ ΕΞΕΛΕΞΑΤΟ ΚΑΤΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ

ΚΗΤΥΟΟΙΝΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

The Codex Claromontanus and Codex Sangermanensis are likewise written in these *στίχαι* or lines. See Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 216. 219. But in the Cod. Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Ephremi, no such distinction is visible, the lines being all of the same length. See Woide's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, Blanchini *Evangelium Quadruplex*, P. I. p. 492. pl. r. and Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 214.

8. Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 32. says; Virgulæ, si non priscæ omnino vetustatis sunt, non tamen eas its recentis dixeris: nam in Codicibus Græcis annorum plus mille occurrunt, ad omnium minimam distinctionem positæ, et quidem formâ hodiernæ ita simili, ut nihil intersit discriminis. P. 224. he has given a fac simile of a manuscript of the Septuagint written in the

* To the arguments which have been produced in the 194d. Note to ch. viii. sect. 6. to shew that the Codex Bezae was not written before the time of Euthalius, this may likewise be added, as an additional proof,

eight century, and with uncial letters, in which we find the mark called comma. But of all the specimens of manuscripts written in uncial letters, which Montfaucon has given in his *Palæographia*, this is the only one in which this mark is found. Nor does it appear to have been used in general, even at the first introduction of the smaller letters. See the *Palæographia*, p. 274—308. and the end of the first paragraph of the following Note 10.

9. *Puncta interrogandi, quæ hodie hoc modo effinguntur (;), in codicibus vetustissimis unciali quadro caractere scriptis, quos usquam viderim, absunt: in aliis vero noni, decimi, et undecimi sæculi habentur. Palæographia Græc. p. 32.*

10. In the *Codex Alexandrinus*, the mark used to denote the divisions of the sense, is in general the point, which we call full stop, as may be seen on consulting Woide's edition. This point is usually placed on a level with the upper stroke of the letters, whether it is put where we should use a full stop, colon, or comma. It is true that a mark, of the shape of our comma, or rather of our apostrophe, is sometimes found in the *Codex Alexandrinus*. But that it was not intended as a mark to divide the sense appears from the very mode of using it, for it is sometimes placed where no pause whatsoever can take place. For instance Mark xi. 32. ΑΠΑΝΤΕΣΤΑΡΕΙΧΟΝ. Luke iii. 9. ΕΙΣΗΥΤΕΒΑΛΛΕΤΑΙ. At other times it is placed in the middle of a word, as ΓΑ'ΑΡΗΝΟΝ Luke viii. 26. so that it is difficult to determine what was the design of the writer, or whether he had any design at all. Our author who asserts that the *Cod. Alex.* has not only the full stop, comma, and colon, but likewise a kind of semicolon, seems to have misunderstood the following passage in Woide's Preface, §. 30. *Punctum, Colon, Semicolon, et Comma, vel punctulo (.), vel breviori lineola (-), superiori parti literarum, vel medio earundem apposita, indicatur.* It is clear that Woide did not mean to say that the four different kinds of stops were denoted by four different marks, for in this sentence

sentence he produces only two. Woide does not determine to which of the four kinds of stops these marks respectively correspond; nor does it appear from an examination of the Codex Alexandrinus that the writer of it intended to make any distinction between these two marks. The latter occurs much less frequently than the former: but where it is used it is placed at the top of the line, and applied exactly in the same manner as the point sometimes where the sense is perfect, at other times where it is imperfect. They likewise resemble each other so nearly in shape, as well as in use, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the one from the other. It appears therefore that they are only one and the same mark, and that whether it is pointed, or whether it is dilated, is owing to no other circumstance, than the greater or less pressure of the pen of the writer. The system of punctuation was at that time not reduced to the same degree of refinement, as it has been in modern ages. In the Greek manuscripts in general no other mark of pause is used than that of a simple point; and I have seen one written so late as the end of the fifteenth century by Jerom of Sparta, in the University Library of Cambridge, and marked L. 2. 13. in which there is no other mark of pause; and in this manuscript it is in general placed at the top of the line.

Before I conclude this article, it is necessary to take notice of an inaccuracy in Woide's expression '*superiori parti literarum, vel medio earundem apposita.*' Now whoever examines the Codex Alexandrinus will rarely find an instance, in which the point is placed on a level with the middle of the letters, except in those few cases where a line ends with a word written in smaller characters, when the point sometimes receives a proportional depression. I have likewise observed one or two instances where the short line is placed in the middle, but without any visible reason. The deviation therefore from its common place in those few instances must be ascribed, not to design, but to accident, or want of attention in the writer.

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11. See Bowyer's Preface to his third edition, p. vi.
12. See Note 3.
13. This person is at present known to be Markland, whose name is written at full length in the last edition of Bowyer's critical conjectures.

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14. But if *duxio* is not used in the sense of punig in the New Testament, and the Septuagint, this conjecture rests on very uncertain ground.

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15. One of the oldest of the manuscripts written in uncial letters, in which the words are distinctly divided, is the Codex Augiensis, supposed to have been written in the ninth century. In this manuscript, which is now preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, the words are not only distinctly divided by intervals or blank spaces, but to make the distinction more conspicuous, a point is added at the end of each word. But though it was not usual in manuscripts written before the ninth century to distinguish the words by leaving an interval between them, yet the mode itself was not entirely new; for Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 134. has given a Greek inscription, engraved 450 years before the birth of Christ, in which the words are not only separated from each other, but distinguished by three points placed perpendicularly, in the following manner.

EN : TO : ATTO : ENLATTO :

16. The verb *new* is used in not a single instance, either in the New Testament or in the Septuagint, as may be seen on consulting Frommiius's Concordance, and Schmid's *Tamson*. This renders our author's conjecture very improbable. Nor does Stephens, in the place to which he refers, produce an instance even from a classic author;

author; for he says only, *Præterea ab ἄπο; significante χρεος est etiam verbum ἄπο.* Erotianus enim in suo lexico Hippocrat. ἄπολα exponit χρεοζήσια.

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17. I have examined various Greek manuscripts, and a very great number of specimens of Greek hand-writing in Montfaucon's *Palæographia Græca*, his *Antiquité expliquée*, the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, *Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing*, with many other authors on that subject, but I never met with an instance of a mark resembling the figure 6 to denote an *iota* either subscriptum or postscriptum.

18. Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 33. says, *Iota subscriptum, ut vocamus Græci, in marmoribus, tabulis, ac libris manuscriptis vulgo non indicant; vulgo dixi, nonnunquam enim adscribunt, sed post litteram cui adjungitur, et in serie aliarum litterarum, hoc pacto τυχα, ἑδω, ubi hodierno usu ita scribitur τυχη, ἑδω.* In tabulis vero marmoreis vetustissimis, antequam usus litterarum et advectus esset, incisus, ita scribitur ΤΥΧΕΙ, ΟΔΟΙ.

19. The *Iota postscriptum*, among the most ancient Greeks, formed probably an essential part of the word to which it belonged, for we find it in the most ancient monuments now extant. On a monument erected in the time of the Peloponnesian war we find, ΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ, ΕΝ ΚΤΗΡΟΙ, ΕΝ ΑΙΣΤΗΤΟΙ, ΕΝ ΦΟΝΙΚΕΙ, &c. See Montfaucon *Palæogr.* p. 134. Among the Oxford marbles likewise, there is a pillar on which is engraved a treaty made between the Smyræans and Magnesiæns, 244 years before the birth of Christ, which begins with the words ΕΔΟΞΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ. See page 1. of the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, ex *Arundelianis*, *Seldenianis*, aliisque conflata. Oxonii, 1676. folio. See also Montfaucon *Antiquité expliquée*, Tom. II. p. 10. pl. 2. and his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 49. During two or three centuries after the birth of Christ, the *iota postscriptum* appears to have been in general, though not always, re-

tained in inscriptions. See the *Palæographia*, p. 168. At the same time it must be observed, that in the most ancient inscriptions we find it sometimes omitted, even in the same passage where other words have it. For instance, in the inscription above-mentioned where we find EN TOI POLEMOI, &c. there is a few lines below EN TO ATTO ENIATTO. Gorius, in his *Inscriptiones antiquæ*, Tom. I. p. 297. has given an inscription from an ancient Sarcophagus, preserved at Florence, which begins with the words AXIAEYΣ EΠAΦPA TH IDIA EY-NAIKI: and in a verse of Euripides found on a wall in the ruins of Herculaneum, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ is written $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ without an Iota. See *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano*. Tom. II. p. 34. The use of the Iota postscriptum appears to have gradually declined, and to have been in general not used after the fourth century. See the *Palæograph.* p. 174.

20. Nor is it found in the *Codex Bezae*, the *Codex Vaticanus*, and other ancient manuscripts of the Greek Testament in uncial letters. But the conclusion, which our author draws at the end of this section, that the Apostles and Evangelists wrote without an Iota postscriptum, because it is not found in the most ancient manuscripts, is wholly ungrounded. It is omitted in these ancient manuscripts, not because its use was subsequent to the time when they were written, but because it was fallen into disuse before they were written, as appears from the preceding note. And since it was used in the very earliest ages, and was continued two or three centuries after the birth of Christ, it is by no means impossible that it was used by the Apostles and Evangelists. But as the Iota postscriptum was entirely dropped, and the Iota subscriptum which was afterwards substituted in its stead, was not introduced before the use of the small Greek letters, its position in modern manuscripts is not sufficient for determining any disputed point, which depends on the presence or absence of the Iota.

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21. On an ancient Greek inscription in the *Palæographia*, p. 135, N°. 2. the article δ , $\delta\iota$, is written HO, HOI,

17. τῇ ᾗ is written EN TEI HOAOI, and the H is retained as a mark of aspiration even in the middle of a word, if it is a compound, and the last word of which it is compounded begins with an aspirate: for instance, in the same inscription ενθια is written ENHOAIA.

22. It is probable that the most ancient Greeks did not neglect in general to denote the aspiration by the letter H. On the monument erected in the Peloponnesian war (Palæogr. p. 135, N°. 1.) οιδι is written HOIAE. But the letter H as an aspirate appears to have fallen into disuse so early as the first century, as appears from the inscription erected in the time of Tiberius, given in the Palæographia, p. 148. where *ιερις* and *ὑματα* are written IEPETE and YPATOT. Hence the reason why no traces of it are to be found in any of our manuscripts.

23. While the Greeks denoted their spiritus asper by the letter H, its absence was a very sufficient indication of the spiritus lenis.

24. Our author has not given the two most ancient marks, by which the spiritus asper, and the spiritus lenis were denoted after the H, as a mark of aspiration had fallen into disuse. They are written, thus ς for the spiritus asper, and thus ς for the spiritus lenis, and were evidently formed from a division of the old mark H into two parts. See the Palæographia Græca, p. 33. where it appears that they were introduced by Aristophanes of Byzantium. In this shape they are found in general in such manuscripts in uncial letters, as are written with marks of aspiration. They are formed in this manner in the Codex Vaticanus, as appears from Birch's Prolegomena, p. 14. in the Claromontanus and Sängermanensis, as appears from the Palæographia, p. 216. 219: in this shape likewise they are found in the specimens, which I have seen in general in the Palæographia Græca and the Evangelium quadruplex. The mark L evidently arose from leaving out a part of ς, and the semicircular figure c from hastily writing L. The semicircular form is that which is found in the most modern manuscripts; and yet this very form is found in the Herculean inscription mentioned

mentioned at the end of Note 19. That in the shape of an *l* is found in very few: it is used however in the fragment belonging to Cardinal Borgia. See Georgi's Preface to his edition of the *Fragmentum Borgianum*, p. cxlvi.

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26. Aristophanes Byzantinus *περὶ ᾠδῶν* five accentus excogitavit. Non quod ad illam ūtque ætatem Græca lingua accentibus et spiritibus caruerit: nulla enim potest lingua sine accentu et spiritu pronuntiari; sed quod illæ quæ usus magister invexerat, ad certas normas et regulas deduxerit, signa et formas invenerit, quo loco essent constituendi accentus et spiritus docuerit. Mont-faucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 33.

27. The same sentiments are likewise entertained by Dr. Foster in his *Essay on the different nature of accent and quantity*. Eton 1763. 8vo. 2d. ed. It is probable likewise that the Romans made the same distinction between accent and quantity, as appears from the following passage in Quintilian *de institutione oratoriæ*, Lib. XI, cap. 3, p. 1000. ed. Burmann. *Præter illam differentiam, quæ est tripartita, acutæ, gravis, flexæ, tum intentis, tum remissis, tum elatis, tum inferioribus modis opus est, spatiis quoque lentioribus aut citatioribus.*

28. I have been told by the late learned Professor Reiz, that he had frequently heard Eugenius, a Greek Priest, who is now Archbp. of Cherson, read Greek verse, during his residence in Leipzig, that Eugenius distinctly marked by his pronunciation both accent and quantity; lengthening the sound, without raising the tone of his voice, when he pronounced a long syllable which had not an acute accent, and raising the tone of his voice, without lengthening the sound, when he pronounced a short syllable which had an acute accent; in the same manner as in music, where the highest note in a bar is frequently the shortest. The opinion therefore advanced by Professor Gesner and Dr. Foster is not merely theoretical, since it is confirmed by actual experience. It must be observed however that an example of this kind is at present

sent very rare ; for in general the modern Greeks pronounce according to accent alone. In England we have rejected the Greek accents, and pronounce, as it is generally supposed, according to quantity alone : but, paradoxical as the assertion may appear, we certainly do not. We still pronounce Greek according to accent, though the rules, which we follow, are different from those, which are observed by the Greeks themselves. For in reading Greek we follow the same rules with regard to the position of the tone, as in reading Latin ; and in reading Latin words we do not regulate the tone of the voice merely by the length of the syllables. We pronounce for instance *virtūs*, *prāvūs*, *salūs*, *bōnūs*, precisely in the same manner, though these four words differ from each other in quantity. Again we make no difference in the pronunciation of *crīmīnīs*, *pā'ūlīs*, *hō'nīnīs*, *lūcīdīs*, though these four words likewise differ from each other in quantity. Thirdly, we make no difference in the pronunciation of *virtutīs*, *ēvūlsīs*, *rēmōiīs*, *dōcēiīs*, though these again differ from each other in quantity. It is clear therefore that we are directed in placing the accent or in raising the tone of the voice, by some principle distinct from that of quantity ; for in the twelve Latin words just mentioned there are twelve variations in quantity, but only three in accent ; whereas, if we entirely followed quantity in placing the accent, the accent would vary as the quantity, and we should never accent a dactyl, and an anapæst in the same manner. Now the rule which has been laid down by the Latin grammarians, for the position of the accent in Latin words, a rule which we always follow though we are not always conscious of it, is the following. In Latin dissyllables the accent is always on the first syllable, whether it be long or short. In polysyllables, the accent is on the penultimate, if the penultimate be long, but if the penultimate be short, the accent is on the antepenultimate, whether the antepenultimate be long or short. See Diomedes de accentibus. Lib. II. p. 426. printed in the *Grammaticæ latinæ auctores antiqui*, Opera et studio Heliæ Putschii, Hanovix 1605.

4to. See also Quinſtiliani Inſtitutiones, Lib. I. cap. 5. p. 59. ed. Burmann. According to this rule there is only one caſe in which accent and quantity *muſt* coincide, and that is in polyſyllables, which have the penultimate long: but in polyſyllables, which have the penultimate ſhort, and in all diſſyllables, it is mere accident whether accent and quantity coincide or not. They agree for inſtance in the words *cŕīnīs* and *piāvūs*, but diſagree in *pātūlis*, and *ſālūs*. In fact it is this very diſagreement which conſtitutes the harmony of Latin verſe, which would be intolerable if accent and quantity always coincided, as any one will find who makes an hexameter conſiſting of ſix words, of which the firſt five are daſtyls: whereas thoſe verſes are the moſt harmonious, in which the number of words, where accent and quantity diſagree, is equal to the number of thoſe, in which they coincide. For inſtance in the firſt line of Virgil's Bucolics, which is a very harmonious verſe, accent and quantity coincide in *Tityre* and *tegmīne*, but diſagree in *recubans* and *patulæ*. The Greeks went on a very different principle from the Latins, in determining the ſyllable which was to be elevated in ſpeaking*, for in *ἀνθρῶπος* they raiſed the antepenultimate; in *ἀνθρώπος* the penultimate, &c. But ſince we have rejected this method, as being attended with ſome difficulty, and regulate the tone of the voice in Greek, in the ſame manner as we do in Latin, it follows from what has been ſaid above that we read Greek, neither according to Greek accent, nor according to Greek quantity, but according to the rules of the Latin accentuation.

29. Our author is inaccurate, in ſaying that accents are not found in any manuſcript of the Greek Teſtament written before the eighth century: for both accents and marks of aſpiration are found in the following manuſcripts in uncial letters, ſome of which were certainly written before the eighth century; viz. the Baſileenſis,

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B. vi.

* In Græcis diſtinctionibus acutus tria loca tenet, ultimum, penultimum, et antepenultimum:—Apud Latinos duo tantum loca tenet, penultimum, et antepenultimum. Diomedes de accentibus, Lib. III. p. 425.

B. vi. 21. Coislinianus 1. Colbertinus 700. Codex Pafionei, Regius 2861. Sangermanensis, Codex Wolfii 1. and the celebrated Codex Vaticanus. For the authorities that these MSS. are written with accents, see the Notes to each of them, ch. viii. sect. 6. There are accents likewise in the Codex Claromontanus, though not a prima manu; but Montfaucon (Palæogr. p. 217.) says, that they appear to have been added soon after the manuscript was written. The following MSS. in uncial letters, are without accents, Alexandrinus, Augiensis, Cantabrigiensis, Cyprius, Ephrem, and Laudanus 3.

Among other things, which appear in our printed editions, and which were added after the time of the Apostles, may be mentioned the subscriptions at the end of St. Paul's Epistles. These, as they stand in our printed editions, and the common Greek manuscripts, were written by Euthalius. See Weistein's Prol. p. 75. But the Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Vaticanus have different subscriptions, as appears from Woide's Preface, § 56. and Birch's Prolegomena, p. 17.

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30. The breves and capitula, or, according to their Greek name, the *τιτλοι* and *κεφαλαια*, are frequently called the *τιτλοι* and *κεφαλαια* of Eusebius, not because he invented them, but because he adopted them, and recommended their use,

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31. Simon, in his Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. ch. xxxiii. p. 424. quotes from the Codex Regius 2861. or Codex Stephani η, the following Note, which is written at the end of the manuscript. Το κατὰ Ματθαίον ευαγγέλιον έχει τίτλος ξη, και κεφαλαία τνι. το κατὰ Μάρκον ευαγγέλιον έχει τίτλος μη, κεφαλαία σδ. το κατὰ Λουκᾶν ευαγγέλιον έχει τίτλος ωγ, κεφαλαία τμβ. το κατὰ Ιωαννην ευαγγέλιον έχει τίτλος ιη, κεφαλαία σλα. These are the divisions, which are found in general in the ancient Greek manuscripts of the

the Gospels. Wetstein. Prol. p. 6. The *τίτλοι*, or larger portions, which amounted to 68. in St. Matthew, 48. in St. Mark, 83. in St. Luke, and 18. in St. John, were so called, because the titles, or subjects of those portions, are written either in the upper, or lower margin of the Greek manuscripts, and generally in red ink; but the *κεφαλαια*, or smaller portions, are numbered in the side margin, without the subjects of those portions being specified. Those who have not access to Greek manuscripts will find both of these divisions very clearly represented, as in the manner above described, in the editions by Erasmus, or in R. Stephens's edition of 1550. But to prevent mistakes, it is necessary to observe that the word *κεφαλαιον* is used in a two-fold sense, and is frequently applied to denote the larger portions, which are otherwise called *τίτλοι*. In this manner it is used by R. Stephens and Küster, in the indexes prefixed to the four Gospels, in their editions of the Greek Testament. The larger portions are likewise called *κεφαλαια* by Theophylact, and some other fathers, as appears from Mill's Note to Matth. xxviii. 20.; Epiphanius on the contrary applies it to the smaller portions, and this seems to be the most ancient application. See Wetstein's Note to Mark xvi. 8. and Simon Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. p. 427. Even in the same manuscript (the above-quoted Codex Regius 2861.) though the smaller portions are called *κεφαλαια* in the Note at the end of the manuscript, yet in the account, which is given at the beginning of the manuscript, the larger portions are called *κεφαλαια*. See Simon Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. p. 425. On the other hand the smaller portions, into which the Gospels were divided, are very generally called the Ammonian sections, from the name of the inventor. See Mill's Prolegomena, § 658—666.

To these Ammonian sections Eusebius adapted his ten tables, or canons, which represent a harmony of the Gospels, and which were commonly prefixed to the Greek manuscripts. The first of these tables consists of four parallel columns, in each of which are marked the

letters, which denote the sections of each of the four Evangelists; and these letters are so arranged, that the sections containing parallel passages in all the four Evangelists, appear in the same line. In the same manner the 2d. 3d. and 4th. tables represent such parallel passages as are common to only three of the Evangelists; the 5th. 6th. 7th. 8th. and 9th. tables represent such as are common to only two of them; lastly, the 10th. table represents such passages as are peculiar to each. And to enable the reader to refer, not only from the tables to the passages in the Gospels, but likewise from any passage in one Gospel to such as were parallel to it in another, he wrote in the margin of the Gospels, under each of the letters expressive of the Ammonian sections, the letter which denoted the table, where that section was to be sought. For instance, if we wish to find all the parallel passages to *Καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, &c. which is the beginning of the section *α* in St. Matthew's Gospel, and corresponds to Matth. iii. 16. according to the modern division, we must observe the letter which is written under *α*, which in the present instance is *α*. This denotes that the first table is the place, where the section *α* must be sought: and on turning to this table we find that in the same line with the section *α* of St. Matthew, we find *β* for St. Mark, *γ* for St. Luke, and *δ* for St. John. These therefore are the sections in which the parallel passages to *Καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, &c. must be sought in the other three Gospels. These tables, with the references to them, may be seen in the editions published by Erasmus, in that of R. Stephens of 1550, or in Küster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament. From these tables of Eusebius the marginal references were taken, that are found in many of our printed editions. But useful as these tables have been, they have had their inconvenience, for they have given rise to marginal annotations in the Greek manuscripts, by which means passages from one Gospel have been mixed with those of another. See Mill's Prolegomena, § 738—744.

32. The Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles, were divided into those chapters, which we commonly find in the Greek manuscripts, by Euthalius, in the fifth century. Euthalius likewise published an edition of St. Paul's epistles divided into chapters, which division had been already made by some other person in the year 396. See Wettstein's Prolegomena, p. 74. where may be likewise seen a catalogue of the chapters, into which the Acts and the Epistles are divided in the Greek manuscripts. These chapters are denoted in the Greek manuscripts by letters written in the margin; and they are represented in Stephens's edition of 1550, and Küster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament. Our author says that the chapters, into which the epistles of St. Paul are divided, are continued in one series through them all, because they were considered as one book. It is true that this is the case with the Codex Vaticanus, as appears from Birch's Prolegomena, p. 18, 19. and perhaps this method was observed in many other very ancient manuscripts. On the other hand I have seen Greek MSS. in which a fresh numeration commences at the beginning of each epistle; that for instance marked in the University Library of Cambridge Mm. 6. 9.: and in the celebrated edition by R. Stephens, who must have been guided by some authority, the same arrangement is observed. Wettstein likewise in his Prol. p. 74. quotes a passage from Euthalius, where, speaking of St. Paul's epistles, he says, καθ' ΕΚΑΣΤΗΝ ἐπιστολὴν προτάξομεν τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐκθεσίαν.

Beside the chapters and sections above-mentioned, many manuscripts of the Greek Testament, the Codex Bezae for instance, are divided into lessons, which are called ἀναγνώσματα or ἀναγνώσεις. A catalogue of them, according to the arrangement of Euthalius, may be seen in Wettstein's Prolegomena, p. 75. Some MSS. have these lessons marked in the margin by the word ἀνάγνωσμα being written at the beginning of the lesson, or the beginning and end of the lesson is denoted by the words ἀρχὴ and τέλος. It is thus in the Codex Bezae. I have seen other manuscripts in which the Sunday is marked at the beginning of each lesson, which is to be read

read on that day, by the word *σαββατον*, with a number annexed to it, thus CA. Γ, CA. Δ, &c.

33. Hugo de S. Caro, or, according to his French name, Hugues de St. Cher, was born, as Moreri relates, at Vienne in Dauphiné, studied at Paris, where he became a Dominican friar in 1225, and died in 1263. The inventor therefore of our modern chapters lived, not in the twelfth, as our author has written by mistake, but in the thirteenth century. These chapters were soon adopted in the manuscripts of the Latin version; but the Greeks still continued to adhere to their ancient *τιτλοι* and *κεφαλαια*, nor are any Greek manuscripts known, in which these divisions are found prior to the fifteenth century, when the Greek fugitives, after the taking of Constantinople, fled into the West of Europe, became transcribers for members of the Latin church, and of course adopted the Latin divisions. The Codex Montfortianus is written in this manner, and likewise a manuscript in the University at Cambridge marked Ll. 2. 13. which, as appears from the subscription, was written at Paris, by George Jerom of Sparta, who died in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

34. These subdivisions of the modern chapters may be seen in R. Stephens's edition of 1550, in the same margin, in which the modern chapters are marked. By this arrangement the chapters are divided into nearly equal portions, which vary in number from four to seven, according to the size of the chapters.

35. I have never been able to procure this dissertation of Rogall, but if he describes these lines as commas, he probably means what Montfaucon says in his *Palæographia*, p. 30. *Hæc vero scriptio εἰχρηται* *duæ*, *quæ* *item* *per* *κεφα* *et* *κομμα* *facta* *dicitur*. And again, p. 31. *Ante Aristophanem Byzantinum hoc uno distinctionis genere in libris usos esse veteres putatur, scilicet per εἰχρη, per κεφα, per κομμα* *a linea semper resumebant: et hæc una pausæ nota erat, cum scriptio nempe desinere, antequam interpunctionis usus excogitatus esset.* According to Montfaucon then this method of writing
in

in *εἴχοι* was the only method, before the invention of points, of marking the divisions of the sense. The Codex Claromontanus is written according to Montfaucon in these *εἴχοι*, of which he gives the following specimen in his *Paleographia*, p. 217.

Δια τὴν ἀσθενίαν
τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν.
ὥσπερ γὰρ παριστήσασθε
τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν
δουλοῦν τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ,
καὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἀπορίαν
ὅθεν καὶ παραστήσασθε
τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν
δουλοῦν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ,
εἰς ἀγίασμον.

This method of writing is called not only by Montfaucon, but by most other authors writing in *εἴχοι*. See Wetstein's N. T. Vol. II. p. 6. and Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1030. Our author on the contrary asserts that the *εἴχοι* were lines, which contained a certain number of letters, and therefore often brake off in the middle of a word. But according to this sense, the *εἴχοι* must have been all of the same length, in the same manner, as the lines in our modern printed books. Now this method of writing is not what is usually called 'scriptio *εἴχηνος ducta*.' And what Montfaucon and other writers call *εἴχοι* our author calls *ῥήματα*. For this distinction, and this explanation, he has probably no other ground, than the following passage in Simon Hist. critique du texte du N. T. p. 423. Ou doit donc entendre par le mot de *ῥήματα* le nombre des sentences; et par celuy de *εἴχοι* les anciens versets qui estoient mesurés selon les lignes, ou quelque autre sorte de versets. This passage by no means warrants our author's opinion. For Simon does not understand by the word *ῥήμα* a *line*, but a portion of words forming some sense, similar to that which the ancients called *κομμα*, whether in the same line, or not. And by *εἴχος* he understands a *line*, not, as our author

means, consisting of a given number of letters, but in the sense probably in which it is generally used.

36. Our author should have called these divisions, not *σηματα*, but *στιχοι*. The latter name is expressly applied to them by Wettstein, Vol. II. p. 6. and the former name is not given them by Simon in the place to which our author refers.

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37. It does not appear that a numeration of the *στιχοι* was a numeration of the letters, for the *στιχοι* consisted of a very unequal number of letters, as appears from the manuscripts which are written in these lines, such as the Cod. Cantabrigienfis, Claromontanus, Sangermanensis, &c.

38 The same arrangement has been adopted by Wettstein, Griesbach, Bowyer, and other editors, in imitation of the early editions of the Greek Testament printed before the time of Beza, who split the Greek text into the verses invented by Robert Stephens.

END OF VOL. II. PART II.





